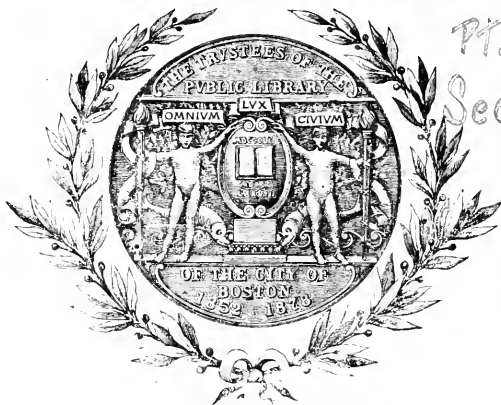


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Pt. 1

Sec. B

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Part 1

THE COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY

STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM

PART I

COMMUNISM OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

SECTION B: THE U. S. S. R.



MAY 29, 1956
(Original Release Date)

MAY 29, 1956.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House
on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

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Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives,
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UNITED STATES
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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

- * * * * *
17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

- * * * * *
- (q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.
(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 84TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 5, 1955

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

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SECTION B: THE U. S. S. R.

Words must have no relation to action—otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron.—Joseph Stalin.

Without a fair appreciation of events which have taken place in Russia since the successful seizure of power by the Bolsheviks in November 1917, it is impossible to understand the changing line of Communist activities in the United States. This committee makes no claim that the present section constitutes a complete history of Soviet Russia. This, however, can be obtained from a careful study of the numerous works to which reference is made in footnotes to the various exhibits. By assembling the latter in one section, the committee hopes that it has provided serious students of world communism with material heretofore unobtainable except at the largest libraries.

Considerable emphasis has been placed upon earlier Soviet documents. Some confused liberals to the contrary notwithstanding, Soviet policy did not turn bad in 1950, 1947, or 1939. From the very outset, it pursued a course consistently hostile to the free world nations, not to mention complete disregard for human rights within the U. S. S. R. The exhibits contained in the present section portray this terrifying history down to the end of World War II.

STALIN'S RUSSIA

Without question, the most enlightening documents here reprinted are Stalin's personal utterances. After Lenin had died in January 1924 and, to a lesser degree considerably before his demise, Stalin quietly but relentlessly schemed to consolidate his absolute and solitary mastery over the Soviet Union.¹ The entire course of Soviet history since the death of Lenin can be discovered in Stalin's speeches to the Bolshevik Party congresses (exhibits No. 22, 28, 35, 40, 63) and in the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (exhibit No. 61).² According to the present national chairman of the CPUSA, Stalin was the principal author of that document.³

Like Lenin before him, Stalin was never a man to permit Marxist theory to interfere with effective practice. At the same time, we must recognize the fact that no irreconcilable conflict existed between the Marxist concept of class warfare and complete world domination by Soviet Russia under the control of the Georgian *vozhd*.⁴ In an unrelenting campaign of hot and cold warfare, retreats, diversionary actions and temporary concessions were scarcely avoidable. These intermittent setbacks the very patient Stalin accepted as part of his day's work. All the while, he kept his eye fixed upon the "inevitable" goal of world conquest.

So flexible were his theoretical principles that he found no difficulty in wholeheartedly copying the policies of his most formidable Fascist foe. Stalinist practice made its greatest advances only after it became national socialist.⁵ Nevertheless, some confused liberals still refused to admit that Stalinism was every bit as bad as Hitlerism.

NON-COMMUNIST COMMENTARIES

Especially in recent years, a wealth of objective, scholarly criticism has been produced either by university presses or by university professors utilizing the services of private publishing houses. References to many of these works are

¹ John H. Hallowell (Duke University), *Main Currents in Modern Political Thought*, New York, Holt, 1950, pp. 497-498.

² *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course*. Edited by a Commission of the C. P. S. U. (B.). Authorized by the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. (B.), New York, International Publishers, 1939.

³ William Z. Foster, *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, New York, International Publishers, 1952, p. 381.

⁴ Hallowell, *op. cit.*, pp. 513-514.

⁵ F. Borkenau, *World Communism*, New York, Norton, 1939, pp. 393, 398, 423.

included in footnotes to the various exhibits. Certain popular magazines and newspapers have also done a remarkably good job of enlightening anybody who wants to know the facts. Today there is no excuse whatsoever for not being well informed as to the true character of Communist activities, whether those of the Soviet Union or of the Communist parties serving as illegal agents of the U. S. S. R. all over the world.

Very frequent reference has been made to the publications of three long-time anti-Communist authors, all of whom originally manifested more or less sympathy for Marxism or Soviet communism. Great credit must be awarded them for having written fearlessly long before such conduct became generally popular in this country.

Most of David J. Dallin's work has been published by the Yale University Press. For a time, Dallin belonged to the Menshevik Party—that is, to the branch of the Russian Social Democratic Party which advocated nonviolent or evolutionary Marxism (sec. A, exhibit No. 3; this sec., exhibit No. 61). His most valuable contributions enable the student to acquire a thorough understanding of the enormous injustice of the Russian Communist class structure and especially of that of its bottommost layer, the great Soviet slave empire.⁶

In his autobiography, William Henry Chamberlin analyzes the reasons for his personal retreat from sympathy with the Soviet "experiment."⁷ From 1922 to 1934, Chamberlin had served as Moscow correspondent of *The Christian Science Monitor*. Most significant is his observation that he could never have remained in Soviet Russia, if he had dared to write the truth about such subjects as the famines, slave labor, and the methods of the secret police.⁸ Those correspondents who dared to tell the story were quickly blacklisted by the Soviet censors. Only after his permanent departure from the U. S. S. R. in March 1934 did Chamberlin find himself able to describe the facts. Whereupon he incurred the implacable hostility of certain "liberals" who had never taken even a guided tour of the Soviet Union.

Like Chamberlin, Eugene Lyons served from 1928 to 1934 as an American correspondent in Moscow. Although he never joined the Communist Party, Lyons did for a year work enthusiastically as editor of the first popular American magazine about the U. S. S. R., the *Soviet Russia Pictorial*, and for 4 years thereafter as a member of the official Soviet news agency, Tass.⁹ From the latter organization, Lyons transferred directly to Moscow as the accredited representative of the United Press. His subsequent disillusionment, acquired from close personal scrutiny of "utopia," and his inevitable difficulties with self-beguiled "liberals" followed much the same course as has had been the lot of William Henry Chamberlin.¹⁰

SOVIET SEMANTICS

Previously in section A (the Marxist Classics), attention has been called to the great problems which confront anybody who attempts to decipher the true meaning of Communist jargon. In the preface to *Imperialism*, Lenin publicly approved the Bolshevik policy of resorting to Aesopian doubletalk (sec. A, exhibit No. 7). Competent as Lenin was in the use of such deliberately deceptive language, he must be regarded as a mere beginner in comparison with his successor, Stalin. In addition to the works indicated in the footnotes to exhibit No. 7 of section A, Reshetar's brief analyses will prove of great assistance to students of Communist literature.¹¹ While it does not explicitly deal with Soviet propaganda, the late George Orwell's novel, entitled *1984*, admirably demonstrates to what lengths Aesopian doubletalk can go in perverting the true meaning of language.¹²

⁶ David J. Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia*. Translated by Joseph Shaplen, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1944. Dallin's *Changing World of Soviet Russia* (Yale, 1956) not only brings his *Real Soviet Russia* down to the end of 1955, but also includes material on the 20th Russian Communist Party Congress (February 1956) and on current problems in the Middle East (pp. 370-380).

⁷ William Henry Chamberlin, *The Confessions of an Individualist*, New York, Macmillan, 1940; *The Freeman*, August 1955, pp. 611-614: My Retreat from Moscow.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁹ Eugene Lyons, *Assignment in Utopia*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1937, p. 37.

¹⁰ See for example Eugene Lyons and Upton Sinclair, *Terror in Russia? Two Views*, New York, Smith, 1938.

¹¹ John S. Reshetar (Princeton University), *Problems of Analyzing and Predicting Soviet Behavior*, New York, Doubleday, 1955.

¹² George Orwell, *1984*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1949. Also available in a pocket edition (Signet, 1950).

IS PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE POSSIBLE?

Because the exhibits contained in the present section bring us down only to the end of World War II, we cannot now answer the question as to whether peaceful coexistence between the free nations of the world and the Communist orbit is a possibility. Judging only from the documents here reprinted, the conclusion must be an emphatic "No". Moreover, nothing which occurred from the end of World War II until after the death of Stalin held any promise of a change of mind on the part of the Kremlin masters.¹³ It remains to be seen whether sincere deeds will eventually follow the cordial manners adopted in mid-1955 by the current Soviet leaders. As has been indicated in the foreword to part I, Bulganin, Khrushchev, & Co. may continue to smile and smile, without doing anything to modify the strategy of irreconcilable hostility which Lenin and Stalin developed as the only possible method of dealing with the free world.¹⁴

HOW STRONG IS RUSSIA?

Discussion of this question properly pertains to material related to current events. Since this committee will not for some time be able to complete its assembly of documents dealing with Soviet activities from 1945 down to the present, some attention may here be given to a matter of great concern to all freedom-loving people. Fortunately, this task has already been accomplished in a small, but highly readable, account of the economic and military resources of the Soviet Union.¹⁵ Cressey's conclusion is that the U. S. S. R. is not nearly so strong as its own propaganda—not to mention that of its ill-informed external protagonists—would lead us to expect. On the other hand, the chamber-of-commerce-type photographs courteously provided by official Soviet sources prove that, at least in limited quantities, the U. S. S. R. has done very well. What it has already achieved on a restricted scale, it may later accomplish in a much greater way. It is to be regretted that some of Professor Cressey's political observations fall considerably short of his insight into economic and military matters.

Another encouraging comment upon the strength or weakness of the Soviet Union may be found in the fact that, in the summer of 1953, no less than 10,000 slave miners staged a full-blown strike against their MVD guards.¹⁶ Naturally the outcome was a foregone conclusion. But the mere fact that the strike ever got underway was a reasonable indication that the Soviet rulers were having serious problems at home. Such difficulties are of the sort that could become much more threatening in time of war. Not without cause may we suspect that the newly adopted air of cordiality on the part of Khrushchev & Co. was necessitated by serious internal crises. Apparently, the current Kremlin masters hope that smiles and hearty handshakes will induce the Western Powers to bail them out of their present difficulties.

One of the very first acts of the leaders upon their successful seizure of power in November 1917 was to issue a "decree on peace." It was soon followed by several additional declarations in favor of nonbelligerency, of which three are here reproduced. A careful reading of these declarations shows exactly what peaceful coexistence on Bolshevik terms can imply. As the official history of the Soviet Union later explained in commenting upon the November 8, 1917, decree on peace, permanent cessation of hostilities is possible only when the exploited masses of the earth have been completely emancipated by the liberating forces of the Soviet Union.¹

Having been hastily thrown together amidst the frenzied activities of the early days of the Bolshevik revolution, these peace declarations manifest no little lack of conspiratorial finesse.² Nevertheless, they laid a solid foundation for later much more skillfully composed propaganda on the subject of peaceful coexistence. The part here reproduced of the introduction to the *Soviet Union*

¹³ Stephen King-Hall, *The Communist Conspiracy*, London, Constable, 1953, Chapter XII: "The Soviet Union and the West, 1944-53."

¹⁴ The final chapters of William Z. Foster's *History of the CPUSA* provide an excellent example of the Communist use of Aesopian doubletalk to express this implacable hatred of the free world in candied phrases.

¹⁵ George B. Cressey, *How Strong Is Russia?*, Syracuse University Press, 1954.

¹⁶ Joseph Scholmer, *Vorkuta*. Translated from the German by Robert Lee, London, Whidenfeld and Nicholson, 1954, pp. 205 ff. Vorkuta is a slave labor camp located above the Arctic Circle.

¹ *History of CPSU(B)*, p. 209. P. Kerzhentsev, *Life of Lenin*, New York, International Publishers 1939, Chapter XVI: The Struggle for Peace.

² David Shub, *Lenin*, New York, Doubleday, 1949, Chapter XVI: 'Brest Litovsk.' William Henry Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution*, New York, Macmillan, 1952, Vol. I, Chapter XVIII: 'Brest Litovsk: The Struggle for Peace.'

and Peace is but one example. In moments quieter than the earlier hours of the Bolshevik seizure of power, Communist authorities have been able to make very effective use of the technique known as Aesopian doubletalk (sec. A, exhibit No. 7).

EXHIBIT No. 1

[New York, International Publishers (1930?). *The Soviet Union and Peace*. pp. 1-3, 19-20, 22-33]

THE SOVIET UNION AND PEACE

INTRODUCTION

THERE can hardly be a single State whose history is so full of endeavours for the effective establishment of peace throughout the world as is the eleven years' history of the Soviet Union. Nor can the endeavours of any State have come up against such extraordinary obstacles as the Soviet Union's peace policy has encountered.

From its first decree "On Peace" (issued on the morrow of its coming into power) to its adherence to the Kellogg Pact, the Soviet Government has struggled for peace with remarkable persistence and inexhaustible energy, proposing peace to its opponents, raising its voice for immediate, universal and complete disarmament, and acting as initiators in the conclusion of mutual nonaggression and neutrality pacts.

The Government of the Soviet Union has never failed to avail itself of any opportunity arising in international politics for the furtherance of peace—and peace for all the peoples of the world, as well as for its own country. All the diplomatic activities of the Soviet Union bear testimony to this aspiration for universal peace—never lost sight of in the darkest hour of defeat or the elation of victory. The Soviet Union holds the same language with regard to peace for all countries—for those that directly attacked it, for those that have entered into normal diplomatic relations with it, and for those who still refuse, despite its eleven years of existence and ever-increasing development, to "recognise" the Soviet State.

The history of these efforts is a remarkable one, and worthy of attentive study, as well as closer acquaintance. It is not only the first stage of the Soviet Union's struggle for peace that is remarkable for those efforts, that first stage of intense endeavours to emerge from the nightmare of world war and establish peaceful relations, both with the Governments of Central Europe and with the Entente, whatever might be the outcome of the war for revolutionary Soviet Russia. All the most important stages in the peace activities of the Soviet Union—its participation in peace conferences, in the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, its adherence to the Kellogg Pact—are equally rich in new formulae, original suggestions, and exhaustive projects from the Soviet Government, every one of which has been directed towards the actual solution of the highly complicated problem of universal peace.

* * * * *

The historic Peace Decree issued by the Soviet Government on the morrow of its own formation was chronologically the second of the original, basic decrees of the Soviet Government, determining its policy for many years ahead. This decree, passed unanimously at

the Second All Russian Congress of Soviets, at its session of November 8th, 1917, was rather a political declaration inviting "all belligerent nations and their Governments to begin immediate negotiations for a just and democratic peace" than a decree in the literal sense of the word. Precisely defining what the Russian workers and peasants and their newly-formed Government understand by the term "democratic peace," the decree continues "the Government of Russia invites all belligerent nations to conclude immediately such a peace, expressing its readiness to take without the slightest delay any decisive steps for the final confirmation of all conditions of such a peace by representative assemblies of all countries and nationalities." The decree then informs all belligerent nations and their Governments that the Soviet Government *renounces secret diplomacy* and hopes that negotiations will be carried on quite openly. The Soviet Government at the same time declared that it was ready to carry on negotiations either through the postal and telegraphic services, by conversations between representatives of various countries, or by conferences of such representatives, and that it was willing to send its representatives abroad to a neutral country.

On the same day the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs sent a note to the ambassadors of the "Allied" countries, informing them of the formation of the Government of the All-Russian Republic in the form of a Council of People's Commissars, under the presidency of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, and drew attention to the Peace Decree as a document making formal proposals for an immediate armistice on all fronts and the immediate opening of peace negotiations. This, the Soviet Government's first diplomatic Note, ended with an assurance of profound respect for the nation represented by the ambassador addressed, "which, like all the other nations, exhausted and drained of blood by the unexampled slaughter, cannot but long for peace."

* * * * *

Every international act of the Soviet Union is an expression of its peace aspirations and its unwavering efforts to win over and reinforce the position of peace. Its adherence to the "Kellogg Pact" testified to the same tendency. The inaugurators and first planners of the text to this pact intended to keep the Soviet Union from adhering to it, in order to make the pact still more inimical to the country of the Soviets. But this diplomatic game did not come off. The Soviet Government is too big a factor in international life to be ignored in such questions. It had to be invited by the United States Government to subscribe to the pact.

The Soviet Government would have failed in its duty to the interests of peace and have made no new step towards its fulfilment, if it had not taken the opportunity once more to emphasise the fact that it "could not fail to endeavour to take advantage of the American project for the purpose of proceeding further along the path of the struggle for the preservation of peace." In subscribing to the Pact the Soviet Government at the same time subjected it to the severest criticism, pointing out that it entirely lacked any obligation to disarm, which is the only real element for the guarantee of peace, that the very formulation of the prohibition of war is extremely vague, that the reservations made by other powers doom the Pact in advance to impotency with regard to the matter of peace.

"Nevertheless," declared the Soviet Government, "inasmuch as the Paris Pact externally throws a certain obligation on the powers in the eyes of public opinion and gives the Soviet Government fresh opportunities to set before the participants in the Pact the most important of all questions for the matter of peace—the question of disarmament, the solution of which is the only guarantee for the prevention of war—the Soviet Union declares its consent to subscribe to the Paris Pact."

However unfavourable the attitude of the Soviet Government to the Kellogg Pact, it nevertheless, in its unalterable aspirations towards peace, decided to draw the corresponding conclusion from this pact, and invited Poland and its other neighbours to put it into force immediately. After prolonged diplomatic correspondence and ambiguous replies, Poland was forced to consent to the Soviet proposal, and the pact was signed in Moscow by Poland, Latvia, Esthonia, and Rumania. This diplomatic step of the Soviet Government is fresh confirmation of the sincerity of the Soviet aspirations for peace.

* * * * *

Every year of the existence of the Soviet Republics has been marked by an unceasing and resolute struggle for peace, for the liberation of tortured humanity from the horrors of military catastrophes. In the whole eleven years' history of the Soviets no step has been taken that was not directed towards the effective realisation of peace. Despite the innumerable international obstacles put in the way of the Soviet Union by its imperialist foes and opponents, it has never relinquished its aspirations towards peace, never lost an opportunity of demonstrating them, and never refused to take the initiative in advancing the affairs of peace.

HENRI BARBUSSE.

* * * * *

*1. Decree of Peace, adopted unanimously at a Meeting of the All-Russian Convention of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies on November 8th, 1917*¹

THE Workers' and Peasants' Government, created by the revolution of October 24th and 25th (November 6th and 7th), and based on the Soviet of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, proposes to all warring peoples and their Governments to begin immediately negotiations for a just and democratic peace.

An overwhelming majority of the exhausted, wearied, and war-tortured workers and the labouring classes of all the warring countries are longing for a just and democratic peace—a peace which in the most definite and insistent manner was demanded by Russian workers and peasants after the overthrow of the Tsar's monarchy. Such a peace the Government considers to be an immediate peace without annexations (*i.e.*, without seizure of foreign territory, without the forcible annexation of foreign nationalities) and without indemnities.

The Government of Russia proposes to all warring peoples immediately to conclude such a peace. It expresses its readiness to take at once without the slightest delay, all the decisive steps until the

¹ This decree was issued immediately after the seizure of power by the Petrograd workers headed by the Bolshevik Party.

final confirmation of all terms of such a peace by the plenipotentiary conventions of the representatives of all countries and all nations.

By annexation or seizure of foreign territory the Government understands, in accordance with the legal consciousness of democracy in general, and of labouring classes in particular, any addition to a large or powerful state of a small or weak nationality, without the definitely, clearly, and voluntarily expressed consent and desire of this nationality, regardless of when this forcible addition took place, regardless also of how developed or how backward is the nation forcibly attached or forcibly retained within the frontiers of a given state, and finally regardless of the fact whether this nation is located in Europe or in distant lands beyond the seas.

If any nation whatsoever is retained within the frontiers of a certain state by force, if it is not given the right of free voting in accordance with its desire, regardless of the fact whether such desire was expressed in the press, in people's assemblies, in decisions of political parties, or rebellions and insurrections against national oppression, such plebiscite to take place under the condition of the complete removal of the armies of the annexing or the more powerful nation; if the weaker nation is not given the opportunity to decide the question of the forms of its national existence, then its adjoining is an annexation, that is, seizure—violence.

The Government considers it to be the greatest crime against humanity to continue the war for the sake of dividing among the powerful and rich nations the weaker nationalities which were seized by them, and the Government solemnly states its readiness to sign immediately the terms of peace which will end this war, on the basis of the above-stated conditions, equally just for all nationalities without exception. At the same time the Government announces that it does not consider the above-stated conditions of peace as in the nature of an ultimatum, that is, it is ready to consider any other terms of peace, insisting, however, that such be proposed as soon as possible by any one of the warring countries and on condition of the most definite clarity and absolute exclusion of any ambiguousness, or any secrecy when proposing the terms of peace.

The Government abolishes secret diplomacy and on its part expresses the firm intention to carry on all negotiations absolutely openly before all the people, and immediately begins to publish in full the secret treaties concluded or confirmed by the Government of landowners and capitalists from February up to November 7th, 1917. The Government abrogates absolutely and immediately all the provisions of these secret treaties in as much as they were intended in the majority of cases for the purpose of securing profits and privileges for Russian landowners and capitalists and retaining or increasing the annexations by the Great-Russians.

While addressing the proposal to the Governments and peoples of all countries to start immediately open negotiations for the conclusion of peace, the Government expresses its readiness to carry on these negotiations by written communications, by telegraph, as well as by parleys of the representatives of various countries, or at a conference of such representatives. To facilitate such negotiations the Government appoints a plenipotentiary representative in neutral countries.

The Government proposes to all the Governments and peoples of all the warring countries to conclude an armistice immediately; at the same time, it considers desirable that this armistice should be conducted for a period of not less than three months—that is, a period during which it would be fully possible to terminate the negotiations for peace with the participation of the representatives of all peoples and nationalities drawn into the war or compelled to participate in it, as well as to call the plenipotentiary conventions of people's representatives of all countries for the final ratification of the terms of peace.

While addressing this proposal of peace to the Governments and peoples of all the warring countries, the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia appeals also in particular to the class-conscious workers of the three most forward nations of the world and the largest states participating in the present war—England, France, and Germany. The workers of these countries have been of the greatest service to the cause of progress and socialism. We have the great example of the Chartist movement in England, several revolutions which were of universal historic importance accomplished by the French proletariat, and finally the heroic struggle against the exclusive law in Germany and the prolonged, stubborn, disciplined work—a work setting an example for the workers of the whole world—of creating mass proletarian organisations in Germany. All these examples of proletarian heroism and historic creative work serve as a guarantee that the workers of the above-mentioned countries understand the duties which devolve upon them now in the cause of the liberation of humanity from the horrors of war and its consequences, a cause which these workers by their resolute and energetic activity will help us to bring to a successful end—the cause of peace, and, together with this, the cause of the liberation of the labouring and exploited.

*2. Note from R.S.F.S.R. People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to Allied Ambassadors. November 22nd, 1917*¹

I herewith have the honour to inform you, Mr. Ambassador, that the All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies organised on November 8th a new Government of the Russian Republic, the Council of People's Commissars. The chairman of this Government is Vlad mir Ilyich Lenin, and the direction of foreign policy is entrusted to me as the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

Calling your attention to the text of the proposed armistice and democratic peace without annexations and indemnities, and on the basis of self-determination of nations which was approved by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, I have the honour to request you to consider the above-mentioned document as a formal proposal for an immediate armistice on all fronts and the immediate opening of peace negotiations, with which proposal the plenipotentiary Government of the Russian Republic appeals simultaneously to all the warring peoples and their Governments.

Accept assurances, Mr. Ambassador, of the sincere respect of the Soviet Government for the people of the United States, who like all other people are worn out by this unexampled butchery and who cannot but aim for peace.

¹ No reply to this is recorded.

3. *Appeal by Council of People's Commissars for the R.S.F.S.R. to the people of the belligerent countries with a proposal to join in the negotiations for an armistice. Petrograd, November 28th, 1917*

In reply to our proposal for an immediate armistice on all fronts with a view to the conclusion of a democratic peace without annexations and contributions, and with a guarantee of the rights of national self-determination, the German High Command agreed to the conduct of peace negotiations. Krylenko, Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the Republic, proposed the postponement of the opening of negotiations for an armistice for five days, until December 1st, in order once again to invite the Allied Governments to define their attitude to the question of peaceful negotiations. Military action was suspended on the Russian front by mutual consent. Obviously there could be no transference of troops during those five days, on either side. The decisive step has been taken. The victorious Workers' and Peasants' Revolution in Russia brought the question of peace into the forefront of world attention. The period of vacillations, delays, and red-tape agreements is over. Now all Governments, all classes, all parties in all the belligerent countries are called upon to give a plain answer to the question: "Do you agree to join us on December 1st in negotiations for an immediate armistice and general peace?" The avoidance by the workers in field and factory of another winter campaign, with all its horrors and disasters, or the continuance of bloodshed in Europe, hangs upon their answer to this question. We, the Council of People's Commissars, appeal with this question to the Governments of our allies: France, Great Britain, Italy, the United States, Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, Japan, and China. We ask them, in the face of the whole world: "Will you begin peaceful negotiations with us from December 1st?" We, the Council of People's Commissars, appeal to the allied peoples and, first and foremost, to their toiling masses: "Will they consent to drag on with this pointless slaughter, and go blindly to the ruin of the whole of European culture?" We demand that the labour parties in the allied countries give an immediate answer to the question: "Do they want open peace negotiations on December 1st?" A plain question has been put. Soldiers, proletarians, toilers, peasants! Do you want to join us in a decisive step towards a people's peace?

We, the Council of People's Commissars, appeal to the toiling masses in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. The peace which we propose must be a people's peace. It must be an honest agreement, guaranteeing to each nation freedom for economic and cultural development. Such a peace can only be concluded by means of a direct and courageous struggle of the revolutionary masses against all imperialist plans and aggressive aspirations. The Workers' and Peasants' Revolution has already declared its peace programme. We have published the secret agreements of the Tsar and the bourgeoisie with the allies and have declared them not binding for the Russian people. We proposed to all nations openly to conclude a new agreement on the principles of consent and cooperation. The official and semiofficial representatives of the ruling classes in the allied countries replied to our proposal by a refusal to recognise the Soviet Government and enter into an agreement with it for peace negotiations. The Government of the victorious revolution does not

require recognition from the professional representatives of capitalist diplomacy, but we do ask the people: "Does reactionary diplomacy express your ideas and aspirations? Do the people agree to allow the diplomats to let the great opportunity for peace offered by the Russian Revolution slip through their fingers?" The answer to these questions must be given without delay, and it must be an answer in deeds and not merely in words. The Russian army and the Russian people cannot and will not wait longer. On December 1st we shall begin peace negotiations. If the Allied nations do not send their representatives, we shall carry on negotiations with the Germans alone. We want a general peace, but if the bourgeoisie in the allied countries force us to conclude a separate peace the whole responsibility will be theirs. Soldiers, workers, and peasants, in France, England and Italy, the United States, Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, Japan, and China! On December 1st peace negotiations will begin! We await your representatives! Act, without the loss of a single hour!

No more winter campaign!

Long live peace and the fraternity of nations!

*4. Appeal of Council of People's Commissars of the R. S. F. S. R.
to all Mohammedan Workers in Russia and the East.
December 7th, 1917*

Comrades! Brothers!

Great events are occurring in Russia! An end is drawing near to the murderous war, which arose out of the bargainings of foreign powers. The rule of the plunderers, exploiting the peoples of the world, is trembling. The ancient citadel of slavery and serfdom is cracking under the blows of the Russian Revolution. The world of violence and oppression is approaching its last days. A new world is arising, a world of the toilers and the liberated. At the head of this revolution is the Workers' and Peasants' Government in Russia, the Council of People's Commissars.

Revolutionary councils of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies are scattered over the whole of Russia. The power in the country is in the hands of the people. The toiling masses of Russia burn with the single desire to achieve an honest peace and help the oppressed people of the world to win their freedom.

Russia is not alone in this sacred cause. The mighty summons to freedom emitted by the Russian Revolution, has aroused all the toilers in the East and West. The people of Europe, exhausted by war, are already stretching out their hands to us, in our work for peace. The workers and soldiers of the West are already rallying around the banner of socialism, storming the strongholds of imperialism. Even far-off India, that land which has been oppressed by the European "torchbearers of civilisation" for so many centuries, has raised the standard of revolt, organising its councils of deputies, throwing the hated yoke of slavery from its shoulders, and summoning the people of the East to the struggle for freedom.

The sway of capitalist plunder and violence is being undermined. The ground is slipping from under the feet of the imperialist pillagers.

In the face of these great events, we appeal to you, toiling and dispossessed Mohammedan workers, in Russia and the East.

Mohammedans of Russia, Volga and Crimean Tartars, Kirghisi and Sarti in Siberia and Turkestan, Turcos and Tartars in the Trans-

Caucasus, Chechenzi and mountain Cossacks! All you, whose mosques and shrines have been destroyed, whose faith and customs have been violated by the Tsars and oppressors of Russia! Henceforward your faith and customs, your national and cultural departments, are declared free and inviolable! Organise your national life freely and unimpeded. It is your right. Know that your rights, like those of all the peoples of Russia, will be guarded by the might of the revolution and its organs, the Councils of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies!

Support this revolution and its representative Government!

Mohammedans of the East! Persians, Turks, Arabs and Indians! All you whose bodies and property, freedom and native land have been for centuries exploited by the European beasts of prey! All you whose countries the plunderers who began the war now desire to share among themselves! *We declare that the secret treaties of the deposed Tsar as to the annexation of Constantinople, confirmed by the late Kerensky Government—are now null and void. The Russian Republic, and its Government, the Council of People's Commissars, are opposed to the annexation of foreign lands: Constantinople must remain in the hands of the Mohammedans.*

We declare that the treaty for the division of Persia is null and void. Immediately after the cessation of military activities troops will be withdrawn from Persia and the Persians will be guaranteed the right of free self-determination.

We declare that the treaty for the division of Turkey and the subduction from it of Armenia, is null and void. Immediately after the cessation of military activities, the Armenians will be guaranteed the right of free self-determination of their political fate.

It is not from Russia and its revolutionary Government that you have to fear enslavement, but from the robbers of European imperialism, from those who have laid your native lands waste and converted them into their colonies.

Overthrow these robbers and enslavers of your lands! Now, when war and ruin are breaking down the pillars of the old world, when the whole world is burning with indignation against the imperialist brigands, when the least spark of indignation bursts out in a mighty flame of revolution, when even the Indian Mohammedans, oppressed and tormented by the foreign yoke, are rising in revolt against their slave-drivers—now it is impossible to keep silent. Lose no time in throwing off the yoke of the ancient oppressors of your land! Let them no longer violate your hearths! You must yourselves be masters in your own land! You yourselves must arrange your life as you yourselves see fit! You have the right to do this, for your fate is in your own hands!

Comrades! Brothers!

Advance firmly and resolutely towards an honest, democratic peace!

We bear the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world on our banners!

Mohammedans in Russia!

Mohammedans in the East!

We look to you for sympathy and support in the work of renewing of the world!

5. *Appeal from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the R. S. F. S. R. to the Toiling, Oppressed, and Exhausted Peoples of Europe. December 19th, 1917*

An armistice has been signed in Brest-Litovsk. Military operations on the Eastern front have been suspended for twenty-eight days. This alone is a tremendous victory for humanity. After nearly three and a half years of uninterrupted slaughter, with no issue in sight, the workers' and peasants' revolution in Russia has opened the way to peace.

We have published the secret treaties. We shall continue publishing them in the near future. We have declared that these treaties will in no way bind the policy of the Soviet Government. We have suggested to all nations the way of open agreement on the principle of recognition for each nation, great or small, advanced or backward, the right to free self-determination of its own fate. We do not attempt to conceal the fact that we do not consider the existing capitalist Governments capable of a democratic peace. Only the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses against the existing Governments can bring Europe nearer to such a peace. Its full realisation can only be guaranteed by the victorious proletarian revolution in all capitalist countries.

The Council of People's Commissars, while entering into negotiations with the existing Governments, penetrated as are both sides with imperialist tendencies, has never for a moment turned from the path of social revolution. A true, democratic people's peace will still have to be struggled for. The first round in this struggle finds in power, everywhere except Russia, the old monarchist and capitalist Governments which were responsible for the present war, and which have not yet accounted before their duped peoples for the waste of blood and treasure. We are forced to begin negotiations with those Governments which still exist at the present moment, just as, on the other hand, the monarchist and reactionary Governments of the Central Powers are forced to carry on negotiations with the representatives of the Soviet Government, because the Russian people have confronted them with the fact of a Workers' and Peasants' Government in Russia. In negotiating for peace the Soviet Government has set itself a double task: first, to achieve the speediest possible cessation of the shameful and criminal slaughter which is laying Europe waste; and second, to assist with all means at our disposal the working class in all lands to overthrow the sway of capital and seize State power for the purpose of a democratic and socialist reconstruction of Europe and the whole of humanity.

An armistice has been signed on the Eastern front. But the war is going on on the other fronts. Peace negotiations are only just beginning. It should be clear to socialists in all countries, but especially to socialists in Germany, that there is an irreconcilable difference between the peace programme of the Russian workers and peasants and that of the German capitalists, land-owners and generals. If nothing but these two programmes were to meet, peace would obviously be impossible, for the Russian people have not overthrown the monarchy and bourgeoisie in their own land merely to bow before the monarchs and capitalists in other lands. Peace can only be brought nearer, realised and guaranteed, if the voice of the workers makes itself heard, firmly and resolutely, both in Germany

and in the lands of her allies. The German, Austro-Hungarian, Bulgarian and Turkish workers must oppose to the programme of imperialism brought forward by their ruling classes, their own revolutionary programme of agreement and cooperation between the toilers and exploited classes in all countries.

An armistice has been signed on one front only. Our delegation, after a long struggle, wrung out of the German Government an undertaking, as one of the conditions of the armistice, not to transfer troops to other fronts. Thus, those German troops which were situated between the Black Sea and the Baltic have had a month's respite from the gruesome nightmare of war. The Rumanian army also, against the will of the Rumanian Government, adhered to the armistice.¹ But on the French, Italian and all other fronts the war is still going on. The truce remains partial. The capitalist Governments fear peace, because they know they will have to reckon with their people. They are endeavouring to postpone the hour of their ultimate bankruptcy. Are the peoples willing to go on patiently enduring the criminal work of Stock Exchange cliques in France, Great Britain, Italy and the United States?

The capitalist Governments of these countries are masking their treacherous and venal calculations under phrases about eternal justice and the future society of nations. They do not want an armistice. They are fighting peace, but you, peoples of Europe, you, proletariat of France, Italy, England, Belgium, Serbia, you, our brothers in suffering and struggle, do not you, together with us, desire peace—an honest, democratic peace among nations?

Those who tell you that peace can only be guaranteed by victory are deceiving you. In the first place they have been unable, in the course of nearly three and a half years, to give you victory, and show no signs of doing so, should the war go on for years longer. And in the second place, if victory should appear possible for one side or another, it would only mean fresh violation of the weak by the strong, thus sowing the seeds of future wars.

Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, Poland, the Ukraine, Greece, Persia and Armenia can only be liberated by the workers in all belligerent and neutral countries, in the victorious struggle against all imperialists, and not by the victory of one of the coalitions.

We summon you to this struggle, workers of all countries! There is no other way. The crimes of the ruling, exploiting classes in this war have been countless. These crimes shriek for revolutionary revenge. Toiling humanity would be forswearing itself and its future if it continued humbly to bear on its shoulders the yoke of the imperialist bourgeoisie and militarists, with their Governments and their diplomacy.

We, the Council of People's Commissars, empowered by the Russian workers, peasants, soldiers, sailors, widows and orphans, summon you to the joint struggle with us for the immediate cessation of war on all fronts. May the news of the signing of the armistice in Brest-Litovsk ring like a tocsin for the soldiers and workers in all the belligerent countries.

Down with war! Down with its authors! The Governments opposing peace must be swept away, like the Governments masking

¹ An armistice between the Central Powers and Rumania was drawn up at Fokshani on December 9th, 1917.

aggressive intentions under phrases of peace. The workers and soldiers must tear the affairs of war and peace from the criminal hands of the bourgeoisie and take them into their own hands. We have the right to demand this from you, because this is what we have done in our own country. Such is the only path to salvation for you and for us. Close up your ranks, proletarians of all countries, under the flag of peace and the social revolution!

EXHIBIT No. 2

[Leningrad, *Gazette of the Temporary Workers and Peasants Government*, December 13, 1917. Ordinance Assigning 2,000,000 Roubles for the Needs of the International Revolutionary Movement]

Taking into consideration how Soviet authority stands upon the principle of international solidarity of the proletariat and the brotherhood of toilers of all countries and that only a struggle against war and imperialism on an international scale can lead to complete victory, the Soviet of People's Commissars deems it necessary to render every possible assistance, including financial aid, to the left, internationalist wing of the workers movement of all countries, whether these countries are at war with Russia or are allied with her or whether they are remaining neutral.

With this in mind, the Soviet of People's Commissars ordains the assigning of two million roubles for the needs of the revolutionary internationalist movement to be disbursed by foreign representatives of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.

President of the Soviet of People's Commissars, V. Ulyanov (Lenin); People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, L. Trotsky; Administrator of the Soviet of People's Commissars, Vlad. Bonch-Bruévitch; Secretary of the Soviet, N. Gorbounov.

In convincing his followers to accept very unfavorable peace terms at the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Lenin manifested no little genius for political leadership. Perhaps, even greater skill was demonstrated in his persuading them to adopt the agrarian program of a rival party, that of the Social Revolutionaries.¹ Lenin understood far better than did most leading Bolsheviks how the peasants, who constituted more than 80 percent of the population of Russia, had to be "neutralized" for the time being. Consequently, he decided not to nationalize the land, but to return it to the peasant mirs (villages), in which it would be held in common according to the system which had prevailed before the Stolypin Reform Act of 1906.² Soviet official history later explained Lenin's non-Marxist concessions to the peasantry as the result of a spontaneous mandate of the people.³

The following translation is a reprint of the one which appears in Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution*, vol. I, pp. 474-477.

¹ Chamberlin, *Russian Revolution*, I, pp. 325-327.

² Many Gordon, *Workers Before and After Lenin*, New York, Dutton, 1941, pp. 459-464, 491-493.

³ *History of CPSU(B)*, p. 209.

EXHIBIT No. 3

[*Izvestia*, November 8, 1917]DECREE ON LAND ADOPTED AT THE CONGRESS OF
SOVIETS ON NOVEMBER 8

1. The landlords' right of property in land is abolished immediately without any payment.

2. Landlords' estates, together with all Crown, monastery and Church lands, with all their livestock and machinery, buildings and everything that belongs to them, pass into the administration of the township Land Committees and of the county Soviets of Peasant Deputies until the meeting of the Constituent Assembly.

3. Any damaging of the confiscated property, which henceforward belongs to the whole people, is declared a grave offense, to be punished by the revolutionary court. The county Soviets of Peasant Deputies are to take all the necessary measures for the maintenance of the strictest order in the confiscation of the landlords' estates, for defining which parts are subject to confiscation, for making up a precise list of all confiscated property and for the strictest revolutionary guarding of all the landed property which is now passing over to the people, with all the buildings, machines, cattle, stores of food, etc.

The following peasant resolution, made up on the basis of 242 local peasant resolutions by the editors of the *Izvestia of the All-Russian Soviet of Peasant Deputies* and published in number 88 of this *Izvestia* (Petrograd, No. 88, August 19, 1917), must everywhere serve as guidance in the realization of the great reorganization of the land system.

The land problem, in its full scope, can be solved only by the popularly elected Constituent Assembly.

The most equitable solution of the land problem must be as follows:

1. The right of private property in land is forever abolished; land can be neither sold, nor bought, nor leased, nor pledged, nor alienated in any other way. All land, state, Crown, monastery, Church, which is owned by private persons, by public organizations, by peasants, etc., is taken away without compensation, becomes the property of the whole people and is transferred to the use of all those who work on it.

For those who suffer from this revolution in property only the right of public support during the period which is necessary for adaptation to the new conditions is recognized.

2. All the mineral resources of the earth, ore, oil, coal, salt, etc., and also forests and waters which are of general state significance pass into the exclusive possession of the state. All little streams, lakes, woods, etc., are transferred to the use of the peasant communities and are managed by the local institutions of selfgovernment.

3. Land sectors with a high degree of cultivation, gardens, plantations, model fields, orange-groves, etc., are not to be divided, but are to be transformed into model holdings and are to be handed over for the exclusive use of the state or of the local communities, depending upon the size and importance of the sectors.

Garden land in city and village, together with house gardens, remains for the use of its present owners. The size of such holdings and the amount of the tax for their use are defined by legislation.

4. State and private farms for breeding horses, blooded stock, poultry, etc., are confiscated, turned into public property and are transferred to the exclusive use either of the state or of the community, depending on the size and importance of the farms.

5. Problems of purchase are to be considered by the Constituent Assembly. All the property, both livestock and material, of the confiscated land is transferred to the exclusive use of the state or of the community, depending upon its amount and its importance, without compensation.

The confiscation of property does not affect peasants with little land.

6. The right to use the land belongs to all citizens of the Russian state (without distinction of sex) who desire to farm it with their own labor, with the help of their families or in cooperative groups, and only so long as they are able to farm it themselves. Hired labor is not permitted.

In the event that any member of a village community is accidentally incapacitated the community, for a period of two years, until his working capacity is restored, is bound to come to his help by farming his land by common labor.

Farmers who have forever lost the ability to till their land, as a result of old age or illness, lose the right to farm the land, but receive in exchange a pension from the state.

7. The use of land must be on an equalized basis. The land must be distributed among those who work on it, according to local conditions, in accordance with a working or consuming norm.

The forms of using the land must be completely free. The land may be tilled individually, or by small or large communities, or by coöperative groups, as each village and settlement may decide.

All land, after it has been alienated, passes into a general people's land reserve. Local and central bodies of administration, beginning with democratically organized classless village and town communities and ending with central regional institutions, supervise the distribution of the land among those who work on it.

The land reserve is subject to periodic redistribution, depending upon the growth of the population and the improved productivity and quality of the farming.

When the boundaries of allotments are changed the first nucleus of the allotment must remain untouched.

The land of members who pass out of the village community goes back into the land reserve. The nearest relatives of the persons who have withdrawn from the society and persons whom the latter have designated possess a preferential right to receive allotments.

The value of fertilizer and of basic improvements on the land, inasmuch as they have not been used up, must be paid for when an allotment is given back into the land reserve.

If in some places the available land reserve is insufficient to satisfy the entire local population the surplus population should be transferred elsewhere.

The state must assume responsibility for the organization of this transfer, including the expenses of moving, of supply with machinery, etc.

The transfer is carried out in the following order: first, landless peasants who desire to move, the porochni members of the community, desertiers, etc., finally, by lot or by agreement.

Everything contained in this order, as an expression of the absolute will of the enormous majority of the classconscious peasants of all Russia, is declared a temporary law, which, until the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, is to be put into practise immediately when possible, in some of its parts with that necessary gradualness which must be defined by the county Soviets of Peasants' Deputies. The lands of ordinary peasants and rank-and-file Cossacks are not confiscated.

PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS,
VLADIMIR ULIANOV-Lenin.

When Lenin ordered the land to be returned to the collective peasant holdings known as *mir*s (villages), he expected that a plentiful supply of food would be produced to meet the needs of the urban proletariat and the army fighting the Soviet war against the White Guardists. Civil war, however, seldom provides a condition favorable to increased agricultural production. Besides, the redistribution of land held privately by "rich" peasants quickly destroyed personal initiative.¹ And the chaotic disorganization of industry and trade under the Bolshevik program of war communism left nothing which the peasants could buy. The inevitable reaction set in. Peasants produced barely enough food for their own sustenance.

In order to obtain the agricultural commodities which he desperately needed, Lenin established committees of the poor.² These latter were sent out to dispossess the peasants of all hoarded provisions. By turning poor peasants against "rich" ones, the Bolshevik leaders hoped to neutralize the largest single group of the Russian population and, at the same time, to implant in the countryside the concept of class warfare. However, rather than cooperate with a regime which had promised them bread, land, and peace and had given instead chaos and expropriation, the peasants deliberately slaughtered much of their livestock. They also refused to till the fields. By 1921 this rural anti-Bolshevik sitdown strike, together with adverse weather conditions, brought a major famine to the Soviet Union. According to official Bolshevik admissions, approximately 5 million people died of epidemic and starvation.³

The following translation is reprinted from Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution*, volume I, 509-511.

EXHIBIT No. 4

[*Izvestia*, May 14, 1918]

DECREE OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN SOVIET CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE GIVING THE FOOD COMMISSARIAT EXTRAORDINARY POWERS IN COMBATING THE VILLAGE BOURGEOISIE, WHICH IS CONCEALING AND SPECULATING WITH GRAIN RESERVES, OF MAY 9, 1918

The ruinous breakdown in the country's food supply, the disastrous inheritance of four years of war, continues to spread and to become more aggravated. While the consuming provinces are starving, there are now, as formerly, large reserves of grain which has not even been milled, from the harvests of 1916 and 1917, in the producing provinces. This grain is in the hands of the kulaks and the rich, in the hands of the village bourgeoisie. Well fed and provided for, having accumulated immense sums of money during the years of war, the village bourgeoisie remains stubbornly deaf and indifferent to the cries of the starving workers and poor peasants, does not bring grain to the

¹ James Mavor (University of Toronto), *The Russian Revolution*, New York, Macmillan, 1928, pp. 387-389.

² Chamberlin, *Russian Revolution*, II, 43-44.

³ Nicholas S. Timasheff (Fordham University), *The Great Retreat*, New York, Dutton, 1946, p. 287. N. M. Borodin, *One Man in His time*, London, Constable, 1955, Chapter 2: King Famine.

collection points. It counts on forcing the Government to make new and further increases in grain prices and at the same time sells grain in its own places at fabulous prices to grain speculators and bagmen.

There must be an end of this stubbornness of the greedy village Kulaks and rich. Experience with the food problem in preceding years has shown that the breakdown of fixed prices for grain and the abolition of the grain monopoly, while it would make it possible for a handful of our capitalists to feast, would place grain absolutely out of reach for millions of the workers and would condemn them to an unavoidable death from hunger. To the violence of the owners of the grain against the starving poor the answer must be: violence against the bourgeoisie. Not one pood of grain must remain in the hands of its holders, except for the amount required for the sowing of their fields and the feeding of their families until the new harvest.

And this must be carried out immediately, especially after the occupation of Ukraina by the Germans, when we are forced to satisfy ourselves with grain resources which scarcely suffice for seeding and cut down the food supply.

Having considered the situation which has arisen and taking account of the fact that only with the strictest account and even distribution of all bread resources will Russia get out of the food crisis the All-Russian Soviet Executive Committee decided:

1. Affirming the unalterable character of the grain monopoly and of the fixed prices and also the necessity for a merciless struggle with the grain speculators and bagmen, to force every owner of grain to declare for delivery within a week after the announcement of this decision in every township all the surplus above the amount required for the seeding of the fields and for personal use, according to the established scales, until the new harvest. The order of these declarations is determined by the Food Commissariat through the local food organizations.

2. To call on all the working and unpropertied peasants to unite immediately for a merciless war against the kulaks.

3. To declare all who possess surplus grain and do not take it to the delivery points and also those who dissipate the grain reserves in making home-brewed liquor enemies of the people. To hand them over to a revolutionary court, with the provision that those who are found guilty should be condemned to imprisonment for not less than ten years, and should be driven forever from their village community, all their property being confiscated. The makers of liquor should also be condemned to forced labor.

4. In the event that someone is discovered with surplus grain which was not declared for delivery, according to Paragraph 1, the grain is taken away from him without compensation and the value of the undeclared surplus, reckoned in fixed prices, is paid half to the person who points out the hidden surplus and half to the village community, after the grain has actually been brought to the delivery points. Reports of hidden surplus stocks are to be made to the local food organizations.

Then, taking into consideration the facts that the struggle with the food crisis demands the application of quick and decisive measures, that the most effective carrying out of these measures, in turn, demands the centralization of all orders relating to food in a single institution and that this institution is the Food Commissariat, the

All-Russia Soviet Central Executive Committee decides to give the Food Commissariat the following powers, to make possible a more successful struggle against the food crisis:

1. To promulgate compulsory decisions on food which go beyond the usual limits of the competence of the Food Commissariat.

2. To repeal the decisions of local food organizations and other bodies and institutions which contradict the plans and the information of the Food Commissariat.

3. To demand from institutions and organizations of all departments the unconditional and immediate execution of the orders of the Food Commissariat on the food question.

4. To apply armed force in the event that resistance is shown to the taking away of grain or other food products.

5. To dissolve or reorganize the local food organizations if they oppose the orders of the Food Commissariat.

6. To dismiss, replace, bring to revolutionary trial, arrest all holders of posts, employees of all departments and public organizations if they interfere with the orders of the Food Commissariat in a disorganizing way.

7. To transmit these powers (with the exception of the right to arrest, Point 6) to other persons and local institutions, with the approval of the Council of People's Commissars.

8. All those measures of the Food Commissariat which, by their nature, are connected with the departments of railroad transportation and of the Supreme Economic Council are put into effect in contact with the corresponding departments.

9. The decisions and orders of the Food Commissariat, issued in virtue of the present full powers, are examined by the Collegium of the Food Commissariat, which has the right, without stopping the execution of the orders, to lodge complaints about them with the Council of People's Commissars.

The present decree comes into force from the day of its signature and is put into effect by telegraph.

PRESIDENT OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN SOVIET CENTRAL
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Y. SVERDLOV,

PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS, V. ULIANOV (LENIN),

SECRETARY OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN SOVIET CENTRAL
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, AVANESOV.

"War Communism" was the official title given to the earliest Bolshevik efforts to operate the banks, industries, transportation, public utilities, etc., which had been expropriated by the November 1917 revolution.¹ Actually, the Bolshevik leaders from Lenin down the line were extremely unprepared to manage industrial and financial enterprises. They would have failed completely except for the fact that Lenin possessed sufficient non-Marxist flexibility to exploit the services of czarist administrative personnel.² Inspiration for the policy of war communism grew largely out of a misinterpretation of the manner in which Germany had regulated its economic system during World War I.³ The following exhibit presents an official postwar evaluation of this first Soviet experiment with a state-controlled economy.

¹ *History of CPSU (B)*, pp. 220-221, 248-252.

² David J. Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia*. Translated by Joseph Shaplen, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1945, pp. 90, 114-115, 121-125.

³ Harry Schwartz (Maxwell School of Citizenship, Syracuse University), *Russia's Soviet Economy*, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1950, pp. 100-101, 111-112, 398. Timasheff, *Great Retreat*, pp. 108-111.

EXHIBIT No. 5

[Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1950. A. Arakelian, *Industrial Management in U. S. S. R.* Translated by Ellsworth L. Raymond, Assistant Professor of Soviet Government and Economics, New York University. Pp. 52-56, 60-62.

ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS OF INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT IN 1917-1920

Among the first and most important organizational measures of Soviet power in the sphere of industry was the creation of worker control, and of the Supreme Council of National Economy (VSNKH). As early as immediately after the February revolution, in the spring of 1917, worker control over production in many enterprises arose upon the initiative of the Bolsheviks. The slogan for worker control was put forth by the Bolshevik Party in opposition to the slogan of the Provisional Government concerning state control; i. e., concerning control by the bourgeoisie and not by the working class. The tasks of worker control then consisted of preserving the country's production forces, assuring the normal course of production, and of repulsing the provocations of capitalists, who by sabotaging and undermining attempted to create economic catastrophe. The capitalists likewise attempted to put an end to the democracy of the Soviets and any proletarian unions, to facilitate a return to reactionary monarchy, and to restore the power of the landowners and bourgeoisie. One of the most important tasks of worker control in the pre-October period was preparation of the wide toiling masses for the full seizure of power.

Before the October Revolution, worker control struggled against entrepreneurs' plundering of property and valuables of factories, but after the revolution it became the basic regulator of industry. The decree of the USSR Central Executive Committee of November 14, 1917, concerning worker control stipulated that: "In the interest of the planned regulation of national economy, worker control is introduced over the production, purchase, sale and storage of products and raw materials, as well as over the financial aspect of enterprises, at all industrial, commercial, banking, agricultural, transport, and cooperative companies and sundry enterprises having hired workers or issuing work to be done at home." This same decree on worker control set forth the tasks of coordination and relationship of its activity with the institutions related to the organization and administration of all production.

The organs of worker control had the right to watch over all segments of the production activity of an enterprise, to fix the enterprise's production norms, to ascertain the cost of production, control the factory correspondence, and so forth. Worker control played an enormous role in establishing reliable accounting and control of production and distribution, in improving labor productivity, and in fighting sabotage by entrepreneurs.

Worker control was accomplished by all workers of the enterprise through factory committees. These committees also included representatives of the office employees and technicians.

The local agencies of worker control were directly subordinate to a Council of Worker Control, an affiliate of the Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies of the given city or industrial center. The council was organized from representatives of the trade unions, factory committees, and worker cooperatives.

An All-Russian Council of Worker Control was formed to unify the work of the entire country, and to fulfill the tasks of the highest agency for worker control. This council consisted of representatives from the USSR Central Executive Committee, the USSR Central Council of Trade Unions, the All-Russian Center of Workers' Cooperatives, the All-Russian Bureau of Factory Committees, the All-Russian Union of Engineers and Technicians, each production labor union, and from the Petrograd Trade Union Council.

Decisions of the agencies of worker control were obligatory for the owners of enterprises, and the latter were held criminally responsible in the event of nonfulfillment of these decisions. Resolutions of the factory committees; i. e., of the primary (local) organs of worker control, could be appealed within the first week to higher organs of worker control. In such concrete cases, the decision of the higher organ was final and obligatory of fulfillment.

Sabotage by the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie took the most varied forms. The owners of enterprises provoked conflicts with the workers. Enormous stocks of goods were accumulated at factories and mills, while goods needed on the markets were lacking. For the purpose of speculation, many entrepreneurs practiced the exchange of their own manufactures for objects of prime necessity, and accumulated reserves, depriving consumers of necessary goods. This shows how great was the necessity of real worker control over the production and distribution of goods.

In the first months after the October Socialist Revolution, worker control was frequently converted into worker management of production. In truth, the owners of enterprises were not yet eliminated from participation in the work of their enterprises, but were under the control of the workers of the enterprise, and their revenues were restricted and rationed. Decisions of the agencies of worker control were obligatory for the owners of enterprises, and could be changed only by a resolution of the higher agencies of worker control. At the first stage of development of our industry, entrepreneurs were not immediately removed from the management of production, because it was necessary to use the experience of the enterprise owners in organizing production, and not to disrupt the financing of production.

Under enormous difficulties caused not only by the disintegration of the national economy but also by the fierce struggle against foreign and internal enemies of the working class, worker control played a great role in organizing production on a new Soviet basis. It emerged as the first form of organization of the management of production in a situation of acute class struggle in the days when the agencies of the Soviet republic were being formed. The development of worker control resulted in converting its organs into organs for the "full regulation of production."

Worker control represented an embryo of the agencies of industrial administration by the working class, agencies which finally replaced the capitalist administration of enterprises. Lenin wrote that worker control is a measure which is obligatory "for any socialist or worker government." Thanks to worker control, the workers *learned direct management of production.*

The enemies of Soviet power fought furiously against worker control. In November 1917, the mineowners of the Urals decided that enterprises, at which worker control was to be established, should

not be financed. A meeting of mineowners of the Urals sent an order to all factory managements that no money should be issued to factories and that, if worker control was introduced in a factory, the factory should be closed.

High officials of the State Bank sabotaged the issuance of funds to the Council of People's Commissars for the needs of the revolution, and delayed the payment of salaries to workers of Petrograd factories and mills.

The control of the country's financial centers—the State Bank and large private banks—played an important role in strengthening worker control. On November 20 (7), 1917, an armed detachment of the Revolutionary War Committee seized the State Bank, and on December 14, 1917 the remaining banks were nationalized.

Nationalization of the banks provided an opportunity to accomplish the entire business of crediting, financing and accounting, as well as to place the utilization of currency issuance under the control of the proletarian state. Thus prerequisites were created for using monetary circulation as an instrument for regulating and planning national economy in conformity with the tasks of the dictatorship of the working class.

However, even after the nationalization of the banks, the owners of enterprises continued to offer stubborn resistance to the introduction of worker control.

Sabotage, lack of desire to recognize worker control and the flight of entrepreneurs dictated the only political and economic measure feasible—nationalization of enterprises. Without this, it was impossible to solve the economic tasks of Soviet power.

Thus, the administration of the Russo-Belgian Metallurgical Company, not desiring to be subordinated to worker control, proclaimed the liquidation of the enterprise from January 18 (5), 1918. Noting the obvious sabotage by the entrepreneurs, the Council of People's Commissars decreed: "The mines, factories, all draft animals and inventory shall be confiscated both on the territory of the Petrovsk Metallurgical Factory, the Sofia, Vorovsk, Bungovsk and Narnevsik mines, as well as in Petrograd, and in general all property, regardless of what it is and where it is located—in Russia or abroad, belonging to the Russo-Belgian Metallurgical Company is proclaimed to be the property of the Russian republic."

After the Great October Socialist Revolution, partial nationalization of industrial enterprises occurred up to June 1918. In a number of places, nationalization of industrial enterprises was accomplished on the initiative and by demand of the workers through the local organs of authority. During this period, 513 industrial enterprises were nationalized.

Systematic nationalization of industry began from the moment of issuance of the nationalization decree, i. e., from June 28, 1918. It progressed in proportion to the readiness of local agencies and worker organizations to master the given enterprise. First, the most important branches of production and comparatively large enterprises were nationalized. Nationalization of industry became fully and actually complete by the end of 1920, when all industrial enterprises with more than five workers and motive power, or more than 10 without motive power, were officially nationalized. According to data from the industrial census of 1920, 37,000 industrial enterprises

were in the hands of the state. Of them 24,790 or 67%, were small enterprises with less than 15 workers apiece.

The nationalization of industrial enterprises in the country, and the organization of work anew at factories and mills—declared property of the republic—were accomplished by the state agency for administration and planning of production, the Supreme Council of National Economy (VSNKH). This unified sector of the economic administrative apparatus was created by a decree of December 18 (5), 1917.

The Supreme Council of National Economy was the first economic apparatus of the Soviet state. Having eliminated the old ministries, Soviet power created a new state apparatus of administration—the People's Commissariats, of which the most important center of economic management was the Supreme Council of National Economy.

The decree about the Supreme Council of National Economy stipulated that its basic task was the organization of the national economy and of state finances. For this purpose, the Supreme Council of National Economy worked out the general norms and plans for regulating the country's economic life, and coordinated and unified the activity of the central and local institutions of regulation (fuel, metal and transport conferences, the Central Food Committee, and so forth), the appropriate People's Commissariats (for Trade, Food, Finance, and so forth), the All-Russian Council of Worker Control, as well as the appropriate activity of the factory trade union organizations of the working class.

* * * * *

During the years of the Civil War, enterprises were completely deprived of their independence. The decisive and leading role in industrial management was played by the central committees of the Supreme Council for National Economy. During 1918–1920, industrial management was characterized by *harsh centralization*. The production of enterprises was issued without payment in accordance with centralized orders. The supply of raw materials, fuel, and so forth, also operated by order according to a centralized procedure. Such methods of maximum centralization of industrial management, and concentration of complete power in the central committees in regulating the resources of enterprises were caused by the general conditions of the Civil War, which required urgent and exact fulfillment of every military task with extremely limited resources.

During the years of the Civil War against the interventionists and White Guards, the central committees played a great role in the struggle to consolidate the gains of the socialist revolution. They ensured that industry was pulled together and production organized primarily for the supply of combat units of the Red Army. But along with this good work, the central committees also had negative features: the extreme centralization of administration resulted in the intensification of bureaucracy in management, strong limitation of the rights of enterprise directors and local economic organs, restriction of their initiative and maneuverability, and so forth. These negative aspects of the central committees emerged particularly strongly after the successful termination of the Civil War at the very start of peacetime construction.

The Civil War and intervention heavily reflected on the condition of the national economy. The shortages of fuel, raw materials and food, the interruptions of supply because of the disorder of transport, the general disorder of enterprises, exhaustion of machines and equipment, decrease in skilled workers, and so forth, all resulted in a strong decline of production in the branches of industry.

Under these circumstances heroic efforts of the working class and its vanguard, the Bolshevik Party, were necessary to cope with the economic and political tasks, and to assure victorious completion of the war against foreign interventionists and counter-revolutionary armies.

The clearest example of labor enthusiasm displayed by workers during this period was the Communist *subbotnik** (collective voluntary work in free time). This began when the Communists and sympathetic workers of the Moscow-Kazan railway decided to work for victory over counter-revolution without sparing their strength and health. They resolved to conduct Communist *subbotniks*—to work five hours on Saturday of each week, without pay, until victory over counter-revolution had been achieved.

The first *subbotnik* was held on May 10, 1919, by the workers of the Moscow-Kazan railway. Workers in other enterprises also followed their example, and labor productivity during *subbotniks* was two or three times greater than usual.

Lenin attached exceptionally great importance to Communist *subbotniks*, and supported them in every way. He considered them the beginning of accomplishment of the Communist method of building up socialism, and a beginning of "... unusually great importance. This is the beginning of a change which is more difficult, more substantial, more basic and more decisive than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, because this is a victory over natural stagnation, pride and petty-bourgeois egotism, as well as over the habits which accrued capitalism left to the inheritance of the workers and peasant." Lenin further noted that the organization of public labor under conditions of serfdom is maintained by discipline of the stick, under capitalism by the discipline of hunger, and under the circumstances of socialist construction by the free and conscientious discipline of toilers.

Under the most difficult conditions, progressive workers improved labor productivity, unselfishly overcoming difficulties and caring for increasing the riches of the Soviet republic. Lenin viewed the growth of labor productivity of Soviet workers as a pledge of the victory of socialism. He heightened the attention of party and economic agencies with regard to the necessity of organizing labor on a new basis, developing socialist competition, and involving the broad masses of the workers in organizational and administrative work.

Technical norms were of great importance in the struggle for the new discipline and organization of labor. Technical norms bureaus (TNB) were formed in enterprises at the beginning of 1918. All-Russian agencies for norms arose for the purpose of uniform direction of norm-setting, drafting instructions on norm-setting methods and on systems of pay, and so forth. The first organization of this type was the All-Russian Council for Work Norms in the metallurgical industry, created during the latter part of 1918 as an affiliate of the central committee of the metallurgists' trade union. In 1921, a

*From the Russian word *Subbota*, "Saturday"—Ed.

conference was convened for the first time on problems of scientific organization of labor with representatives of various branches of production participating.

Thus, starting from the first days of the existence of the Soviet state, its organs were confronted with problems of the organization of labor on a new basis in individual enterprises and on a public scale, as well as with the task of ". . . creating a higher public contribution than capitalism, namely: raising labor productivity, and improving its organization in this connection (and for this purpose).'" Under exceptionally difficult conditions and with fierce resistance from foreign and domestic enemies, the toilers of the land of the Soviets made a great step forward in solving this task even during 1917-1920.

ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS OF INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT DURING 1921-1925

Victory did not come easily in the Civil War. The country was laid waste by four years of imperialist war and three years of war against the interventionists.

In 1920, agricultural production totaled only half of the prewar figure.

The output of largescale industry in 1920 was almost down to one-seventh of prewar. Transport was ruined. There was an acute shortage in the country of the necessary consumers' goods. In addition, many provinces had a bad harvest in 1920, and particularly in 1921.

During the years of the Civil War and foreign intervention, the Soviet state was compelled to take all surplus food from the peasants for allotments for the needs of national defense.

As long as the war continued, the peasantry agreed to food allotments and did not notice the shortage of goods, but when the war had ended and the threat of the return of the landowners had passed, the peasants began to express their dissatisfaction with the system of food allotments, i. e., the removal of the entire surplus.

At the beginning of 1921, the Party was confronted with the problem of working out new economic aims in conformity with the new situation.

The Tenth Party Congress, which was convened in March, 1921 under the direct leadership of V. I. Lenin, made decisions to transfer from a policy of food allotments to a food tax, and to change to a new economic policy (NEP).

Within a few months after the Bolshevik seizure of power, Lenin had established (December 20, 1917) the system of organized terror which he regarded as an indispensable adjunct to his "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat." The first name by which this secret police system came to be known was the Cheka or Extraordinary Committee for Combating Counterrevolutionary Sabotage. In 1922, it was renamed the OGPU or State Political Administration. By July 1934, OGPU had become the NKVD or Commissariat of Internal Affairs. A further reorganization took place in April 1943. The two ensuing organizations came, in 1946, to be known as the MGB or Ministry of State Security and the MVD or Ministry of Internal Affairs. After the death of Stalin in March 1953, the MGB and MVD were consolidated into a single MVD.¹ Following Beria's

¹ Merle Fainsod, *How Russia is Ruled*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, Chapter 13: Terror as a System of Power. Vladimir Gsovski, *Soviet Civil Law*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Law School, 1948, I, 233-240. David J. Dallin and Boris I. Nicolaevsky, *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1947. More recent information on slave labor in the U. S. S. R. can be found in Dallin's *Changing World of Soviet Russia*, pp. 149-168.

execution in December 1953, Malenkov ordered (April 27, 1954) another division of the Soviet Secret Police into the MVD and KGB (Board of State Security).²

No matter what the change of titles and initials the organization has itself always been motivated by a spirit of savage repression. At no other time in history has there been a more effective instrument for the degradation and eventual destruction of the individual human personality. If the Nazis had retained power for a sufficiently long period, their Gestapo might have surpassed the Soviet system of secret police in world-embracing ruthlessness. Unfortunately, for the peoples of the Soviet Union and the satellite countries, the Soviet Secret Police is more efficient than ever.

Exhibit No. 6 is reprinted from a collection made by James H. Meisel, assistant professor of political science at the University of Michigan, and Edward S. Kozera of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.³ This work contains no less than 167 Soviet documents translated in whole or part and covering the years 1917 to 1950. Exhibit No. 7 appears in Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution*, volume I, 473-475. It illustrates one facet of Soviet capacity for political expediency. While not in the least questioning its "right" to use terror, the Cheka here counsels moderation in view of possible disruption of the Bolshevik schedule for world revolution.⁴

EXHIBIT No. 6

[*Pravda*, December 20, 1917]

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION TO FIGHT COUNTER-REVOLUTION

The Commission is to be named the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission and is to be attached to the Soviet of People's Commissars. (This commission) is to make war on counter-revolution and sabotage. . .

The duties of the Commission will be:

1. To persecute and break up all acts of counter-revolution and sabotage all over Russia, no matter what their origin.

2. To bring before the Revolutionary Tribunal all counter-revolutionists and saboteurs and to work out a plan for fighting them.

3. To make preliminary investigation only—enough to break up (the counter-revolutionary act). The Commission is to be divided into sections: (a) the information (section), (b) the organization section (in charge of organizing the fight against counter-revolution all over Russia) with branches, and (c) the fighting section.

The Commission will be formed tomorrow (December 21). . . The commission is to watch the press, saboteurs, strikers, and the Socialist-Revolutionists of the Right. Measures (to be taken against these counter-revolutionists are) confiscation, confinement, deprivation of (food) cards, publication of the names of the enemies of the people, etc.

² E. H. Cookridge, *Soviet Spy Net*, London, Muller, n. d. (1954 or 1955), p. x. Cookridge's book contains a very detailed description of the organization, training programs, and worldwide activities of the Soviet Secret Police. It also summarizes the history of many famous espionage cases. On the other hand, its general competence is marred by a few hysterical outcries against congressional "witch hunting" (pp. 249-251).

³ *Materials for the Study of the Soviet System*. Edited by James H. Meisel and Edward S. Kozera, Ann Arbor, Wahr, 1950, pp. 35-36.

⁴ For a review of foreign activities of the Cheka, see David J. Dallin, *Soviet Espionage*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1955, Chapter I: Origins of Soviet Espionage.

EXHIBIT No. 7

[*Bulletin of the Cheka*, September 1918]

WHY ARE YOU SOFT?

"The exposed British diplomatic representative [Lockhart] in great confusion left the building of the Cheka."—*Izvestia* of the All-Russian Soviet Executive Committee for September 3.

Revolution is a teacher. It showed us that in times of fierce civil war you cannot be soft. We felt on our backs what it means to release the Krasnovs, Kolchaks, Alekseevs, Denikins and Co. We also saw from the example of the murder of Volodarsky what it means to be merciful with the "domestic" counterrevolution. And we declared mass terror against our enemies and, after the murder of Comrade Uritzky and the wounding of our dear leader, Comrade Lenin, we decided to make this mass terror not a paper thing, but a reality. Mass shootings of hostages took place in many cities after this. And this was good. In such a business half measures are the worst of all; they exasperate the enemy without weakening him.

But here we read about one action of the Cheka which grossly contravenes all our tactics.

Lockhart, the very man who did everything in order to blow up the Soviet regime, in order to destroy our leaders, who scattered British millions on bribes, who unquestionably knew very much that it is important for us to know,—is released, and in *Izvestia* we read the following mild lines: "Lockhart [after his rôle had been exposed] left the Cheka in great confusion."

What a victory of the revolution! What frightful terror! Now we can be confident that the scoundrels from the British and French Missions will cease to organize plots. For Lockhart left the Cheka "in great confusion."

We say this outright: the Cheka, screening itself with "terrible words" about mass terror has still not got away from petty-bourgeois ideology, the cursed inheritance from the pre-revolutionary past.

Tell us, why didn't you subject this Lockhart to the most refined tortures, in order to get information and addresses, of which such a bird must have had very many? So you could easily have revealed a number of counterrevolutionary organizations, perhaps you could have even destroyed the possibility of financing them in the future, which would unquestionably have been equivalent to their destruction. Tell us why, instead of subjecting him to tortures, the mere description of which would have instilled cold terror into the counter-revolutionists, tell us why, instead of this, you permitted him to "leave" the Cheka in great confusion? Or do you suppose that to inflict terrible tortures upon a man is more inhuman than to blow up bridges and food stores in order to find in the pangs of hunger an ally for the overthrow of the Soviet regime? Or, perhaps, it was necessary to permit him "to leave the Cheka in great confusion" in order not to provoke the rage of the British Government.

But this last assumption would imply a complete renunciation of the Marxist viewpoint in foreign policy. It must be clear to every one of us that the British pressure on us depends *only* on the free

forces at the disposal of the British imperialists and on the internal condition of that country. The British press on us as much as they can, and this pressure cannot be increased as a result of the tortures of Lockhart.

So far as the internal situation is concerned, it is to our interest to direct the eyes of the working masses of England to the disgusting conduct of their "representative." Let every British worker know that the official representative of his country was engaged in such affairs that it was necessary to put him to the torture. And it may confidently be said that the workers will not approve of the system of explosions and bribery, carried out by this scoundrel, who was directed by a scoundrel of higher rank.

Enough of being soft; put aside this unworthy play at "diplomacy" and "representation."

A dangerous scoundrel has been caught. Get out of him what you can and send him to the other world.

Signed by the President of the Nolinsk Committee of the Russian Communist Party, the President of the Nolinsk Extraordinary Staff for Struggle Against Counterrevolution, the Secretary of the Staff, the Nolinsk Military Commissar and Member of the Staff.

Nolinsk, Vyatka Province.

September, 1918.

Comment: Not at all objecting in substance to this letter, we should only like to point out to the comrades who sent it and reproached us with mildness that the "despatching to the other world of base intriguers" representing "foreign peoples" is not at all in our interest.

Lenin's *Letter to American Workers* was written too early (August 20, 1918) to justify its inclusion in section E (The Communist International and the United States). Throughout the years, however, it has been highly esteemed by American Communists. No less authority than the author of the official history of Communist activities in the United States assures us that Lenin's letter has always served the party as a practical guide to action.¹ From this directive, Communists in the United States began to learn how to adapt the lessons of the Bolshevik revolution to labor conditions in this country. Lenin's attack upon Samuel Gompers was, from the Communist viewpoint, fully justified. Right from the start, AFL leadership made life difficult for Communist agitators in this country. Gompers was the better known author of one of the earliest exposures of slave labor conditions in the Soviet Union.²

EXHIBIT No. 8

[New York, International Publishers, 1935. Second printing: 100,000. V. I. Lenin, *A Letter to American Workers*]

INTRODUCTION

When the October Revolution was less than a year old, August 20, 1918, Lenin submitted a written report to the American workers on the progress of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia and the obstacles which were still in the way of complete victory.

Remembering the revolutionary traditions of the American working class and believing that "the American revolutionary proletarians

¹ Foster, *History of CPUSA*, pp. 151-152.

² Samuel Gompers and William English Walling, *Out of their Own Mouths: A Revelation and Indictment of Sovietism*, New York, Dutton, 1921. Chapter V: Slavery and Compulsory Labor. See also a much more recent AFL indictment of Russian communist conduct: *Slave Labor in Russia: The Case Presented by the American Federation of Labor to the United Nations*, Washington, American Federation of Labor, 1949.

are destined now to play an especially important rôle as irreconcilable foes of American imperialism." Lenin proceeded to explain the imperialist nature of the war which was still raging, the rapacious imperialist designs of the ruling classes of the warring nations, including the American, and the attempts of the capitalist governments to destroy the young Soviet Republic. In flaming words he showed how the Allies as well as the Central Powers were carrying on the wholesale slaughter for the division of spoils, for profits from the markets and colonies which would go to the victorious imperialist group.

In words full of scorn, Lenin described the betrayals of those Socialist leaders, "the watchdogs of imperialism," who aided their capitalist governments by deluding the workers. He wrote: "Thrice they deserve utmost contempt, this scum of international Socialism, these lackeys of bourgeois morality."

But the October Revolution made a breach in the strongest imperialist block. The Soviet Republic withdrew from the war and renounced all the imperialist covenants and policies of tsarism and of the Kerensky government which continued them. The October Revolution established workers' rule, which was showing the road to power to the toiling masses of the capitalist countries and the colonies. World capitalism would not countenance that. Counter-revolution in Russia was given every possible aid. Armies were fitted out and dispatched to the various borders from the Black Sea to the Pacific Ocean. Almost the very day Lenin was writing his *Letter to the American Workers* about these imperialist attacks, American troops were disembarking in Vladivostock (August 17, 1918) to join Japanese, British and French military detachments.

Already on July 17, President Wilson had agreed to a "limited military intervention." On August 3, the American government was forced to admit publicly that it was in full accord with the other imperialist powers in the Russian interventionist policy. But in the usual, hypocritical Wilsonian manner, common to all "democratic" governments, it declared that the troops were being sent to "protect" the "stranded" Czechoslovak regiments, and to "guard the military supplies" from the Germans who were thousands of miles away. In "the most public and solemn manner," the American government informed the people of Russia that "it contemplates no interference with the political sovereignty of Russia and no intervention in her internal affairs" (sic!). The Japanese government hurried to issue a statement containing similar assurances of "friendship to Russia" and proclaiming "its avowed policy of respecting the territorial integrity of Russia and of abstaining from all interference in her internal affairs." To make sure that Russian territory in Siberia was "respected," Japan, which was to send over 7000 troops, soon landed 70,000 armed and equipped men. Troops of the other "respectors" of Russian territory were pouring in from Hong-Kong (British), Indo-China (French) and the Philippines (American). Not satisfied with sending troops to the Far East, the American government also sent military detachments to Archangel in the North with the cradle of the revolution, Petrograd, as a cherished objective.

Lenin characterised these American invasions by declaring that the American government was joining "the Anglo-Japanese beasts for the purpose of strangling the first Socialist Republic."

While Russian soil was being invaded, the enemies within, the Socialists-Revolutionaries, were organizing an attempt on the life of the German Ambassador von Mirbach, in order to provoke the invasion of the German army from the West, and were plotting to behead the revolution by killing Lenin. They succeeded in killing the German Ambassador and seriously wounding Lenin.

It was in these circumstances that Lenin addressed himself directly to the American workers, telling them of the conditions under which the October Revolution was fighting to achieve its aims. He also drew lessons for the American workers and, for that matter, for the workers of the whole world, to whom the success or failure of the Russian Revolution was closely tied up with their own struggles against the oppression of imperialism.

With war again the order of the day and with Japanese imperialism and German fascism acting as spearheads in the threatening attack on the Soviet Union, Lenin's *Letter* is as timely today as it was when it was written.

The lessons which Lenin outlined in the *Letter* are also timely at the present time. To those who did not free themselves "from the pedantry of bourgeois intellectualism" and were questioning Lenin's policy of dealing with the French militarists when the German troops were marching towards the Ukraine, he declared: "To throw back the rapacious advancing Germans we made use of the equally rapacious counter-interests of the other imperialists thereby serving the interests of the Russian and the international Socialist revolution." The same reasoning was used earlier by Lenin when he fought the "revolutionary" views of those who opposed the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace with the German government, necessary, according to Lenin, to "gain a breathing spell" for the revolution.

Turning to American history, Lenin recalled how the leaders of the American Revolution sought the aid of other Powers in their struggle against the British. "The American people utilised the differences that existed between the French, the Spanish and the English, at times even fighting side by side with the armies of the French and Spanish oppressors against the English oppressors. First it vanquished the English and then freed itself (partly by purchase) from the French and the Spanish."

There were voices in America, as elsewhere, who were bemoaning the "destruction" which was entailed in the civil war brought about by the imperialist invasion and counter-revolution at home. Drawing again the parallel with epochal events in American history and suggesting that immediately after the Civil War the United States may have appeared "behind" that of the pre-war period, Lenin exclaimed: "But what a pedant, what an idiot is he who denies on such grounds, the greatest, world-historic, progressive and revolutionary significance of the American Civil War of 1861-1865!"

Those in the American labor movement who ranged themselves against Lenin and the Bolsheviks were prepared to admit the progressive character of the war for the abolition of *chattel* slavery, but, "frightened by the bourgeoisie and shunning the revolution, cannot understand or do not want to understand the necessity and the legality of civil war" in the struggle for the abolition of *wage* slavery—"a vastly greater task."

Over the heads of the treacherous and faint-hearted leaders, the Gomperses and the Hillquits, Lenin passed on to the American

workers the great lesson "that there can be no successful revolution without *crushing the resistance of the exploiters*," a truth "left as a heritage to the workers by the best teachers, the founders of modern Socialism."

The workers of Germany and Austria are today smarting under the iron heel of fascism because the socialist leaders refused to follow this truth "taught by all revolutions" when the revolutions of 1918 occurred. Instead of allowing the workers' revolution to develop to its logical conclusion—proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power—the socialist leaders permitted the counter-revolution of the bourgeoisie to develop to its logical conclusion—fascism.

Under Lenin's tutelage, the Bolsheviks, on the other hand, mastered the "great truth" and continually urged the Russian workers and peasants to carry on the struggle until every vestige of capitalism in the city and on the land was destroyed and the workers' rule firmly entrenched.

Every line of Lenin's *Letter* breathes with faith in the ultimate triumph of the revolution, and not only in Russia, but throughout the world. Fervently confident that the international revolution would materialise, Lenin foresaw that "before the outburst of the international revolution there may be several defeats of separate revolutions." And, in his *Letter* he wrote: "We know that help from you, comrades American workers, will probably not come soon."

Irrespective, therefore, of the temporary fortunes of the revolutions in other countries, the Russian Revolution must carry on. Thus, under the leadership of Lenin, the Russian workers conquered power, and under the leadership of his successor, Stalin, are now building successfully a classless society—Socialism.

But the overthrow of the rule of capital, throughout the world, is inevitable. Writing in the darkest hour of the Russian Revolution—imperialist attacks on all sides, far-flung civil war—Lenin concluded his historic message to the American workers with the words which the toiling masses of all countries can inscribe on their banners: "*We are invincible, because the world proletarian revolution is invincible.*"

A *Letter to American Workers*, dated August 20, 1918, was first published in the United States in the December, 1918, issue of the *Class Struggle*, a bi-monthly issued by an internationalist group in the Socialist Party. It was reprinted in pamphlet form from that magazine and widely distributed. It played an important part in developing among American Socialists an understanding of the nature of imperialism, of the aims of the October Revolution and of the rôle of the social-chauvinists in the labor movement. It directly contributed to the building of the Left Wing in the Socialist Party which led later to the splitting away of the revolutionary elements and the formation of the Communist Party.

The version of the *Letter* printed in the *Class Struggle* and reprinted on numerous occasions in the periodical press, was not only inaccurate but also incomplete. Whole passages were left out, some of them giving Lenin's estimate of the rôle of American imperialism in the World War and stressing the imperialist designs of both warring groups. Much of what Lenin wrote about the rôle of the reformist and centrist Socialists—the forerunners of present-day social-fascists—in the war was omitted. The translation was free, whole sections of the *Letter* being rendered only in bare outline.

Partial results of an inquiry conducted recently into the cause of the criminal mutilation of Lenin's "*Letter*" revealed that the English translation was made from the Swedish text published in a Stockholm paper. It is yet to be established who were responsible for the excisions and free translation—those who translated the "*Letter*" from Russian into Swedish, or the English translator.

For the present edition, a completely new translation was made from the original Russian text, prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute and published in Lenin's "*Collected Works*." This is, therefore, the first complete English version of the historic message of Lenin to the American workers, which remains as fresh and appropriate today as when it was penned almost sixteen years ago.

May 1934.

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG.

A LETTER TO AMERICAN WORKERS

Comrades: A Russian Bolshevik who participated in the Revolution of 1905 and for many years afterwards live in your country has offered to transmit my letter to you. I accepted his proposal all the more joyfully, because the American revolutionary proletarians are destined precisely now to play an especially important rôle as irreconcilable foes of American imperialism, which is the newest, strongest and latest to participate in the world-wide slaughter of nations for the division of capitalist profits. Precisely now the American billionaires, these contemporary slave-owners, have opened a particularly tragic page in the bloody history of bloody imperialism by giving their approval—it makes no difference whether direct or indirect, whether open or hypocritically covered up—to an armed expedition of the Anglo-Japanese beasts for the purpose of strangling the first Socialist republic.

The history of modern civilised America opens with one of these great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars of which there have been so few among the large number of wars of conquest that were caused, like the present imperialist war, by squabbles among kings, landowners and capitalists over the division of seized lands and stolen profits. It was a war of the American people against English robbers who subjected America and held it in colonial slavery as these "civilised" bloodsuckers are even now subjecting and holding in colonial slavery hundreds of millions of people in India, Egypt and in all corners of the world.

Since that time about 150 years have passed. Bourgeois civilisation has borne all its luxuriant fruits. By the high level of development of the productive forces or organised human labour, by utilising machines and all the wonders of modern technic, America has taken the first place among free and cultured nations. But at the same time America has become one of the foremost countries as regards the depth of the abyss which divides a handful of brazen billionaires who are wallowing in dirt and in luxury on the one hand, and millions of toilers who are always on the verge of starvation. The American people, who gave the world an example of a revolutionary war against feudal subjection, now appears as a new, capitalist wage slave of a handful of billionaires; finds itself playing the rôle of a hired assassin

for the wealthy gang, having strangled the Philippines in 1898 under the pretext of "liberating" them, and strangling the Russian Socialist Republic in 1918 under the pretext of "protecting" it from the Germans.

But four years of the imperialist slaughter of peoples have not passed in vain. Obvious and irrefutable facts have exposed to the end the duping of peoples by the scoundrels of both the English and the German group of brigands. The four years of war have shown in their results the general law of capitalism as applied to war between murderers for the division of spoils: that he who was richest and mightiest profited and robbed the most; that he who was weakest was robbed, decimated, crushed and strangled to the utmost.

In number of "colonial slaves" the English imperialist cutthroats have always been most powerful. English capitalists did not lose a foot of their "own" territory (acquired through centuries of robbery) but have managed to appropriate all the German colonies in Africa, have grabbed Mesopotamia and Palestine, have stifled Greece and have begun to plunder Russia.

German imperialist cutthroats were stronger in regard to the organisation and discipline of "their" armies, but weaker in colonies. They have lost all their colonies, but have robbed half of Europe and throttled most of the small countries and weaker peoples. What a great war of "liberation" on both sides! How well they have "defended the fatherland"—these bandits of both groups, the Anglo-French and the German capitalists together with their lackeys, the social-chauvinists, *i. e.*, Socialists who went over to the side of "*their own*" bourgeoisie!

The American billionaires were richest of all and geographically the most secure. They have profited most of all. They have made all, even the richest countries, their vassals. They have plundered hundreds of billions of dollars. And every dollar is stained with filth; filthy secret pacts between England and her "allies," between Germany and her vassals, pacts on the division of spoils, pacts on mutual "aid" in oppressing the workers and persecuting the Socialists-internationalists. Every dollar is stained with the filth of "profitable" military deliveries enriching the rich and despoiling the poor in every country. And every dollar is stained with blood—of that sea of blood which was shed by the ten millions killed and twenty millions maimed in the great, noble, liberating and holy war, which was to decide whether the English or the German cutthroats will get more of the spoils, whether the English or the German executioners will be the *first* to smother the weak peoples the world over.

While the German bandits established a record of military brutalities, the English established a record not only in the number of looted colonies, but also in the subtlety of their disgusting hypocrisy. Precisely now the Anglo-French and American bourgeois press is spreading in millions upon millions of copies their lies and calumnies about Russia, hypocritically justifying their predatory expedition against her by the alleged desire to "protect" Russia from the Germans!

It is not necessary to waste many words to disprove this despicable and hideous lie; it is sufficient to point out one well-known fact. When in October, 1917, the Russian workers overthrew their imperialist government, the Soviet power, the power of revolutionary

workers and peasants openly proposed a just peace, a peace without annexations and indemnities, a peace fully guaranteeing equal rights to all nations—and proposed such a peace to *all* the countries at war.

And it was the Anglo-French and the American bourgeoisie who refused to accept our proposals; they were the very ones who even refused to talk to us of a universal peace! Precisely *they* were the ones who acted treacherously towards the interests of all peoples by prolonging the imperialist slaughter.

Precisely they were the ones who, speculating upon a renewed participation of Russia in the imperialist war, have shunned peace negotiations and thereby given a free hand to the no less marauding German capitalists in foisting upon Russia the annexationist and violent Brest Peace.¹

It is difficult to imagine a more disgusting piece of hypocrisy than the one with which the Anglo-French and American bourgeoisie now put upon us the “blame” for the Brest Peace. The very capitalists of those countries upon which it depended to turn Brest into general negotiations for world peace are now our “accusers.” The scoundrels of Anglo-French imperialism who profited from the loot of colonies and from the slaughter of peoples, and who prolonged the war almost a year after Brest—they “accuse” *us*, the Bolsheviks, who proposed a just peace to all countries; *us*, who tore up, exposed and put to shame the secret criminal treaties of the former Tsar with the Anglo-French capitalists.

The workers of the whole world, in whatever country they may live, rejoice with us and sympathise with us, applaud us for having burst the iron ring of imperialist ties, dirty imperialist treaties, imperialist chains, for having dreaded no sacrifice, however great, to free ourselves, for having established ourselves as a Socialist republic, even though rent asunder and plundered by the imperialists, for having gotten *out* of the imperialist war and raising the banner of peace, the banner of Socialism over the world.

No wonder that for this we are hated by the band of international imperialists; no wonder that they all “accuse” us and that the lackeys of imperialism, including our right Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, also “accuse” us. From the hatred of these watchdogs of imperialism for the Bolsheviks, as well as from the sympathy of class-conscious workers of all countries, we draw new assurance in the justice of our cause.

He is no Socialist who does not understand that one cannot and *must not* hesitate to make even such a sacrifice as the sacrifice of a piece of territory, the sacrifice of a heavy defeat at the hand of capitalists of other countries, the sacrifice of indemnities to capitalists, in the interest of victory over the bourgeoisie, in the interest of transfer of power to the working class, in the interest of the *beginning* of the international proletarian revolution. He is no Socialist who has not shown by *deeds* his readiness for the greatest sacrifices on the part of *his* fatherland so that the cause of the Socialist revolution may be pushed forward.

For the sake of “their” cause, that is, the conquest of world hegemony, the imperialists of England and Germany have not hesitated to ruin and to strangle a whole series of countries from Belgium

¹ The treaty signed in Brest-Litovsk, March, 1918, between the Soviet Government and the Central Powers.—*Ed.*

and Serbia to Palestine and Mesopotamia. And what about the Socialists? Shall they, for the sake of "their" cause—the liberation of the workers of the whole world from the yoke of capital, the conquest of a universal lasting peace—wait until they can find a way that entails no sacrifice? Shall they be afraid to commence the battle until an easy victory is "guaranteed"? Shall they place the integrity and safety of "their" fatherland, created by the bourgeoisie, above the interests of the world Socialist revolution? Thrice they deserve utmost contempt, this scum of international Socialism, these lackeys of bourgeois morality who think along these lines.

The beasts of prey of Anglo-French and American imperialism "accuse" us of coming to an "agreement" with German imperialism.

O hypocrites! O scoundrels, who slander the workers' government and shiver from fear of that sympathy which is being shown us by the workers of "their own" countries! But their hypocrisy will be exposed. They pretend not to understand the difference between an agreement made by "Socialists" *with* the bourgeoisie (native or foreign) *against the workers*, against the toilers, and an agreement for the safety of the workers who have defeated their bourgeoisie, with a bourgeoisie of one national color *against* the bourgeoisie of another color for the sake of the utilisation by the proletariat of the contradictions between the different groups of the bourgeoisie.

In reality every European knows this difference very well, and the American people particularly, as I shall presently show, have "experienced" it in their own history. There are agreements and agreements, there are *fagots et fagots* as the French say.

When the German imperialist robbers in February, 1918, threw their armies against defenseless, demobilised Russia, which staked its hopes upon the international solidarity of the proletariat before the international revolution had completely ripened, I did not hesitate for a moment to come to a certain "agreement" with the French monarchists. The French captain Sadoul, who sympathised in words with the Bolsheviks while in deeds a faithful servant of French imperialism, brought the French officer de Lubersac to me. "I am a monarchist. My only purpose is the defeat of Germany," de Lubersac declared to me. "That goes without saying (*cela va sans dire*)," I replied. But this by no means prevented me from coming to an "agreement" with de Lubersac concerning certain services that French officers, experts in explosives, were ready to render by blowing up railroad tracks in order to prevent the advance of German troops against us. This was an example of an "agreement" of which every class-conscious worker will approve, an agreement in the interests of Socialism. We shook hands with the French monarchist although we knew that each of us would readily hang his "partner." But for a time our interests coincided. To throw back the rapacious advancing Germans *we* made use of the equally rapacious counter-interests of the other imperialists, thereby serving the interests of the Russian and the international Socialist revolution. In this way we served the interests of the working class of Russia and other countries, we strengthened the proletariat and weakened the bourgeoisie of the whole world, we used the justified practise of manœuvring, necessary in *every* war, of shifting and waiting for the moment when the rapidly growing proletarian revolution in a number of advanced countries had *ripened*.

And despite all the wrathful howling of the sharks of Anglo-French and American imperialism, despite all the calumnies they have showered upon us, despite all the millions spent for bribing the right Socialist-Revolutionary, Menshevik and other social-patriotic newspapers, *I would not hesitate a single second* to come to the *same kind of an "agreement"* with the German imperialist robbers, should an attack upon Russia by Anglo-French troops demand it. And I know perfectly well that my tactics will meet with the approval of the class-conscious proletariat of Russia, Germany, France, England, America—in a word, of the whole civilised world. Such tactics will lighten the task of the Socialist revolution, will hasten its advance, will weaken the international bourgeoisie, will strengthen the position of the working class which is conquering it.

The American people used these tactics long ago to the advantage of its revolution. When America waged its great war of liberation against the English oppressors, it was confronted with the French and the Spanish oppressors, who owned a portion of what is now the United States of North America. In its difficult war for freedom the American people, too, made "agreements" with one group of oppressors against the other for the purpose of weakening oppressors and strengthening those who were struggling in a revolutionary manner against oppression—in the interest of the oppressed masses. The American people utilised the differences that existed between the French, the Spanish and the English, at times even fighting side by side with the armies of the French and Spanish oppressors against the English oppressors. First it vanquished the English and then freed itself (partly by purchase) from the French and the Spanish.

The great Russian revolutionist Chernyshevsky once said: "Historical action is not the pavement of *Nevsky Prospect*.² He is no revolutionist who would "permit" the proletarian revolution only under the "condition" that it proceed easily, smoothly, with the co-ordinated and simultaneous action of the proletarians of different countries and with a guarantee beforehand against defeat; that the revolution go forward along the broad, free, direct path to victory, without the necessity sometimes of making the greatest sacrifices, of "lying in wait in besieged fortresses," or of climbing along the narrowest, most impassable, winding, dangerous mountain roads—he has not yet freed himself from the pedantry of bourgeois intellectualism, he will fall back again and again into the camp of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, like our Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and even (although more seldom) the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries.

Along with the bourgeoisie these gentlemen like to blame us for the "chaos" of revolution, the "destruction" of industry, the unemployment, the lack of food. What hypocrisy these accusations are from people who greeted and supported the imperialist war or came to an "agreement" with Kerensky, who continued this war! It is that very imperialist war which is the cause of all these misfortunes. The revolution that was born of the war must necessarily go through the terrible difficulties and sufferings left as the heritage of the prolonged, destructive, reactionary slaughter of the peoples. To accuse us of "destruction" of industries, or of "terror," is either hypocrisy or

² Reference is here made to the smoothness of the pavement of the famed main street of St. Petersburg' now Leningrad.—Ed.

clumsy pedantry; it is an inability to understand the basic conditions of the raging class struggle, intensified to the utmost, which is called revolution.

Generally speaking, such "accusers" limit themselves to a verbal recognition even when they do "recognise" the class struggle, but in deeds they revert again and again to the philistine Utopia of "conciliation" and "collaboration" of classes. For the class struggle in revolutionary times has always inevitably and in every country taken on the form of a *civil war*, and civil war is unthinkable without the worst kind of destruction, without terror and limitations of formal democracy in the interests of the war. Only suave priests, be they Christian or "secular" parliamentary or parlor Socialists, are unable to see, understand and feel this necessity. Only a lifeless "man in the case" ⁴ can shun the revolution for this reason instead of throwing himself into the fight with the utmost passion and decisiveness at a moment when history demands that the greatest problems of humanity be solved by struggle and war.

The American people has a revolutionary tradition adopted by the best representatives of the American proletariat, who gave repeated expression to their full solidarity with us, the Bolsheviks. This tradition is the war of liberation against the English in the 18th and the Civil War in the 19th century. If we are to take only into consideration the "destruction" of some branches of industry and national economy, America in 1870 was in some respects *behind* 1860. But what a pedant, what an idiot is he who denies on such grounds the greatest, world-historic, progressive and revolutionary significance of the American Civil War of 1861-1865!

Representatives of the bourgeoisie understand that it was worth letting the country go through long years of civil war, the abysmal ruin, destruction and terror which are connected with every war for the sake of the overthrow of Negro slavery and the overthrow of the rule of the slave-owners. But now, when we are confronted with the vastly greater task of the overthrow of capitalist *wage* slavery, the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie—now the representatives and defenders of the bourgeoisie, as well as the socialist-reformists, frightened by the bourgeoisie and shunning the revolution, cannot understand and do not want to understand the necessity and the legality of civil war.

The American workers will not follow the bourgeoisie. They will be with us for civil war against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the world and the American labour movement strengthens my conviction. I also recall the words of one of the most beloved leaders of the American proletariat, Eugene Debs, who wrote in *The Appeal to Reason*, I believe towards the end of 1915, in the article "In Whose War I Will Fight" ⁵ (I quoted that article at the beginning of 1916 at a public meeting of workers in Berne, Switzerland) that he, Debs, would rather be shot than vote for loans for the present criminal and reactionary imperialist war; that he, Debs, knows of only one holy and, from the standpoint of the proletariat, legal war, namely: the war against the capitalists, the war for the liberation of mankind from wage slavery!

⁴ The title of a story by Anton Chekhov. The hero is hemmed in by routine like a clam in its shell.—Ed.
⁵ *Appeal to Reason*, September 11, 1915. Reprinted in *Voices of Revolt*, Vol. IX, "Speeches of Eugene V. Debs" (International Publishers), p. 63.—Ed.

I am not at all surprised that Wilson, the head of the American billionaires and servant of the capitalist sharks, has thrown Debs into prison. Let the bourgeoisie be brutal to the true internationalists, the true representatives of the revolutionary proletariat! The more obduracy and bestiality it displays, the nearer comes the day of the victorious proletarian revolution.

We are blamed for the destruction caused by our revolution. . . . Who are the accusers? The hangers-on of the bourgeoisie, that very bourgeoisie, which has destroyed almost the whole of European culture during the four years of the imperialist war, and has brought Europe to a state of barbarism, savagery and starvation. That bourgeoisie now demands of us that we do not carry on our revolution on the basis of this destruction, amidst the remnants of culture, ruins created by the war, nor with men whom the war turned into savages. O how humane and righteous is that bourgeoisie!

Its servants accuse us of terror. . . . The English bourgeois has forgotten his 1649, the French his 1793.⁶ Terror was just and legal when used by the bourgeoisie to its own advantage against feudalism. Terror became monstrous and criminal when workers and the poorest peasants dared to use it against the bourgeoisie! Terror was legal and just when used in the interests of a substitution of one exploiting minority for another. Terror became monstrous and criminal when it began to be used in the interests of an overthrow of *every* exploiting minority, in the interests of a really vast majority, in the interests of the proletariat and semi-proletariat, the working class and the poorest peasantry!

The international imperialist bourgeoisie has killed off ten million men and maimed twenty million in "*its*" war, the war to decide whether the English or the German robbers are to rule the world.

If *our* war, the war of oppressed and exploited against oppressors and exploiters, results in half a million or a million victims in all countries, the bourgeoisie will say that the sacrifice of the former is justified, while the latter is criminal.

The proletariat will say something altogether different.

Now, amid the ravages of the imperialist war, the proletariat is thoroughly mastering that great truth taught by all revolutions and left as a heritage to the workers by their best teachers, the founders of modern Socialism. That truth is, that there can be no successful revolution without *crushing the resistance of the exploiters*. It was our duty to crush the resistance of exploiters when we, the workers and toiling peasants, seized state power. We are proud that we have been doing it and are continuing to do it. We only regret that we are not doing it in a sufficiently firm and determined manner.

We know that the fierce resistance of the bourgeoisie to the Socialist revolution is inevitable in all countries and that it will *grow* with the growth of this revolution. The proletariat will crush this resistance; it will definitely mature to victory and power in the course of struggle against the resisting bourgeoisie.

Let the kept bourgeois press howl to the whole world about each mistake made by our revolution. We are not afraid of our mistakes. Men have not become saints because the revolution has begun. The toiling classes, oppressed and downtrodden for centuries and

⁶ The execution of King Charles I and the suppression of opposition during the régime of Cromwell in England, and the terror during the Great French Revolution.—Ed.

forced into the clutches of poverty, savagery and ignorance, cannot be expected to bring about a revolution flawlessly. And the cadaver of bourgeois society, as I had occasion to point out once before,⁷ cannot be nailed in a casket and buried. Defeated capitalism is dying and rotting around us, polluting the air with germs and poisoning our lives, grasping the new, the fresh, the young and the live with thousands of threads and bonds of the old, the rotten, the dead.

For every hundred mistakes of ours heralded to the world by the bourgeoisie and its lackeys (including our own Mensheviks and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries) there are 10,000 great and heroic deeds, the greater and the more heroic for their simplicity, for their being unseen and hidden in the everyday life of an industrial quarter or provincial village, performed by men who are not used to (and who do not have the opportunity to) herald their achievements to the world.

But even if the contrary were true—although I know this supposition to be incorrect—even if there were 10,000 mistakes for every 100 correct actions of ours, even in that case our revolution would be great and invincible, and *so it will be in the eyes of world history*, because, *for the first time* not the minority, not only the rich, not only the educated, but the real masses, the vast majority of toilers are *themselves* building a new life, are deciding *by their own experience* the most difficult problems of Socialist organisation.

Each mistake in such a work, in this most honest and sincere work of tens of millions of simple workers and peasants for the reorganisation of their whole life, each such mistake is worth thousands and millions of "faultless" successes of the exploiting minority—successes in swindling and duping the toiler. For only *through* such mistakes will the workers and peasants *learn* to build a new life, learn to do *without* capitalists; only thus will they blaze a new trail—through thousands of obstacles—to a victorious Socialism.

In carrying on their revolutionary work mistakes were made by our peasants who abolished all private landed property at one blow in one night, October 25–26 (Nov. 7), 1917. Now, month after month, overcoming tremendous hardships and correcting themselves, they are solving in a practical way the most difficult tasks of organising new conditions of economic life—struggling with kulaks, securing the land for the *toilers* (and not for the rich people) and bringing about the transition to a *Communist* large scale agriculture.

In carrying on their revolutionary work mistakes were made by our workers, who have now nationalised, after a few months, almost all the major factories and plants and who are learning from hard, day-to-day work the new task of managing whole branches of industry; who are perfecting the nationalised economy; who are overcoming the powerful resistance of inertia, petty-bourgeois tendencies and selfishness; who are laying stone after stone the foundation of a *new* social bond, of a *new* labor discipline, of a *new* power of trade unions of workers over their members.

In carrying on their revolutionary work mistakes are made by our soviets, which were created back in 1905 by a mighty upsurge of the masses. The soviets of workers and peasants are a new *type* of state, a new and higher *type* of democracy, the form of the dictator-

⁷ In a speech before the Joint Session of the Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet and the Trade Unions on June 4, 1918.—*Ed.*

ship of the proletariat, a means of ruling the state *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie. For the first time democracy serves the masses, the toilers, having ceased to be a democracy for the rich, as it still remains in all the bourgeois republics, even the most democratic ones. For the first time the popular masses are deciding, on a scale affecting hundreds of millions of people, the task of realising the dictatorship of proletarians and semi-proletarians—a task without the solution of which one *cannot* speak about Socialism.

Let the pedants, or people hopelessly stuffed with bourgeois-democratic or parliamentary prejudices, shake their heads perplexedly about our soviets, for instance, about the lack of direct elections. These people forgot nothing and learned nothing during the period of the great upheavals of 1914–1918. A union of the dictatorship of the proletariat with a new democracy for the toilers—civil war with the broadest involving of the masses in politics—such union is neither to be achieved at once nor is it to be fitted into the dreary forms of routine parliamentary democracy. A new world, the world of Socialism, is what rises before us in its contours as the Soviet Republic. And it is no wonder that this world is not being born ready-made and does not spring forth all at once, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter.

While the old bourgeois-democratic constitutions spoke about formal equality and right of assembly, our proletarian and peasant Soviet constitution casts aside the hypocrisy of formal equality. When bourgeois republicans overthrew thrones they did not care about formal equality of monarchists with republicans. When we speak of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, only traitors or idiots will seek to concede to the bourgeoisie formal equality of rights. The “freedom of assembly” for workers and peasants is not worth a cent when the best buildings are in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Our soviets *took away* all the good buildings from the rich both in town and country, and *turned over* all these buildings to the workers and peasants for *their* unions and meetings. That is *our* freedom of assembly—for the toilers. That is the idea and content of our Soviet, Socialist Constitution!

And this is why we are so firmly convinced that our Republic of Soviets is *invincible* no matter what misfortunes befall her.

It is invincible, because each blow of frenzied imperialism, each defeat which we suffer from the international bourgeoisie, calls to struggle new strata of workers and peasants, teaches them at the price of the greatest sacrifices, hardens them and gives birth to new mass heroism.

We know that help from you, comrades American workers, will probably not come soon, for the development of the revolution proceeds with a different tempo and in different forms in different countries (and it cannot be otherwise). We know that the European proletarian revolution also may not blaze forth during the next few weeks,⁸ no matter how rapidly it has been ripening lately. We stake our chances on the inevitability of the international revolution, but this in no way means that we are so foolish as to stake our chances on the inevitability of the revolution within a *stated* short period. We have seen in our country two great revolutions, in 1905 and 1917,

⁸ The German Revolution broke out about ten weeks after these lines were written.—Ed.

and we know that revolutions are made neither to order nor by agreement. We know that circumstances brought to the fore *our* Russian detachment of the Socialist proletariat, not by virtue of our merits, but due to the particular backwardness of Russia, and that *before* the outburst of the international revolution there may be several defeats of separate revolutions.

Despite this, we are firmly convinced that we are invincible, because mankind will not break down under the imperialist slaughter, but will overcome it. And the first country which *demolished* the galley chains of imperialist war, was *our* country. We made the greatest of sacrifices in the struggle for the demolition of this chain, but we *broke* it. We are beyond imperialist dependence, we raised before the whole world the banner of struggle for the complete overthrow of imperialism.

We are now as if in a beleaguered fortress until other detachments of the international Socialist revolution come to our rescue. But these detachments *exist*, they are *more numerous* than ours, they mature, they grow, they become stronger as the bestialities of imperialism continue. The workers sever connections with their social-traitors—the Gomperses, Hendersons, Renaudels, Scheidemanns, Renners.⁹ The workers are going slowly, but unswervingly, toward Communist, Bolshevik tactics, towards the proletarian revolution, which is the only one capable of saving perishing culture and perishing mankind.

In a word, we are invincible, because the world proletarian revolution is invincible.

N. Lenin.

August 20, 1918.

First published in *Pravda*, No. 178, August 22, 1918.

As the foreword clearly indicates, the *ABC of Communism* (1919) was intended to serve as an elementary textbook of Communist indoctrination.¹ Its style is simple and direct. *ABC* thoroughly covers most of the leading Marxist concepts insofar as they were modified by the Bolshevik doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat (sec. A, exhibits Nos. 3 and 12). It places considerable emphasis upon the role of armed uprising and civil war as a means of destroying capitalist states, a matter which was to receive much more definitive treatment at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International (sec. C, exhibits Nos. 11 and 12).²

Chapter 9 deals with Bolshevik theories of "bourgeois" and proletarian justice. Noteworthy is the fact that, from the very outset of the revolution, "ideal" proletarian courts had to be supplemented by emergency tribunals capable of coping with extreme situations. The authors of *ABC* do not refer to the Cheka by name. They do admit, however, that the Bolshevik Party could not risk the democratic election of those who served on these emergency organizations. The alleged reason is the same as was given for all repressive measures: the Bolshevik Party simply had to be ruthless in order to protect the proletariat from its class enemies. Only when the "emergency" is ended can the Cheka and other repressive organizations be disbanded. And the emergency cannot end until the threat of capitalist interference is forever eliminated.

In the next chapter, reasons are assigned for the necessity of destroying "bourgeois" influence in the school system. The authors further declare that education must be exploited as an instrument of Bolshevik indoctrination. Thus, they acknowledge the fact that the educational system is a pillar of any given society. Whenever the educational system is not Communist orientated, it must be reorganized and brought into conformity with the correct collectivist faith.³

⁹ Right-wing leaders of American, English, French, German and Austrian socialist and trade union movements.—*Ed.*

¹ Ruth Fischer, *Stalin and German Communism*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948, p. 279.

² Stefan T. Possony (Georgetown University), *A Century of Conflict*, Chicago, Regnery, 1953, pp. 104, 138.

³ George B. DeHuszar (Northwestern University) and Associates, *Soviet Power and Policy*, New York, Crowell, 1955, p. 206.

In chapter 11, the authors summarize orthodox Marxist doctrine on religion. Since the latter is, like education, a pillar of any given society, it also must be replaced by Communist dogma. In accordance with Lenin's advice, harassment of "bourgeois religious superstitions" must be undertaken with patience and discretion, lest "ignorant believers" react unfavorably to the persecution of their cherished beliefs.⁴

Chapters 10 and 11 prescribe flank attacks upon what orthodox Marxists regard as byproducts of capitalist society. According to the basic Marxist dogma of economic determinism, the frontal attack must always be directed against the economic structure of every imperialist nation. If this main offensive proves adequate, such "bourgeois" byproducts as religion and education will wither away as does the cut flower. Nevertheless, hardheaded Bolshevik revolutionaries like Lenin, Bukharin, and Preobrazhensky saw no harm in launching attacks from the flank as well as from the front. To them and to all genuine Bolsheviks, world revolution always implies total war.

The excerpt dealing with the transitoriness of the dictatorship of the proletariat indicates how ineffectively Bukharin and Preobrazhensky could read the mind of Lenin's successor. While they cautiously affirm the necessity of maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat until all capitalist encirclers have been completely eliminated, they seem to suggest that successful world revolution is in no sense a distant prospect. In any event, this and other conclusions arrived at in *ABC* were to prove fatally offensive to the one man who in his lifetime was never proved guilty of deviation from the correct Bolshevik line. Stalin had both authors liquidated in the thirties.⁵

EXHIBIT No. 9

[The Communist Party of Great Britain, 1922, N. Buharin (sic) and E. Preobrazhensky, *The ABC of Communism: A Popular Explanation of the Program of the Communist Party of Russia*. Translated from the Russian by Eden and Cedar Paul. Pp. 13-14, 176-178, 228-241, 256-265]

FOREWORD

The A B C of Communism should, in our opinion, be an elementary textbook of communist knowledge. Daily experience of propagandists and agitators has convinced us of the urgent need for such a textbook. There is an unceasing influx of new adherents. The dearth of teachers is great, and we have not even a sufficiency of textbooks for such institutions as the party schools. Obviously, the older Marxist literature, such as *The Erfurt Program*, is largely inapplicable to present needs. Answers to new problems are extremely difficult to find. All that the student requires is scattered in various newspapers, books, and pamphlets.

We have determined to fill this gap. We regard our *A B C* as an elementary course which is to be followed in the party schools; but we have also endeavoured to write it in such a manner that it can be used for independent study by every worker or peasant who desires to acquaint himself with the party program.

Every comrade who takes up this book should read it all through, so that he may acquire an idea of the aims and tasks of communism. The book has been written in such a way that the exposition forms a running commentary upon the text of the party program. At the end of the volume, for the convenience of our readers, we have appended this text, which is divided into numbered paragraphs; to each paragraph of the program there correspond certain explanatory paragraphs of the book, the numeration in the text being identical with that in the program.

⁴ Paul Miliukov, *Outlines of Russian Culture, Part I: Religion and the Church*. Edited by Michael Karpovich. Translated by Valentine L'ghet and Eleanor Davis, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942, pp. 151-212.

⁵ Suzanne Labin, *Stalin's Russia*. Translated by Edward Fitzgerald, London, Gollancz, 1950, pp. 77, 92, 120. Boris Souvarine, *Stalin*, New York, Longmans, Green, 1939, p. 395.

Fundamentals are printed in ordinary type, whilst smaller type is used for more detailed explanations, examples, numerical statements, etc. The paragraphs in small type are chiefly intended for those comrades who are studying the work without assistance, and who have neither time nor opportunity for access to information concerning matters of fact.

For those who wish to carry their studies further, a brief bibliography is appended to each chapter.

The authors are well aware that their book is defective in many ways; it was written fragmentarily, and in scant intervals of leisure. Communists have to pursue their literary labours under conditions that can hardly be described as normal. The present work affords an interesting example of this, for the manuscript (to say nothing of both its authors) narrowly escaped destruction in the explosion at the Moscow Committee Rooms. . . . Nevertheless, with all its defects, we have decided to publish the book at once. We merely ask that comrades should furnish us with any relevant information which practice discloses to them.

The theoretical section, comprising Part One, the beginning of Part Two, together with the chapters on The Soviet Power, The Organisation of Industry, Labour Protection and Social Welfare, and Public Hygiene, were written by Buharin; the rest of the work was penned by Preobrazhensky. Obviously, however, both the authors accept full responsibility for the work.

The title of our book, *A B C*, is an expression of the task we set ourselves. Should the work prove helpful to beginners and to propagandists, we shall feel sure that our labour has not been in vain.

N. BUHARIN.

E. PREOBRAZHENSKY.

October 15, 1919.

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CHAPTER SIX—THE SOVIET POWER

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§ 48. *The class Character and the Transitoriness of the proletarian Dictatorship.* The bourgeoisie has everywhere concealed its class rule behind the mask of "the cause of the whole people." How could the bourgeoisie, a comparatively small group of parasites, openly acknowledge that it imposes its class will upon all? How could the bourgeoisie venture to declare that the State is but a league of robbers? Of course it could do nothing of the kind. Even when the bourgeoisie hoists the blood-stained standard of a militarist dictatorship, it continues to talk of "the cause of the whole people." But the capitalist class is peculiarly adroit in the way in which it cheats the people in the so-called democratic republics. In these, the bourgeoisie rules, and is able to maintain its dictatorship through keeping up certain appearances. The workers are given the right of exercising the parliamentary vote every three or four years, but they are carefully excluded from all power in the administration. Yet because universal suffrage exists, the capitalist class loudly declares that the "whole people" rules.

The Soviet Power openly proclaims its class character. It makes no attempt to conceal that it is a class power, that the Soviet State

is the dictatorship of the poor. The point is emphasised in its very name; the Soviet Government is called the Workers' and Peasants' Government. The constitution, that is to say the fundamental laws of our Soviet Republic, the constitution adopted by the third All-Russian Soviet Congress, expressly declares: "The third All-Russian Soviet Congress of workers', soldiers', and peasants' delegates, declares that now, in the hour of the decisive struggle between the proletariat and the exploiters, there can be no place for the exploiters in any of the instruments of power." The Soviet Power, therefore, not only proclaims its class character, but does not hesitate to deprive of electoral rights and to exclude from the instruments of power the representatives of those classes which are hostile to the proletariat and to the peasantry. For what reason can and must the Soviet Power act thus openly? Because the Soviet Power really is the power of the working masses, the power of the majority of the population. It has no occasion to conceal that it was born in working-class quarters. Far from it, for the more conspicuously the Soviet Power insists upon its origin and its meaning, the closer will be the ties between itself and the masses, and the more outstanding will be its success in the struggle against the exploiters.

Of course this state of affairs will not last forever. The essence of the matter lies herein, that it is necessary to crush the resistance of the exploiters. But as soon as the exploiters have been repressed, bridled, and tamed, as soon as they have been trained to work and have become workers like everyone else, the pressure upon them will be relaxed and the dictatorship of the proletariat will gradually disappear.

This is expressly stipulated in our constitution (Part II. Chapter 5): "The fundamental task of the constitution of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic—a constitution adapted to the needs of the present period of transition—consists in the establishment of the dictatorship of the urban and rural workers and of the poor peasants in the form of a strong All-Russian Soviet Power, whose purpose it will be to effect the complete crushing of the bourgeoisie, to put an end to the exploitation of one human being by another, and to realise socialism, in which there will be neither division into classes nor any State authority."

From this we may deduce the tasks of our party. The party must systematically expose the bourgeois fraud, which is worked as follows. Certain rights are conceded to the worker, but he is left in material dependence upon a master. Consequently the task of our party is to crush the exploiters by all the means at the disposal of the proletariat. Furthermore, it will be incumbent upon our party, in proportion as it is able to crush the exploiters and their hangers-on, in proportion as it is able to refashion them, by degrees to mitigate and to revoke the measures which it was at first necessary to enforce. Let us suppose, for example, that the professional classes have drawn nearer to the working class, that they are no longer hostile to the workers, that in all they do they are wholly on the side of the Soviet Power, that they are on the best of terms with the proletariat. When this happens (and it is only a question of time), it will be incumbent upon us to give the professional classes full civil rights, and to accept them into our family. To-day, when the whole world is in arms against the Workers' Republic, it would be premature to speak of such an extension of rights. But we must never cease to make it perfectly clear that the extension of rights will ultimately be given, and will be given all the sooner, in proportion as there comes a speedier

end to the attempts made by the exploiters to overthrow Communism. In this manner the proletarian State will gradually die out, and will undergo transformation into a Stateless communist society, wherein the division into classes will have completely disappeared.

CHAPTER NINE—PROLETARIAN JUSTICE

§ 70. The Administration of Justice in bourgeois Society. § 71. The Election of the Judiciary by the Workers. § 72. Unified popular Law-courts. § 73. Revolutionary Tribunals. § 74. Proletarian penal Methods. § 75. Proletarian Justice in the Future.

§ 70. *The Administration of Justice in bourgeois Society.* Among the various institutions of bourgeois society which serve to oppress and deceive the working masses, must be mentioned bourgeois justice. This estimable institution is carried on under the guidance of laws passed in the interests of the exploiting class. Whatever the composition of the court, its decisions are restricted in accordance with the volumes of statutes in which are incorporated all the privileges of capital and all the lack of privileges of the toiling masses.

As far as the organisation of bourgeois justice is concerned, this is in perfect harmony with the characteristics of the bourgeois State. Where the bourgeois State is comparatively frank in its methods, where it is free from hypocrisy in its determination that the decisions of the courts shall be favourable to the ruling class, there the judges are appointed from above; but even when they are elected, only the members of the privileged stratum are entitled to vote. When the masses have been sufficiently brought to heel by capital, so that they are duly submissive and regard the laws of the bourgeois State as their own laws, the workers are permitted to a certain extent to be their own judges, just as they are allowed to vote exploiters and their henchmen into parliament. Thus originated trial by jury, thanks to which legal decisions made in the interests of capital can masquerade as decisions made by the "whole people."

§ 71. *The Election of the Judiciary by the Workers.* The program of the socialists adhering to the Second International contained a demand for the popular election of the judiciary. In the epoch of the proletarian dictatorship, this demand assumes a no less impracticable and reactionary complexion than the demand for universal suffrage or the demand for the general arming of the people. When the proletariat is in power, it cannot permit the enemies of its class to become judges. The workers could hardly accept the representatives of capital or of the landed interest as administrators of the new laws which are intended to overthrow the capitalist regime! In fine, in the long succession of civil and criminal affairs, the proceedings of the courts must be conducted in the spirit of the new socialist society which is in course of construction.

For these reasons the Soviet Power did not merely destroy all the old machinery of justice which, while serving capital, hypocritically proclaimed itself to be the voice of the people. It went farther, and constituted new courts, making no attempt to conceal their class character. In the old law-courts, the class minority of exploiters passed judgment upon the working majority. The law-courts of the proletarian dictatorship are places where the working majority passes judgment upon the exploiting minority. They are specially constructed

for this purpose. The judges are elected by the workers alone. The judges are elected solely from among the workers. For the exploiters the only right that remains is the right of being judged.

§ 72. *Unified popular Law-courts.* In bourgeois society the administration of justice is an exceedingly cumbrous affair. Bourgeois jurists proudly declare that, thanks to the gradation of lower courts, higher courts, courts of appeal, and so on, absolute justice is ensured, and the number of miscarriages of justice reduced to a minimum. In actual fact, in the past and to-day, the working of this graded series of law-courts has been and is to the unfailing advantage of the possessing classes. Well-to-do persons, being able to command the services of highly paid lawyers, can carry a case from court to court until they secure a favourable decision; whereas a plaintiff who is poor often finds it necessary to abandon his suit on grounds of expense. The right of appeal secures an "equitable" decision only in this sense, that it secures a judgment in the interest of exploiting groups.

The unified popular law-court of the proletarian State reduces to a minimum the time which elapses from the moment when the case is brought before the court to the moment when it is finally decided. The law's delay is greatly diminished, and if proceedings are still sluggish, this is only because all soviet institutions are imperfect during the first months and years of the proletarian dictatorship. But the general upshot is that the courts have been made accessible to the poorest and most unenlightened strata of the population; and they will become still more accessible as soon as the epoch of intensified civil war is over, and as soon as all the mutual relationships of the citizens of the republic have assumed a more stable character. "Inter arma leges silent" [in war time, the laws are in abeyance] the Romans used to say. But during the time of civil war the laws are not in abeyance as far as the workers are concerned. The popular law-courts continue to do their work but it is impossible as yet for the whole population to realise the nature of the new courts of justice and rightly to appreciate their advantages.

During this era when the old society is being destroyed and the new society is being upbuilt, the popular courts have a gigantic task to perform. The process of change has been so rapid that soviet legislation has not been able to keep pace with it. The laws of the bourgeois-landlord system have been annulled; but the laws of the proletarian State have as yet merely been outlined, and will never be committed to paper in their entirety. The workers do not intend to perpetuate their dominion, and they therefore have no need for endless tomes of written laws. When they have expressed their will in one of the fundamental decrees, they can leave the interpretation and application of these decrees, as far as practical details are concerned, to the popular courts in which the judges are elected by the workers. The only important matter is that the decisions of these courts shall bear witness to the complete breach with the customs and the ideology of the bourgeois system; that the people's judges shall decide the cases which come before them in accordance with the dictates of proletarian ideology, and not in accordance with those of bourgeois ideology. Dealing with the unending series of disputes which arise during the break-up of the old relationships, and during the realisation of the rights of the proletariat, the people's judges can carry to

its proper issue the transformation which began with the November revolution of the year 1917, and which must inevitably involve all the mutual relationships of the citizens of the Soviet Republic. On the other hand, in dealing with the vast number of cases which occur independently of the peculiar conditions of the revolutionary era—minor criminal cases of a petty-bourgeois character—the popular courts must give expression to the entirely new attitude towards such offences which has been adopted by the revolutionary proletariat, thus effecting a revolution in the whole character of penal measures.

§ 73. *Revolutionary Tribunals.* These popular courts—to which the judges are elected, from which the judges can be recalled, and in which every worker must fulfill his judicial duty when his turn comes—are looked upon by the Communist Party as the normal law-courts of the proletarian State. But in the epoch of the extremest intensification of the civil war, it has been found necessary to supplement the popular courts by the appointment of revolutionary tribunals. The function of the revolutionary tribunals is to deal speedily and mercilessly with the enemies of the proletarian revolution. Such courts are among the weapons for the crushing of the exploiters, and from this point of view they are just as much the instruments of proletarian offence and defence as the Red Guard, the Red Army, and the Extraordinary Commissions. Consequently, the revolutionary tribunals are organised on less democratic lines than the popular courts. They are appointed by the soviets, and are not directly elected by the workers.

§ 74. *Proletarian Penal Methods.* In the sanguinary struggle with capitalism, the working class cannot refrain from inflicting the last extremity of punishment upon its declared enemies. While the civil war continues, the abolition of the death penalty is impossible. But a dispassionate comparison of proletarian justice with the justice of the bourgeois counter-revolution shows the marvelous leniency of the workers' courts in comparison with the executioners of bourgeois justice. The workers pass death sentences in extreme cases only. This was especially characteristic of the legal proceedings during the first months of the proletarian dictatorship. It suffices to recall that in Petrograd the notorious Purishkevich was condemned to only two weeks' imprisonment by the revolutionary tribunal. We find that the progressive classes, the inheritors of the future, have dealt very gently with their enemies, whereas the classes that are dying have displayed almost incredible ferocity.

When we come to consider the punishments inflicted by proletarian courts of justice for criminal offences which have no counter-revolutionary bearing, we find them to be radically different from those inflicted for similar offences by bourgeois courts. This is what we should expect. The great majority of crimes committed in bourgeois society are either direct infringements of property rights or are indirectly connected with property. It is natural that the bourgeois State should take vengeance upon criminals, and that the punishments inflicted by bourgeois society should be various expressions of the vengeful sentiments of the infuriated owner. Just as absurd have been and are the punishments inflicted for casual offences, or for offences which arise out of the fundamentally imperfect character of personal relationships in bourgeois society (offences connected with the family relationships of society; those resulting

from romanticist inclinations; those due to alcoholism or to mental degeneration; those due to ignorance, or to a suppression of social instinct, etc.) The proletarian law-court has to deal with offences for which the ground has been prepared by bourgeois society, by the society whose vestiges are still operative. A large number of professional criminals, trained to become such in the old order, survive to give work for the proletarian courts. But these courts are entirely free from the spirit of revenge. They cannot take vengeance upon people simply because these happen to have lived in bourgeois society. This is why our courts manifest a revolutionary change in the character of their decisions. More and more frequently do we find that conditional sentences are imposed, punishments that do not involve any punishment, their chief aim being to prevent a repetition of the offence. Another method is that of social censure, a method that can only be effective in a classless society, one in which a social consciousness and a social sense of responsibility have greatly increased. Imprisonment without any occupation, enforced parasitism, the penal method so frequently employed under the tsarist regime, is replaced by the enforcement of social labour. The aim of the proletarian courts is to ensure that the damage done to society by the criminal shall be made good by him through the performance of an increased amount of social labour. Finally, when the court has to deal with a habitual criminal (one whose liberation after his sentence has been performed will entail danger to the lives of other citizens), isolation of the criminal from society is enforced, but in such a way as to give the offender full opportunities for moral regeneration.

Most of the measures above described, involving a complete transformation of the customary penal methods, have already been recommended by the best bourgeois criminologists. But in bourgeois society they remain a dream. Nothing but the victory of the proletariat can ensure their realisation.

§ 75. *Proletarian Justice in the Future.* As far as the revolutionary tribunals are concerned, this form of proletarian justice has no significance for future days, any more than the Red Army will have any significance for the future after it has conquered the White Guards, or any more than the Extraordinary Commissions have any significance for the future. In a word, all the instruments created by the proletariat for the critical period of the civil war are transient. When the counter-revolution has been successfully crushed, these instruments will no longer be needed, and they will disappear.

On the other hand, proletarian justice in the form of the elective popular courts will unquestionably survive the end of the civil war, and will for a long period have to continue the use of measures to deal with the vestiges of bourgeois society in its manifold manifestations. The abolition of classes will not result in the immediate abolition of class ideology, which is more long-lived than are the social conditions which have produced it, more enduring than the class instincts and class customs which have brought it into being. Besides, the abolition of class may prove a lengthy process. The transformation of the bourgeoisie into working folk and that of the peasants into the workers of a socialist society will be a tardy affair. The change in peasant ideology is likely to be very slow, and will give plenty of work to the law-courts. Moreover, during the period

which must precede the full development of communist distribution, the period during which the articles of consumption are still privately owned, there will be ample occasion for delinquencies and crimes. Finally, anti-social offences arising out of personal egoism, and all sorts of offences against the common weal, will long continue to provide work for the courts. It is true that these courts will gradually change in character. As the State dies out, they will tend to become simply organs for the expression of public opinion. They will assume the character of courts of arbitration. Their decisions will no longer be enforced by physical means and will have a purely moral significance.

Literature. Communist literature dealing with bourgeois and proletarian courts of justice is scanty. Among the older works, the following may be recommended.

MARX, Address to the Jury at the Cologne Communists' Trial. ENGELS, The Origin of the Family, of private Property, and of the State. LASSALLE, Collected Works, especially: Speeches for the Defence, The Idea of the working Class, The Program of the Workers. ENGELS, Anti-Dühring (the parts dealing with the State). KAUTSKY, The Nature of political Offences. VAN KON, The economic Factors of Crime. GERNET, The social Factors of Crime.

Recent works. STUCHKA, The Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R. in Question and Answer. STUCHKA, The People's Court. HOICHBART, What should a People's Court be?

CHAPTER TEN—COMMUNISM AND EDUCATION

§ 76. The School under the bourgeois Regime. § 77. The destructive Tasks of Communism. § 78. The School as an Instrument of communist Education and Enlightenment. § 79. Preparation for school Life. § 80. The unified Labour School. § 81. Specialist Education. § 82. The University. § 83. Soviet Schools and Party Schools. § 84. Extra-scholastic Instruction. § 85. New Workers on behalf of Enlightenment. § 86. The Treasures of Art and Science made available to the Workers. § 87. The State Propaganda of Communism. § 88. Popular Education under Tsarism and under the Soviet Power.

§ 76. *The School under the bourgeois Regime.* In bourgeois society the school has three principal tasks to fulfil. First, it inspires the coming generation of workers with devotion and respect for the capitalist regime. Secondly, it creates from the young of the ruling classes "cultured" controllers of the working population. Thirdly, it assists capitalist production in the application of sciences to techniques, thus increasing capitalist profits.

As regards the first of these tasks, just as in the bourgeois army the "right spirit" is inculcated by the officers, so in the schools under the capitalist regime the necessary influence is mainly exercised by the caste of "officers of popular enlightenment." The teachers in the public elementary schools receive a special course of training by which they are prepared for their role of beast tamers. Only persons who have thoroughly acquired the bourgeois outlook have the entry into the schools as teachers. The ministries of education in the capitalist regime are ever on the watch, and they ruthlessly purge the teaching profession of all dangerous (by which they mean socialist) elements. The German public elementary schools served prior to the revolution as supplements to the barracks of William II, and were shining examples of the way in which the landed gentry and the bourgeoisie can make use of the school for the manufacture of faithful and blind slaves of capital. In the ele-

mentary schools of the capitalist regime, instruction is given in accordance with a definite program perfectly adapted for the breaking-in of the pupils to the capitalist system. All the text-books are written in an appropriate spirit. The whole of bourgeois literature subserves the same end, for it is written by persons who look upon the bourgeois social order as natural, perdurable, and the best of all possible regimes. In this way the scholars are imperceptibly stuffed with bourgeois ideology; they are infected with enthusiasm for all bourgeois virtues; they are inspired with esteem for wealth, renown, titles and orders; they aspire to get on in the world, they long for personal comfort, and so on. The work of bourgeois educationists is completed by the servants of the church with their religious instruction. Thanks to the intimate associations between capital and the church, the law of God invariably proves to be the law of the possessing classes.¹

In capitalist society the second leading aim of bourgeois education is secured by carefully withholding secondary education and higher education from the working masses. Instruction in the middle schools, and still more in the high schools, is extremely costly, so that it is quite beyond the financial resources of the workers. The course of instruction, in middle and higher education, lasts for ten years or more. For this reason it is inaccessible to the worker and the peasant who, in order to feed their families, are compelled to send their children at a very early age to factory work or field work, or else must make the youngsters work at home. In actual practice, the middle and higher schools are the preserves of bourgeois youth. In them, the younger members of the governing classes are trained to succeed their fathers in careers of exploitation, or to fill the official and technical posts of the capitalist State. In these schools, likewise, instruction has a definitely class character. In the domains of mathematics, the technique of industry, and the natural sciences, this may be less striking; but the class character of the teaching is conspicuous in the case of the social sciences, whereby the pupils' outlook on the world is in reality formed. Bourgeois political economy is inculcated with all the most perfected methods for the "annihilation of Marx." Sociology and history are likewise taught from a purely capitalist outlook. The history of jurisprudence concludes with the treatment of bourgeois jurisprudence as the natural right of "the man and the citizen"; etc., etc. To sum up, the higher and middle schools teach the children of the capitalists all the data that are requisite for the maintenance of bourgeois society and the whole system of capitalist exploitation. If any of the children of the workers, happening to be exceptionally gifted, should find their way into the higher schools, in the great majority of instances the bourgeois scholastic apparatus will serve as a means of detaching them from their own class kin, and will inoculate them with bourgeois ideology, so that in the long run the genius of these scions of the working class will be turned to account for the oppression of the workers.

Turning, finally, to the third task of capitalist education, we find that the school fulfils it as follows. In a class society where capitalism

¹ In tsarist Russia the method by which the masses of the people were kept in subjection to the aristocratic State was not, on the whole, that of a bourgeois-priestly-tsarist enlightenment, but simply that of withholding enlightenment of any sort. In this connexion we may refer to the notorious "theory" of the celebrated obscurantist Pobedonostseff, who considered popular ignorance to be the main prop of the autocracy.

is dominant, science is divorced from labour. Not only does it become the property of the possessing classes. More than this, it becomes the profession of a small and comparatively narrow circle of individuals. Scientific instruction and scientific research are divorced from the labour process. In order that it may avail itself of the data of science and may turn them to account in production, bourgeois society has to create a number of institutions serving for the application of scientific discoveries to manufacturing technique; and it has to create a number of technical schools which will facilitate the maintenance of production at the level rendered possible by the advance of "pure" science—by which is meant science divorced from labour. Furthermore, the polytechnic schools of capitalist society do not merely serve to supply capitalist society with technical experts; they supply in addition those who will act as managers, those who will function as "captains of industry." In addition, to provide the personnel which will supervise the circulation of commodities, there have been founded numerous commercial schools and academies.

In all these organizations, whatever is linked up with production will endure. But everything which is concerned merely with *capitalist* production, will die out. There will persist everything which promotes the advancement of science; there will perish that which promotes the severance of science from labour. There will be preserved the methods of technical instruction—but instruction in technical methods altogether apart from the performance of physical labour will be abolished. There will be preserved and extended the utilisation of science to further production. On the other hand, any hindrances to such utilisation of science, in so far as capital tends to make use of science only to the degree in which at any given moment science tends to raise profits, will be swept out of the way.

§ 77. *The destructive Tasks of Communism.* In the matter of education, as in all other matters, the Communist Party is not merely faced by constructive tasks, for in the opening phases of its activity it is likewise faced by destructive tasks. In the educational system bequeathed to it by capitalist society, it must hasten to destroy everything which has made of the school an instrument of capitalist class rule.

In capitalist society, the higher stages of school life were the exclusive property of the exploiting classes. Such schools, in their unending series of higher classical schools, higher modern schools, institutes, cadet corps, etc., have to be destroyed.

The teaching staff of the bourgeois schools served the purposes of bourgeois culture and of fraud. We must ruthlessly expel from the proletarian school all those teachers of the old schools who either cannot or will not become instruments for the communist enlightenment of the masses.

In the schools of the old regime, teachers were engaged who had been indoctrinated with the bourgeois spirit; in these schools methods of instruction were practised which served the class interests of the bourgeoisie. In our new schools, we must make a clean sweep of all such things.

The old school was intimately associated with religion—by compulsory religious teaching, compulsory attendance at prayers, and compulsory church-going. The new school forcibly expels religion

from within its walls, under whatever guise it seeks entry and in whatever diluted form reactionary groups of parents may desire to drag it back again.

The old university created a close corporation of professors, a teachers' guild, which prevented the introduction of fresh teaching strength into the university. The close corporation of bourgeois professors must be dissolved, and the professorial chairs must be thrown open to all competent instructors.

Under the tsar, Russian was the only permissible language in the State service and in the school; the non-Russian subjects of the tsar were not allowed to receive instruction in their native tongue. In the new schools, all trace of national oppression disappears from the realm of instruction, for those of every nationality are entitled to receive education in their respective tongues.

§ 78. *The School as an Instrument of Communist Education and Enlightenment.* The bourgeoisie comprises a very small minority of the population. This, however, does not prevent it from supplementing the other instruments of class oppression by the use of the school to educate and break in the millions of workers, to inoculate them with bourgeois ideology. In this way the majority of the population is constrained to accept the outlook and the morality of a numerically insignificant fraction.

In capitalist countries, the proletariat and the semiproletariat comprise the majority of the population. In Russia, the urban workers, though a minority, have in political matters become the leaders and the organisers of the struggle on behalf of all the toilers. It is natural, therefore, that the urban proletariat, having seized power, should use it primarily to this end, that it may raise all the backward strata of the working population to the requisite level of communist consciousness. The bourgeoisie used the school for the enslavement of all who live by labour. The proletariat will use the school to enfranchise them, to sweep away the last traces of spiritual slavery from the consciousness of the workers. Thanks to the schools, the bourgeoisie was able to impose upon proletarian children a bourgeois mentality. The task of the new communist schools is to impose upon bourgeois and petty-bourgeois children a proletarian mentality. In the realm of the mind, in the psychological sphere, the communist school must effect the same revolutionary overthrow of bourgeois society, must effect the same expropriation, that the Soviet Power has effected in the economic sphere by the nationalisation of the means of production. The minds of men must be made ready for the new social relationships. If the masses find it difficult to construct a communist society, this is because in many departments of mental life they still have both feet firmly planted upon the soil of bourgeois society, because they have not yet freed themselves from bourgeois prejudices. In part, therefore, it is the task of the new school to adapt the mentality of adults to the changed social conditions. Still more, however, it is the task of the new school to train up a younger generation whose whole ideology shall be deeply rooted in the soil of the new communist society.

The attainment of this end must be promoted by all our educational reforms, some of which have already been inaugurated, whilst others still await realisation.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN—COMMUNISM AND RELIGION

- § 89. Why Religion and Communism are incompatible. § 90. Separation of the Church from the State. § 91. Separation of the School from the Church. § 92. Struggle with the religious Prejudices of the Masses.

§ 89. *Why Religion and Communism are incompatible.* "Religion is the opium of the people," said Karl Marx. It is the task of the Communist Party to make this truth comprehensible to the widest possible circles of the labouring masses. It is the task of the party to impress firmly upon the minds of the workers, even upon the most backward, that religion has been in the past and still is today one of the most powerful means at the disposal of the oppressors for the maintenance of inequality, exploitation, and slavish obedience on the part of the toilers.

Many weak-kneed communists reason as follows: "Religion does not prevent my being a communist. I believe both in God and in communism. My faith in God does not hinder me from fighting for the cause of the proletarian revolution."

This train of thought is radically false. Religion and communism are incompatible, both theoretically and practically.

Every communist must regard social phenomena (the relationships between human beings, revolutions, wars, etc.) as processes which occur in accordance with definite laws. The laws of social development have been fully established by scientific communism on the basis of the theory of historical materialism which we owe to our great teachers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. This theory explains that social development is not brought about by any kind of supernatural forces. Nay more. The same theory has demonstrated that the very idea of God and of supernatural powers arises at a definite stage in human history, and at another definite stage begins to disappear as a childish notion which finds no confirmation in practical life and in the struggle between man and nature. But it is profitable to the predatory class to maintain the ignorance of the people and to maintain the people's childish belief in miracle (the key to the riddle really lies in the exploiters' pockets), and this is why religious prejudices are so tenacious, and why they confuse the minds even of persons who are in other respects able.

The general happenings throughout nature are, moreover, nowise dependent upon supernatural causes. Man has been extremely successful in the struggle with nature. He influences nature in his own interests, and controls natural forces, achieving these conquests, not thanks to his faith in God and in divine assistance, but in spite of this faith. He achieves his conquests thanks to the fact that in practical life and in all serious matters he invariably conducts himself as an atheist. Scientific communism, in its judgments concerning natural phenomena, is guided by the data of the natural sciences, which are in irreconcilable conflict with all religious imaginings.

In practice, no less than in theory, communism is incompatible with religious faith. The tactic of the Communist Party prescribes for the members of the party definite lines of conduct. The moral code of every religion in like manner prescribes for the faithful some definite line of conduct. For example, the Christian code runs: "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." In most cases there is an irreconcilable conflict between the

principles of communist tactics and the commandments of religion. A communist who rejects the commandments of religion and acts in accordance with the directions of the party, ceases to be one of the faithful. On the other hand, one who, while calling himself a communist, continues to cling to his religious faith, one who in the name of religious commandments infringes the prescriptions of the party, ceases thereby to be a communist.

The struggle with religion has two sides, and every communist must distinguish clearly between them. On the one hand we have the struggle with the church, as a special organization existing for religious propaganda, materially interested in the maintenance of popular ignorance and religious enslavement. On the other hand we have the struggle with the widely diffused and deeply ingrained prejudices of the majority of the working population.

§ 90. *Separation of the Church from the State.* The Christian catechism teaches that the church is a society of the faithful who are united by a common creed, by the sacraments, etc. For the communist, the church is a society of persons who are united by definite sources of income at the cost of the faithful, at the cost of their ignorance and lack of true culture. It is a society united with the society of other exploiters such as the landlords and the capitalists, united with their State, assisting that State in the oppression of the workers, and reciprocally receiving from the State help in the business of oppression. The union between church and State is of great antiquity. The association between the church and the feudal State of the landowners was exceedingly intimate. This becomes clear when we remember that the autocratic-aristocratic State was sustained by the landed interest. The church was itself a landlord on the grand scale, owning millions upon millions of acres. These two powers were inevitably compelled to join forces against the labouring masses, and their alliance served to strengthen their dominion over the workers. During the period in which the urban bourgeoisie was in conflict with the feudal nobility, the bourgeoisie fiercely attacked the church, because the church owned territories which the bourgeoisie wanted for itself. The church, as landowner, was in receipt of revenues extracted from the workers—revenues which the bourgeoisie coveted. In some countries (France for instance), the struggle was extremely embittered; in other countries (England, Germany, and Russia), it was less fierce. But this conflict explains why the demand for the separation of church and State was made by the liberal bourgeoisie and the bourgeois democracy. The real basis of the demand was a desire for the transfer to the bourgeoisie of the revenues allotted by the State to the church. But the demand for the separation of the church from the State was nowhere fully realised by the bourgeoisie. The reason is that everywhere the struggle carried on by the working class against the capitalists was growing more intense, and it seemed inexpedient to the bourgeoisie to break up the alliance between State and church. The capitalists thought it would be more advantageous to come to terms with the church, to buy its prayers on behalf of the struggle with socialism, to utilise its influence over the uncultured masses in order to keep alive in their minds the sentiment of slavish submissiveness to the exploiting State. ("All power comes from God.")

The work which the bourgeoisie in its struggle with the church had left unfinished was carried to an end by the proletarian State. One

of the first decrees of the Soviet Power in Russia was the decree concerning the separation of the church from the State. All its landed estates were taken away from the church and handed over to the working population. All the capital of the church became the property of the workers. The endowments which had been assigned to the church under the tsarist regime were confiscated, although these endowments had been cheerfully continued under the administration of the "socialist" Kerensky. Religion has become the private affair of every citizen. The Soviet Power rejects all thoughts of using the church in any way whatever as a means for strengthening the proletarian State.

§ 91. *Separation of the School from the Church.* The association of religious propaganda with scholastic instruction is the second powerful weapon employed by the clergy for the strengthening of the ecclesiastical regime and for increasing the influence of the church over the masses. The future of the human race, its youth, is entrusted to the priests. Under the tsars, the maintenance of religious fanaticism, the maintenance of stupidity and ignorance, was regarded as a matter of great importance to the State. Religion was the leading subject of instruction in the schools. In the schools, moreover, the autocracy supported the church, and the church supported the autocracy. In addition to compulsory religious teaching in the schools and compulsory attendance at religious services, the church had other weapons. It began to take charge of the whole of popular education, and for this purpose Russia was covered with a network of church schools.

Thanks to the union of school and church, our young people were from their earliest years thralls to religious superstition, this making it practically impossible to convey to their minds any integral outlook upon the universe. To one and the same question (for instance concerning the origin of the world) religion and science give conflicting answers, so that the impressionable mind of the pupil becomes a battle ground between exact knowledge and the gross errors of obscurantists.

In many countries, young people are trained, not only in a spirit of submissiveness towards the dominant regime, but also in a spirit of submissiveness towards the overthrown autocratic-ecclesiastico-feudal order. This happens in France. Even from the outlook of the bourgeois State, propaganda of such a kind is reactionary.

The program of bourgeois liberalism used to contain a demand for the separation of the school from the church. The liberals fought for the replacement of religious instruction in the schools by instruction in bourgeois morality; and they demanded the closing of schools organised by religious associations and by monasteries. Nowhere, however, was this struggle carried through to an end. In France, for instance, where for two decades all the bourgeois ministries had solemnly pledged themselves to dissolve the religious orders, to confiscate their property, and to forbid their educational activities, there has been one compromise after another with the Catholic clergy. An excellent example of such a compromise between State and church was the recent action of Clemenceau. This minister in his day had been fiercely opposed to the church. In the end, however, he forgot this hostility, and personally distributed orders of distinction among the Catholic clergy as a reward for their patriotic services. In the struggle for the exploitation of other lands (the war with Germany), and in the domestic struggle with the working class, the bourgeois State and the church have entered into an alliance, and give one another mutual support.

This reconciliation of the bourgeoisie with the church finds expression, not merely in the abandonment by the bourgeoisie of its old anti-religious watch-

words and of its campaign against religion, but in something more significant. To an increasing extent, the bourgeoisie is now becoming a "believing class." The forerunners of the contemporary European bourgeoisie were atheists, were freethinkers, were fiercely antagonistic to priests and priesthood. Their successors have taken a step backwards. A generation ago, the bourgeois, though they were themselves still atheistically inclined, though they did not believe in religious fairy tales, and though they laughed covertly at religion, nevertheless considered that the fables must be treated with respect in public since religion was a useful restraint for the common people. Today, the scions of the bourgeoisie are not content with looking upon religion as providing useful fetters for the people, but they have themselves begun to wear the chains. Under our very eyes, after the November revolution, the liberal bourgeois and the members of the professional classes crowded into the churches and prayed fervently to that which in happier days they had regarded with contempt. Such is the fate of all dying classes, whose last resource it is to seek "consolation" in religion.

Among the bourgeoisies of Central and Western Europe, which still hold the reins of power, a similar movement in favour of religion is observable. But if the bourgeois class begins to believe in God and the heavenly life, this merely means it has realised that its life here below is drawing to a close!

The separation of the school from the church aroused and continues to arouse protest from the backward elements among the workers and peasants. Many of the older generation persist in demanding that religion should still be taught in the schools as an optional subject. The Communist Party fights resolutely against all such attempts to turn back. The teaching of ecclesiastical obscurantism in the schools, even though the instruction should be merely optional, would imply the giving of State aid to the maintenance of religious prejudices. In that case the church would be provided with a ready-made audience of children—of children who are assembled in school for purposes which are the very opposite of those contemplated by religion. The church would have at its disposal schoolrooms belonging to the State, and would thereby be enabled to diffuse religious poison among our young people almost as freely as it could before the separation of the school from the church.

The decree whereby the school is separated from the church must be rigidly enforced, and the proletarian State must not make the slightest concession to medievalism. What has already been done to throw off the yoke of religion is all too little, for it still remains within the power of ignorant parents to cripple the minds of their children by teaching them religious fables. Under the Soviet Power there is freedom of conscience for adults. But this freedom of conscience for parents is tantamount to a freedom for them to poison the minds of their children with the opium which when they were young was poured into their own minds by the church. The parents force upon the children their own dullness, their own ignorance; they proclaim as truth all sorts of nonsense; and they thus greatly increase the difficulties which the unified labour school has to encounter. One of the most important tasks of the proletarian State is to liberate children from the reactionary influence exercised by their parents. The really radical way of doing this is the social education of the children, carried to its logical conclusion. As far as the immediate future is concerned, we must not rest content with the expulsion of religious propaganda from the school. We must see to it that the school assumes the offensive against religious propaganda in the home, so that from the very outset the children's minds shall be rendered immune to all those religious fairy tales which many grown-ups continue to regard as truth.

§ 92. *Struggle with the religious Prejudices of the Masses.*

It has been comparatively easy for the proletarian authority to effect the separation of the church from the State and of the school from the church, and these changes have been almost painlessly achieved. It is enormously more difficult to fight the religious prejudices which are already deeply rooted in the consciousness of the masses, and which cling so stubbornly to life. The struggle will be a long one, demanding much steadfastness and great patience. Upon this matter we read in our program: "The Russian Communist Party is guided by the conviction that nothing but the realisation of purposiveness and full awareness in all the social and economic activities of the masses can lead to the complete disappearance of religious prejudices." What do these words signify?

Religious propaganda, belief in God and in all kinds of supernatural powers, find their most grateful soil where the institutions of social life are such as to incline the consciousness of the masses towards supernatural explanations of the phenomena of nature and society. The environment created by capitalist methods of production has a strong tendency in this direction. In capitalist society, production, and the exchange of products, are not effected with full consciousness and in accordance with a preconceived plan; they proceed as if they were the outcome of elemental forces. The market controls the producer. No one knows whether commodities are being produced in excess or in deficiency. The producer does not fully understand how the great and complicated mechanism of capitalist production works; why crises occur and unemployment suddenly becomes rife; why prices rise at one time and fall at another; and so on. The ordinary worker, knowing nothing of the real causes of the social happenings amid which his life takes place, readily inclines to accept the "will of God" as a universal explanation.

In organised communist society, on the other hand, the realms of production and distribution will no longer contain any mysteries for the worker. Every worker will not merely perform his allotted portion of social work. He will in addition participate in the elaboration of the general plan of production, and will at least have clear ideas upon the matter. Throughout the entire mechanism of social production there will no longer be anything mysterious, incomprehensible, or unexpected, and there will therefore be no further place for mystical explanations or for superstition. Just as the joiner who has made a table knows perfectly well how the table came to exist and that he need not lift his eyes towards heaven in order to find its creator, so in communist society all the workers will clearly understand what they have produced with their collective energies, and how they have produced it.

For this reason, the mere fact of the organisation and strengthening of the socialist system, will deal religion an irrecoverable blow. The transition from socialism to communism, the transition from the society which makes an end of capitalism to the society which is completely freed from all traces of class division and class struggle, will bring about the natural death of all religion and all superstition.

But this must by no means be taken to imply that we can sit down at our ease, satisfied with having prophesied the decay of religion at some future date.

It is essential at the present time to wage with the utmost vigour the war against religious prejudices, for the church has now definitely

become a counter-revolutionary organisation, and endeavours to use its religious influence over the masses in order to marshal them for the political struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Orthodox faith which is defended by the priests aims at an alliance with the monarchy. This is why the Soviet Power finds it necessary to engage at this juncture in widespread anti-religious propaganda. Our aims can be secured by the delivery of special lectures, by the holding of debates, and by the publication of suitable literature; also by the general diffusion of scientific knowledge, which slowly but surely undermines the authority of religion. An excellent weapon in the fight with the church was used recently in many parts of the republic when the shrines were opened to show the "incorruptible" relics. This served to prove to the wide masses of the people, and precisely to those in whom religious faith was strongest, the base trickery upon which religion in general, and the creed of the Russian Orthodox church in particular, are grounded.

But the campaign against the backwardness of the masses in this matter of religion, must be conducted with patience and considerateness, as well as with energy and perseverance. The credulous crowd is extremely sensitive to anything which hurts its feelings. To thrust atheism upon the masses, and in conjunction therewith to interfere forcibly with religious practices and to make mock of the objects of popular reverence, would not assist but would hinder the campaign against religion. If the church were to be persecuted, it would win sympathy among the masses, for persecution would remind them of the almost forgotten days when there was an association between religion and the defence of national freedom; it would strengthen the antisemitic movement; and in general it would mobilise all the vestiges of an ideology which is already beginning to die out.

In 1920, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held hearings relative to the presence in the United States of Ludwig Martens, who maintained that he had been sent as the new Soviet Ambassador. His testimony did not make a favorable impression upon officials of the American Government. Diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States was not to come until November 1933.¹ Whether or not Martens' statements can be classified as Aesopian double-talk, they do at least throw considerable light upon Soviet concepts of foreign policy.

EXHIBIT No. 10

[Reprint of excerpts from *Russian Propaganda*, 66th Cong., 1st sess., U. S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, hearings on the matter of the Soviet representative, Ludwig Martens, January 12-March 20, 1920. Pp. 23-26, 415-418, 467-468.]

RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC—A MEMORANDUM TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES FROM THE REPRESENTATIVE IN AMERICA OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC

[The government of the Russian socialist federal soviet republic on January 2, 1919, appointed as its representative in the United States Mr. L. A. Martens. On Wednesday, March 19, 1919, Mr. Martens sent his official credentials to the State Department in Washington. The credentials were accompanied by

¹ U. S. Department of State, *Establishment of Diplomatic Relations With the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1948, pp. 1, 5-6.

the following memorandum dealing with the intentions of the government of Russia, as well as with the internal affairs of that country.]

The Russian socialist federal soviet republic was established on the 6th of November, 1917, by a spontaneous uprising of the toiling masses of Russia. Its government, the council of people's commissaires, is a government controlled by and responsible to all such members of the population of Russia as are willing to perform useful work, physical or mental. Those who, while not being unable to work, deliberately refuse to exercise their productive abilities, choosing to live on the fruits of the labor of other people, are eliminated from participation in the control of my government.

Under present conditions those who are willing to work for the common good number at least 90 per cent of the adult population in the area controlled by the soviets. All such people have full political and civic rights.

The basis for citizenship in Russia being industrial and economic rather than political, and the social system being of such a nature that every person engaged in useful social labor is bound to participate in public affairs, the percentage of people directly participating in the management of society in soviet Russia is higher than has been the case anywhere in the world hitherto. The Russian soviet republic affords thereby the widest possible field for a real expression of a conscious popular will. While the soviet government is a government of the working class, the abolition of exploitation of labor and the elimination thereby of class division creates a productive community in which all able inhabitants are bound to become useful workers who have full political rights. My government thus becomes the expression of fully 100 per cent of the people. It should also be noted that political rights are granted in Russia to every inhabitant engaged in useful work, even though he be not a citizen of Russia, but only temporarily working there.

The Russian socialist federal soviet republic was rapidly acclaimed by the vast majority of the laboring people throughout the former Empire of Russia. It has maintained itself in the face of manifold plots and opposition on the part of small groups of the former ruling classes, who in many cases enlisted foreign help and who employed the most unscrupulous methods in their fight against the soviet institutions. Yet nowhere in Russia could such elements of their own accord organize any noticeable resistance to the popular will as expressed by the soviet government. Only in sparsely populated outlying districts and in such of those districts where our opponents had access to foreign military help has it been possible for them to maintain any organized opposition and to wrest from the control of soviet Russia any territory. To-day, after 16 months of existence, the Russian soviet republic finds itself more securely established than at any previous time.

During the current year the soviet government has been particularly successful in retaking vast territories wrested from its control during the preceding months. By February, 1919, the soviet troops on the northern front had retaken the city of Shenkursk and adjoining territory. On the eastern front they have lost Perm, but they have regained Pereufa, Ufa, Sterlitamak, Bielebey, Orenburg, and Uralsk. The railroad connection with central Asia is at present in the hands of the soviet government. On the southern front they

have taken the railroad stations of Pavorino, Alexikovo, Polovaya, Kalatsk, and Bogutchar, which have assured them of a control over the railroads of that region, while on the southeastern front the Ukrainian soviet troops threaten the army of Krasnov from Ugansk in the rear. In the Ukraine the soviet troops have acquired Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Poltava, Krementchug, Tchernigov, and Obrutch. In the Baltic provinces and in Lithuania the soviet power has been extended over a great part of the territory formerly occupied by the Germans, with the large cities of Minsk, Vilna, Riga, Mitau, Dvinsk, Windau, and others in the control of adherents of the soviet.

The last-mentioned successes are largely due to the fact that after the evacuation by the German armies of the territories wrested from Russia during the war and by the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which the soviet republic was forced to sign under duress, the workers in such territories everywhere are rising to support the ideals and the social order represented by the soviet republic.

The resentment against the former ruling classes, who did not hesitate to invite foreign military help against their own people, has evinced itself in an ever-increasing popular support of the soviet government, even among such people as at first were either hostile or indifferent to the soviet rule. Men and women of literary or technical training and of intellectual accomplishments are now in great numbers rallying to the support of the soviet government and cooperate with it in all administrative branches. The peasantry of Russia, the great majority of whom from the very outset was in favor of the workers' revolution, has become more consciously attached to our social system, realizing that in the support of the workers' republic lies the only guaranty for their remaining in control of the land which they have wrested from their former oppressors. The economic isolation of Russia, which so far has prevented the soviet government from adequately supplying the peasants with implements that they so badly need, is of course causing hardship among the peasantry; yet the peasants generally do not place the blame for this privation at the door of the soviet government, well realizing that it is due to the deliberate interference in the affairs of the Russian people by hostile groups, and that a remedy for this privation is not a weakening, but a strengthening, of the soviet power. They fully realize—and their experience in such instances where counter-revolutionary forces temporarily succeeded in overthrowing soviet institutions, clearly demonstrated the correctness of this realization—that an overthrow of the soviet rule, if possible at all, would lead to the establishment of a tyrannical, reactionary, bloody autocracy.

The remarkable improvement in the internal situation of soviet Russia appears from the negotiations which the members of the former constituent assembly have begun with the soviet government. Representatives of the former constituent assembly, such as Chernov, Rakitnikov, Sviatitzki, Volski, Bourevoy, Chernenkov, Antonov, all of whom are also members of the central committee of the social revolutionary party, recently arrived in Moscow to participate in a conference with the soviet government with the view of giving support to our republic. This conference has led to an understanding whereby these well known social revolutionists and former bitter opponents have ceased their opposition and declared themselves with great emphasis against the Entente intervention in Russia.

An improvement of the soviet government's relations with the elements formerly hostile to it in Russian society is also indicated by the change of the attitude of the Mensheviks, whose conference has likewise protested against the Entente intervention.

The army of the Russian socialist federal soviet republic has been successfully organized and numbers today over a million men. A system of universal military training has been inaugurated which steadily supplies the army with accessions, with the view of creating a force numbering, by the end of the current year, 3,000,000 men. The forces of the government are led partly by officers of the former Russian armies who have proved their allegiance to the soviet government, and partly by officers developed from the rank and file by the military educational institutions established by my government. The commissariat of war has been successful in establishing and maintaining a strict discipline within the ranks of the army, a discipline not based on fear of punishment or on docile submission, but on the ardent conviction of the workers, from whose ranks the army is recruited, that it is their privilege as well as their duty to defend their social achievements against encroachments from any sources. This same conviction of the necessity of the defense of our revolutionary achievements has made it possible for us, in spite of all economic obstacles, efficiently to organize the production of military supplies.

The soviet government inherited a legacy of utter financial disruption, created by four years of war and a year of revolution. This state of affairs, and also the necessity of coordinating the financial system of Russia with the new industrial and economic system represented by my government, necessitated a complete reorganization of the financial institutions on the basis of common property rights. This reorganization, which aims at exchanging the money system for a system representing labor value, is still in the state of formation. Regardless thereof, the soviet government, in as far as financial relations with and obligations to other countries are concerned, is prepared to offer modes of financial transactions adapted to the financial system of other countries.

The period preceding the establishment of the soviet government also badly disrupted the machinery of production and distribution. The soviet government inaugurated a system of public control and ownership of industries. It has actually taken over many important branches of industry, and has established the control of the supreme council of national economy over all industries. Great handicaps have been faced because of the obstructionist methods of our opponents, lack of raw material and machinery, and because of the general confusion unavoidably coincident with the gigantic reorganization of the industrial life. In spite of these handicaps, various branches of industry have been reestablished, even with an increase of productive efficiency. Many branches of industry, however, have not so far been able to recuperate, because of lack of raw material and lack of machinery. The needs of such industries offer a wide field for business transaction with Russia by other countries.

The state of railroad communications at the outset of the soviet régime was very unsatisfactory. The demands first of the demobilization of the old army and later of military operations against counter-revolutionary attacks taxed the capacity of our railroads and

left little opportunity for reconstruction work in this field. The soviet government during the past year nevertheless has managed to build and to complete the building of about 2,000 versts of new railroads. It has also paid great attention to the construction of other means of communication, such as canals, roads, etc., and is at the present time planning work along these lines on a large scale, which will also offer great opportunities for foreign trade. The people of Russia, shut off for hundreds of years from the sources of popular education, have made it one of the main tasks of my government to reorganize the school system with the view of the greatest possible achievements in the field of popular education. In this respect extensive work has been carried on throughout Russia during the past year. Tens of thousands of new primary schools, vocational schools, workers' universities and lecture courses, especially courses offering agricultural instruction, have been established and maintained at great expense on the part of the soviet government, and the field of the educational activities has been extended to include the making of the treasures of the arts and sciences as easily accessible to the people as possible.

All these efforts, incomplete as they still are, have nevertheless given the Russian people sufficient evidence of the earnestness of the desire and of the ability of the soviet government to fill the needs of the population and they have greatly contributed to the abatement of opposition. Inasmuch as opposition has ceased in the form of active resistance to the soviet government, it has become possible to lighten such extraordinary measures as censorship, martial law, etc.

Much prejudice has been created against the soviet government by the circulation of false reports about the nature of the institutions of and the measures undertaken by soviet Russia. One of the most frequent allegations has been that the rule of the soviets is one of violence and murder. In this connection I want to call your attention to the following passages in the note sent to the President of the United States on the 24th of December, 1918, by Maxim Litvinoff, on behalf of the soviet government in Russia:

"* * * The chief aim in the soviets is to secure for the toiling majority of the Russian people economic liberty, without which political liberty is of no avail to them. For eight months the soviets endeavored to realize their aims by peaceful methods, without resorting to violence, adhering to the abolition of capital punishment, which abolition had been part of their program. It was only when their adversaries, the minority of the Russian people, took to terroristic acts against popular members of the government, and invoked the help of foreign troops, that the laboring masses were driven to acts of exasperation and gave vent to their wrath and bitter feelings against their former oppressors. For allied invasion of Russian territory not only compelled the soviets against their own will to militarize the country anew and to divert their energies and resources, so necessary to the economic reconstruction of Russia, exhausted by four years of war, to the defense of the country, but also cut off the vital sources of foodstuffs and raw materials, exposing the population to the most terrible privation, bordering on starvation.

"* * * I wish to emphasize that the so-called red terror, which is so grossly exaggerated and misrepresented abroad, was not the cause, but the direct outcome and result, of allied intervention.

The Russian workers and peasants fail to understand how foreign countries, which never dreamt of interfering with Russian affairs when czarist barbarism and militarism ruled supreme, and which even supported that régime, can feel justified in intervening in Russia now, when the working people themselves, after decades of strenuous struggling and countless sacrifices, have succeeded in taking the power and destiny of their country into their own hands, aiming at nothing but their own happiness and international brotherhood, constituting no menace to other nations."

In another passage of the same note Mr. Litvinoff states as follows: " * * * The best means for the termination of violence in Russia would be to reach a settlement which would include the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Russia and the cessation of direct or indirect assistance to such groups in Russia as still indulge in futile hopes of an armed revolt against the workers' government, but who by themselves alone would not think of such a possibility if they could not reckon on assistance from abroad."

The great work of social reconstruction inaugurated by the soviet government as the executors of the people's will has been hampered by the necessity of military defense against the opponents of our republic, and by the economic isolation of soviet Russia, which has been one of the weapons of their attacks, together with deliberate disruption of our means of communication with important food centers, as well as destruction of food stores; and all this has greatly increased the sufferings of our people. By tremendous efforts and by efficient consolidation of all economic means at its disposal, my government has been able to stave off the worst features of this situation. The fact that economic disruption, together with starvation, and lack of even the bare necessities of life prevails so poignantly, and all the more in such parts of the former Russian Empire as have been for some time in the hands of the opponents of our republic and which have had contact with the outside world, clearly testifies that the soviet rule is much more capable of insuring means of existence to the people than any pretenders to the power in Russia.

In view of all that is stated above, I venture to say that the soviet government has given all such proofs of stability, permanence, popular support, and constructive ability as ever have been required from any Government in the world as a basis for political recognition and commercial intercourse. I am confident that people outside of Russia are becoming as convinced as the Russian people themselves of the futility of efforts to overthrow the soviet government. Such efforts lead only to unnecessary bloodshed, and, if successful in any part of Russia, lead to the temporary establishment of a bloody, monarchical autocracy, which can not maintain itself and even the temporary existence of which will lead to bloodshed and misery.

Fully realizing that the economic prosperity of the world at large, including soviet Russia, depends on uninterrupted interchange of products between various countries the soviet government of Russia desires to establish commercial relations with other countries, and especially with the United States. The soviet government is prepared at once to buy from the United States vast amounts of finished products, on terms of payment fully satisfactory to the parties concerned. My government also desires to reach an agreement in respect to export from Russia of raw material needed by other countries and

of which considerable surpluses exist in Russia. In order to reestablish the economic integrity of Russia and to insure uninterrupted commercial relations, the Russian workers and peasants, as Mr. Litvinoff stated in the above quoted note, "are prepared to go any length of concessions as far as the real interests of other countries are concerned, of course with the understanding that no agreements entered into should impair the sovereignty of the Russian people, as expressed by the Russian socialist federal soviet republic."

On the part of the Russian socialist federal soviet republic there thus exist no of bstacles to the establishment of proper relations with other countries, especially with the United States. The soviet government of Russia is willing to open its doors to citizens of other countries for peaceful pursuit of opportunity, and it invites any scrutiny and investigation of its conditions, which I feel sure will prove that peace and prosperity in Russia—and elsewhere, in as far as the prosperity of Russia affects other countries—may be attained by the cessation of the present policy of nonintercourse with the soviet Russia, and by the establishment of material and intellectual intercourse.

Russia is now prepared to purchase in the American market great quantities of the following commodities, commensurate with the needs of 150,000,000 people: Railroad supplies, agricultural implements and machinery, tools, mining machinery and supplies, electrical supplies, printing machinery, textile manufactures, shoes and clothing, fats and canned meats, rubber goods, typewriters and office supplies, automobiles and trucks, chemicals, medical supplies, etc.

Russia is prepared to sell the following commodities: Flax, hemp, hides, bristles, furs, lumber, grain, platinum, metals and minerals.

The Russian government, in the event of trade being opened with the United States, is prepared to place at once in banks in Europe and America, gold to the amount of \$200,000,000, to cover the price of initial purchases.

To insure the basis for credits for additional Russian purchases in the United States, I suggest that detailed negotiations with my government will evolve propositions fully acceptable for this purpose.

I am empowered by my government to negotiate for the speedy opening of commercial relations for the mutual benefit of Russia and America, and I shall be glad to discuss details at the earliest opportunity.

L. A. MARTENS,
*Representative in the United States of the
Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.*

S. NUORTEVA,
Secretary of the Bureau of the Representative.

* * * * *

[Memorandum of the U. S. Department of State, with commentary by the Soviet representative, Ludwig Martens]

The Department of State has received several reports by cable from Riga concerning certain documents found in the possession of a Bolshevik courier captured late in February of this year while en route from Soviet Russia to the United States. These cables contain

the following excerpts and summaries of three of the documents found:

I. Address by G. Zinoviev as president of the executive committee of the Communist International to the central committees of the American Communist Party and the American Communist Labor Party.

"From reports of comrades who have arrived from America the executive committee of the Communist International has acquainted itself with the open split between the two American parties. This question has been submitted to and considered by the members of the executive committee, together with representatives of the American parties and the other nationalities. This split is a heavy blow to the movement; unprecedented sacrifices must be made by the American proletariat. The question of tactics is the principal source of disagreement, and this split is therefore unjustified."

Here follows an exposition of the different viewpoints of the two American factions. The American Communist Party principally consists of foreign or so-called national federations and the American Communist Labor Party comprises the English-speaking element.

"With the aim of bringing about unification, the executive committee of the communist international proposes an immediate joint convention, whose decision shall be binding on both parties.

"The following matters are pointed out to American comrades:

"1. The communist party should unite to seize power and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. A determined struggle should be made to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie. For this aim all differences are inadmissible."

Here follows the statement that frank discussion is desired between the various more or less radical groups, but that there must be an absolute final submission of the minority to the decision of the majority.

"The complete break with the old Socialist and Socialist Labor Parties is naturally a condition for the creation of the American Communist Party.

"Individual members or entire groups of these can be received by communists when they come over whole-heartedly. The Communist Party will be for them the best school for communism.

"The party must take into account the every-day incidents of the class war. The stage of verbal propaganda and agitation has been left behind. The time for decisive battles has arrived. The most important task confronting the American Communists at the present moment is to draw the wide proletarian masses into the path of revolutionary struggle. The party must have (for its goal (?)) the dissolution of the American Federation of Labor and other unions associated with it and must strive to establish the closest connections with the I. W. W., the One Big Union, and the W. I. U. The party must support the formation of factory workers' committees in factories, these serving as bases for the every-day struggle and for training the advanced guard of labor in managing industry."

The amalgamation of the foreign-speaking national federations with the English-speaking party is insisted upon. Being better trained theoretically and more closely bound by the Russian revolutionary traditions, the members of the national federations may in

the future have the guiding influence. The employment of the referendum should be reduced to a minimum.

"One of the most important tasks for the American communists is the establishment of a large daily political paper, not for theoretical propaganda in training, but for giving information on all public events from the communist point of view. The executive committee urges American comrades to establish immediately an underground organization for the purpose of revolutionary propaganda among the masses and for carrying on the work in case of violent suppression of the legal party organization. The fewer people who know about it the better.

"G. ZINOVIEV,
*"President of Executive Committee of the
Communist International."*

II. Agreement for the unification of the American Communist and the American Communist Labor Parties:

"1. A committee is to be established in America for the purpose of uniting both parties, each committee to be composed of three members of each party.

"2. This committee is to call a convention.

"3. The convention is to further consolidation under the name United Communist Party of America.

"4. The convention is to be the party's supreme organ.

"5. The convention is to elect a central committee for directing matters in the intervening periods between conventions.

"6. Party conferences are to be called in case of necessity.

"7. Referendums are considered undesirable during the period of disagreement.

"8. A new executive of national federations must be retained particularly for propaganda among the non-English-speaking masses which must be Anglicized as rapidly as possible. The central committee is to further amalgamation.

"9. Dues are to be paid to the local and State committees.

"10. All present propaganda of the national federations is to be subject to the control of the party's central committee.

"11. The suspension of a member is to be possible only through the central committee of the local party units.

"12. There is to be one federation only for each foreign language group."

The foregoing is dated Moscow, January 12, 1920, and bears the statement that it is signed by the delegates of the American International Communist Labor Party and of various Russian federations.

III. Appeal of the executive committee of the Communist International to the I. W. W., signed by G. Zinoviev, and dated Moscow, January 1920:

"This communication from the Communist International to the I. W. W. is made so that the I. W. W. may understand the communist principles and program."

Here follows an outline of the common aims of the Communist International and the I. W. W., and a description of the recent American legislative measures to bolster up capitalism. It is asserted that the American Government and the capitalists are attempting to enslave the factory workers, and that the blood and sweat of the

laborers must be turned into gold to pay the war debts of the ruined capitalists' governments.

"Unless the workers of other countries rise against their own capitalists the Russian revolution cannot last.

"The capitalistic State exposes its real functions as merely protecting capital, this being particularly true of the American Constitution."

In discussing the dictatorship of the proletariat, an argument is made for the recognition of the necessity of overthrowing the State and of substituting for it an industrial administrative body similar to the general executive of the I. W. W.

In discussing the workers' state, a description of various institutions of the Russian Soviet Republic and how they function is given in detail.

Here follows a paragraph on the organization of production and distribution, citing a number of Russian workers' organizations.

In discussing democratic centralization, Zinoviev says:

"I. W. W. is opposed to centralization only for the common good of the working class."

This paragraph continues by endeavoring to show how industries and private property must be administered by a centralized authority for the common benefit.

In a paragraph on politics, the "yellow" Socialists are reviled and this declaration is made by Zinoviev:

"We communists do not believe it possible to capture State power by using the political machinery of the capitalist State."

Zinoviev stated that the general strike as advocated by the I. W. W. is insufficient to wrest power from the capitalist state. Armed insurrection must be employed.

In discussing revolutionary parliamentarism, Zinoviev said:

"Communists elected to congress or legislatures have as their function to make propaganda."

Victor Berger, William Haywood, and Vincent St. John, convicted in the Chicago Federal courts in 1918, are all extolled by Zinoviev as useful examples of the political use of Government institutions for communistic purposes.

"The particular business of the I. W. W. is to train workers for the seizure and management of industry. All workers must be members of the revolutionary industrial union of their industry and of the political party advocating socialism."

Then follows a paragraph on social revolution and future society.

"The I. W. W. should take the initiative in trying to establish a basis for uniting all unions having a class-conscious revolutionary character, such as the W. I. I. U., the one big union, and insurgents from the American Federation of Labor. They should not repel the attempts of American communists to come to an agreement.

"G. Zinoviev,

"President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International."

Mr. ELLIS. Mr. Martens, you say you never heard of such a man as Muller?

Mr. MARTENS. No I never heard of him.

Mr. ELLIS. What is the connection between the Third Internationale, so far as its personnel is concerned, and the executive officers of the present Russian Soviet Government?

Mr. MARTENS. What do you mean "so far as personnel is concerned"?

Mr. ELLIS. Well, it is the Third Internationale, is it not?

Mr. MARTENS. Yes.

Mr. ELLIS. Of which Lenin, Trotski, Zinoviev, and all the other leaders in Russia are members?

Mr. MARTENS. They belong to it.

Mr. ELLIS. Have you been advised, Mr. Martens, that the Third Internationale is now undertaking the work of propaganda which was formerly conducted by the Russian Soviet Government?

Mr. MARTENS. No I do not think it is.

Mr. ELLIS. You do not think that is true?

Mr. MARTENS. No.

Mr. ELLIS. Did you see the statement by Mr. Zinoviev in the New York World of February 26, 1920, being an interview by Lincoln Eyre?

Mr. MARTENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ELLIS. Did you read the statement contained there from Mr. Zinoviev, at page 2 of the New York World for February 26, 1920, in which, in answer to a question by the newspaper reporter as to the propaganda program, Mr. Zinoviev said:

The Third Internationale is primarily an instrument of revolution. It reunites at Moscow the intelligence and energy of all the Communist groups the world over. Delegates from the various national organizations come to us and give and take knowledge about the cause and return to their respective home countries refreshed and invigorated. This work will be continued, no matter what happens, legally or illegally. The Soviet Government may pledge itself to refrain from propaganda abroad, but the Third Internationale—never!

Did you read that?

Mr. MARTENS. Yes; I did.

Mr. ELLIS. Do you know whether or not this is a mere device on the part of the Soviet Government to spread propaganda throughout the world by evading or attempting to evade official responsibility for it?

Mr. MARTENS. Not at all.

Mr. ELLIS. It has nothing to do with it?

Mr. HARDWICK. Let him finish his answer. Mr. Martens, it has nothing to do with what?

Mr. MARTENS. I mean that the Third Internationale has nothing to do with the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government represents all of the Russian people, and the Third Internationale represents the Communist Party of all countries which have joined it. So their activities have nothing in common.

Mr. ELLIS. They have nothing in common at all?

Mr. MARTENS. No.

Mr. ELLIS. It is no more the propaganda, in your judgment, by the soviet government itself than if the President of the United States and the Secretary of State and other members of his Cabinet should engage in propaganda abroad, proposing revolution in other countries, for instance, would have any connection with the Government of the United States. That is your view of it, is it?

Mr. MARTENS. Well, if the President of the United States in his private capacity of a citizen of the United States were to express his opinion in regard, for instance, to Japanese institutions or some other institutions, it would be his private opinion and would have nothing to do with the Government of the United States.

Mr. ELLIS. That is to say, if the President of the United States and the members of his Cabinet should send out pronouncements proposing to overthrow by force and violence the Government of Japan, that would be simply acting in his or their personal capacities and would not in any way involve the United States?

Mr. MARTENS. Possibly it would. I do not know about that. These hypothetical questions that you are putting to me put a different idea on the matter.

Mr. ELLIS. There is nothing hypothetical about that.

Mr. MARTENS. Yes; there is.

Mr. ELLIS. Here is propaganda going out by the Third Internationale, which is composed of Lenin, Trotsky, and all other officers and executives of the soviet government.

Mr. MARTENS. Yes; they belong to the Third Internationale.

Mr. ELLIS. And you say that is done in their private capacity?

Mr. MARTENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ELLIS. And that it in no way involves the Government of Russia?

Mr. MARTENS. No, sir.

Mr. ELLIS. And must not be looked upon by foreign Governments as being any intention on the part of the Soviet Government in Russia to engage in propaganda abroad?

Mr. MARTENS. Exactly.

Mr. ELLIS. When they say they propose to continue this propaganda, no matter what happens, legally or illegally, and the Soviet Government may pledge itself to refrain from propaganda abroad, but that the Third Internationale will continue it, and the Third Internationale is composed of the leaders, chief officers, and members of the Soviet Government, it does not in any way, in your judgment, involve any sympathy with or participation by the Soviet Government?

Mr. MARTENS. Sympathy is a different thing. As I told you on one of the previous hearings, I indorse the Third Internationale, but I am not acting for the Third Internationale here in the United States. They are two different things.

* * * * *

MR. MARTENS (reading):

STATEMENT BY MR. I. MARTENS, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET REPUBLIC

The fundamental principles of the Russian Soviet Republic which form the basis for its foreign policy and its relations to other nations are expressed in the unqualified recognition on the part of the Republic of Russia of the principles of "no forcible annexations," "self-determination for all nations," and "no secret diplomacy." From the very outset of its existence the Government of the Russian Soviet Republic has recognized these maxims, not only theoretically, but has actually applied them to her own relations with other countries. One of the first acts of the Soviet Government was the abrogation of all secret treaties which the imperialistic Government of the Czar had imposed upon weaker nations, such as Persia and China, involving conditions and obligations which made it possible for the Government of the Czar mercilessly to exploit these nations. It also exposed and repudiated secret treaties entered into with other great powers for the purpose of joint exploitation of such nations. Immediately upon its establishment the Russian Soviet Republic announced and practiced unqualified recognition of the independence of such nations on the

territory of the former Russian Empire as form a geographic and economic entity sufficiently homogeneous and self-sufficient to make separate economic existence possible.

So, for instance, Soviet Russia has not interfered with and has no intention in the future to interfere with the establishment and development of Finland, Poland, Esthonia, Lettland, Lithuania, Ukraine, and Caucasus as independent States. Inasmuch as the economic interests of the aforesaid States have always been, and likely will remain, closely bound to the economic life of Russia proper, and inasmuch as century-long connection with the Russian Empire has intermingled their native population with Russians and has created other bonds intimately linking the interests of these countries to the interests of Russia, it is quite natural that the Soviet Republic of Russia confidently expects close cooperation between itself and the producers in these States. However, it aims to reach such cooperation not by means of a forcible imposition on these countries of Soviet Russia's influence but by voluntary development of friendship due to such common interests. It has no intention of aggressive action against these countries. The Soviet Republic of Russia proposes to demobilize her army immediately upon receiving sufficient assurances that no aggression will be made against her by foreign powers.

Soviet Russia's attitude toward other countries is determined by this same principle of recognition of the right of self-determination of the people of every country. While the Russian Soviet Republic is founded on the principles of communistic socialism, and while it confidently expects to prove by its own experience that these principles are conducive to a greater productivity and to a fair distribution of commodities necessary to insure prosperity to all the producers, it does not endeavor to impose upon other countries its social principles. We firmly believe that the social and political institutions of all countries are determined by the particular historical and economic past and present of these countries, and that no such institutions can be artificially imposed upon any country by influences developed under different social and historical conditions not compatible with the economic necessity of that country. Recognizing this principle, we opposed alike interference in Russian domestic affairs by foreign powers and interference in domestic affairs of other countries by Russia. I take the liberty of making the observation that the utter failure of the allied intervention policy in Russia well proves the futility of efforts to impose upon a country institutions which do not reflect the conscious will of the effective majority of that country. This principle we recognize in respect to all other countries, and accordingly without reservations we refrain from interference in the internal affairs of the United States.

The willingness of Soviet Russia to accept every reasonable basis for a permanent peace with other countries is clearly shown in the recitation of her many peace proposals during the past two years, which I submit herewith and ask to be made a part of the record.

Senator MOSES. That is offered as your interpretation of the foreign policy of the Russian Soviet Government?

MR. MARTENS. Yes, sir.

MR. ELLIS. And that is said, Mr. Martens, in spite of the proclamation in the constitution of Soviet Russia in which they ask for the victory of socialism in all lands, and you have stated that it includes the United States?

MR. MARTENS. Yes; I mentioned it just now in my statement, that we, of course, as Socialists, hope that socialism will be established all over the world.

MR. ELLIS. And that is in spite of all the propaganda that has come from Lenin, from the platform of the third internationale, the statement of Buchain in the Revolutionary Age, in which he calls upon the people of the United States to overthrow their Government; the address of Bucharin to American comrades; the article of Joffe, your Russian ambassador to Berlin; the Lenin speech of December 6, 1919; the article in the official organ, the Petrograd Pravda, of November 7, 1919, by Zinoviev, of the Soviet of Petrograd; the article of November 10, 1919, in the organ of the trade union of Petrograd;

the wireless from Moscow of January 21; and all this propaganda that has come over here either by the government in its constitution, by the third internationale, by Lenin, by Trotsky, by Joffe—in spite of all that, you say that you construe the purpose of the present Russian Government is not to interfere in the internal relations of any other countries?

MR. MARTENS. Exactly; and I repeat it again most energetically.

As early as April 1920, Lenin had begun to express his intention of mitigating certain aspects of Soviet aggression (sec. A, exhibit No. 10). His avowed reasons were reconstruction of the prostrate economy of the U. S. S. R. and exploitation of trade agreements with non-Communist nations.¹ The task of persuading “infantile left-wing” Bolsheviks to submit to an anti-Marxist strategic retreat was by no means easy.² Certain inflexible Communists preferred to go right on smashing things to pieces. The realistic Lenin, however, saw very clearly that continued use of extreme violence would soon bring total destruction to the entire Communist revolution. In the lecture which follows, Lenin patiently explained to rank-and-file Bolsheviks that a strategic retreat is sometimes necessary in order to assure ultimate victory. But no matter how far adverse conditions forced him to retreat, Lenin firmly intended to exploit whatever means of Communist disruption lay at his disposal. Hence, in 1920, he counseled the use of deceit and subterfuge rather than overt acts of violence. In his opinion, the democratic powers would do relatively little, if anything at all, to counteract Communist exploitation of treachery and “boring from within.”

The reader should note well how Lenin insists that the granting of economic concessions either at home or abroad and the mere talking about peaceful coexistence in no way imply a retreat from basic strategies of the cold war. As he explicitly states, the Soviet Union in 1918 took the initiative in making peace overtures precisely to forestall effective Allied intervention in the civil war (this section, exhibit No. 1). For Lenin, trade agreements and peace negotiations meant nothing more than class conflict at a slower pace.

It is difficult to determine exactly when Lenin first used the term “capitalist encirclement.”³ Although he clearly formulates the concept in the following lecture, he does not use precisely these two words. We may note, however, how the first sentence of the first chapter of the *Communist Manifesto* lays the foundation for this concept. Whenever the class struggle is considered in the light of “bourgeois” versus Communist countries, “capitalist encirclement” becomes a most appropriate designation. In brief, world peace cannot be firmly established until all capitalist powers encircling Communist nations are destroyed.

After Lenin's death, Stalin was to make much more frequent and much more explicit reference to capitalist encirclement in order to explain the failure of the Bolshevik regime to liquidate the “transitional” dictatorship of the proletariat in favor of the classless and stateless Communist utopia. Not many months before his own demise, Stalin reaffirmed the doctrine of capitalist encirclement at the 19th Communist Party Congress of the Soviet Union held in October 1952.⁴ When his turn came to speak, Malenkov emphatically reiterated Stalin's warnings.⁵

Throughout the year 1955, Soviet propaganda has carefully avoided explicit reference to capitalist encirclement. Nevertheless, the substance of this doctrine has been constantly reaffirmed through subtle Aesopian doubletalk. The contemporary line may be summarized in three propositions: (1) The U. S. S. R. wants only peaceful coexistence; (2) the United States of America wants only aggression and interference with trade agreements which might help to advance the Socialist economy of the U. S. S. R.; (3) the masters of the U. S. S. R. are completely dedicated to the principles formulated and tested by Lenin and Stalin. Through this propaganda line, Soviet authorities still put the blame for the failures of their domestic economy upon the United States. At the same

¹ Gompers and Walling, *Out of their Own Mouths*, pp. 245-253, presents a very early (1921) evaluation of the folly of relying upon trade agreements with the Soviet regime.

² Kerzhentsev, *Life of Lenin*, Chapter XX: The New Economic Policy.

³ Marguerite J. Fisher, *Communist Doctrine and the Free World*, Syracuse University Press, 1952. Chapter VII contains several brief but significant passages from the works of Lenin on this particular point. See also Richard L.-G. Deverall, *War*, Tokyo, 1955, pp. 104-105; DeHuszar, *Soviet Power*, p. 13.

⁴ *Current Soviet Policies*. Edited by Leo Grulow, New York, Praeger, 1953, pp. 7-8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

time, they hold up the prospect of peaceful coexistence as bait to the naive in foreign countries. The key to this "Russian enigma" can be found in the third aforementioned proposition: unswerving dedication to the policies established by Lenin and Stalin. Not until the Kremlin masters have destroyed their capitalist encirclers can the Communist millennium appear. Once the latter is realized, further excuses and Aesopian doubletalk will become altogether unnecessary.

EXHIBIT No. 11

[New York, International Publishers, 1943. V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, vol. VIII. Pp. 279-282, 295-297.]

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF NUCLEI SECRETARIES OF THE MOSCOW ORGANISATION OF THE RUSSIAN COM- MUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS)

November 26, 1920

COMRADES, I have noticed with great pleasure, although, I must confess, with surprise, that the question of concessions is arousing enormous interest. Cries are heard on every hand, and chiefly among the rank and file. How is that, they ask: we have driven out our own exploiters, but are inviting foreign exploiters?

Why these outcries give me pleasure will be understood. Obviously, the fact that among the rank and file a cry of alarm has gone up that the old capitalists may return, that this cry has gone up in connection with an act of such tenth-rate significance as the decree on concessions, is a sign that the realisation of how dangerous capitalism is and how great the danger of the struggle against it is still very, very powerful. That is excellent, of course, and all the more excellent because, as I already said, the alarm is being expressed by the rank and file.

The fundamental thing in the matter of concessions, from the standpoint of political considerations—and both political and economic considerations are involved here—the fundamental thing in the matter of concessions, from the standpoint of political considerations, is the rule which we have not only mastered theoretically but have also applied practically, and which will, until socialism finally triumphs all over the world, remain a fundamental rule with us, namely, we must take advantage of the antagonisms and contradictions between two capitalisms, between two systems of capitalist states, inciting one against the other. As long as we have not conquered the whole world, as long as, from the economic and military standpoint, we are weaker than the capitalist world, we must adhere to the rule that we must know how to take advantage of the antagonisms and contradictions existing among the imperialists. Had we not adhered to this rule, every one of us would have long ago been hanging from an aspen tree, to the satisfaction of the capitalists. We gained our chief experience in this respect when we concluded the Brest Treaty. It must not be inferred that all treaties must be like the Brest Treaty or the Versailles Treaty. That is not so. There may be a third kind of treaty, one favourable for us.

Brest was notable for the fact that we were able for the first time, on an immense scale and amidst vast difficulties, to take advantage of the contradictions among the imperialists in such a way that in the long run socialism won. At the time of Brest there were two gigantically powerful groups of imperialist pirates: the German-

Austrian group and the Anglo-Franco-American group. They were engaged in a furious struggle which was to decide the fate of the world for the immediate future. The fact that we were able to hold on, although from the military standpoint we were a nonentity, possessing nothing and steadily sinking into the depths of chaos economically, the fact that we were able to hold on, this miracle, was entirely due to the fact that we took proper advantage of the hostility between German and American imperialism. We made a tremendous concession to German imperialism, and by making a concession to one imperialism we at once safeguarded ourselves against the persecution of both imperialisms. Germany was unable to devote herself to stifling Soviet Russia economically or politically; her hands were too full for that. We left the Ukraine to her, from which you can get as much grain and coal as you like, that is, of course, if you are able to get them, if you possess the living force with which to get them. Anglo-Franco-American imperialism was unable to attack us because we first offered it peace.

* * * * *

It was just this period, which history accorded us as a breathing space, that we took advantage of in order so to consolidate ourselves that it became impossible to defeat us by military force. We gained time, we gained a little time, and only sacrificed a great deal of space for it. At that time, I recall, people philosophised and said that in order to gain time we must surrender space. It was in accordance with the theory of time and space of the philosophers that we acted in practice and policy: we sacrificed a great deal of space, but won time sufficient to enable us to gain strength. After this, when all the imperialists wanted to wage a big war against us, it proved impossible. They had neither the means nor the forces for a big war. At that time we did not sacrifice any fundamental interests: we sacrificed subsidiary interests and preserved the fundamental interests.

Here, incidentally, there arises the question of opportunism. Opportunism means sacrificing fundamental interests in order to gain temporary and partial advantages. That is the essence of the matter from the standpoint of a theoretical definition of opportunism. Many people went astray here. And in the case of the Brest Peace we in fact sacrificed what were subsidiary, from the standpoint of socialism, interests of Russia as understood in the patriotic sense. We made tremendous sacrifices, but they were subsidiary sacrifices. The Germans hated England with all their heart and soul. They also hated the Bolsheviks. But we tempted them, and they fell into the trap. They had all the time asserted that they would not go as far as Napoleon. And, indeed, they did not go as far as Moscow; but they went into the Ukraine, and there they came to grief. They thought they had learnt a lot from Napoleon, but it turned out otherwise in fact. We, on the other hand, gained a great deal.

The example of the Brest Peace has taught us a lot. We are at present between two foes. If we are unable to defeat them both, we must know how to dispose our forces in such a way that they fall out among themselves; because, as is always the case, when thieves fall out, honest men come into their own. But as soon as we are strong enough to defeat capitalism as a whole, we shall immediately take it by the scruff of the neck. Our strength is growing, and very

rapidly. While the Brest Peace was a lesson we shall never forget, one which, in respect to the inferences to be drawn from it, was richer than any propaganda or preaching, now, however, we have won, in the sense that we are standing on our own feet. We are surrounded by imperialist states, which detest the Bolsheviks with all their heart and soul, which are spending vast sums of money, ideological forces, the forces of the press, and so on, and which yet were unable in three years to defeat us in war, although we are, from the military and economic standpoint, infinitely weak. We have not one-hundredth of the forces of the combined imperialist states, and yet they are unable to stifle us. They cannot stifle us because their soldiers will not obey; their workers and peasants, fatigued by the war, do not want a war against the Soviet Republic. Such is the position now, and on this position we must base ourselves. What it will be several years hence we do not know, since every year the Western powers are recuperating from the war.

Since the Second Congress of the Third International¹ we have secured a firm foothold in the imperialist countries, not only ideologically but also organisationally. There are now nuclei in all countries which are carrying on and will continue to carry on independent work.

* * * * *

But, of course, it would be a great mistake to think that concessions imply peace. Nothing of the kind. Concessions are nothing but a new form of war. Europe fought us, and now the war is moving into a new plane. Formerly, the war was conducted in the field in which the imperialists were infinitely stronger, the military field. If you count the number of guns and machine-guns they have and the number we have, the number of soldiers their governments can mobilise and the number our government can mobilise, we undoubtedly ought to have been crushed in a fortnight. Nevertheless, we held our own in this field, and we undertake to continue the fight and are passing to an economic war. It is definitely stated that side by side with the concession land, the concession square of territory, there will be our square, and then again their square; we shall learn from them how to organise model enterprises by placing our own side by side with theirs. If we are incapable of doing that, it is not worth talking about anything. To procure the last word in technology in the matter of equipment at the present time is not an easy task, and we have to learn, learn it in practice; for this is not a thing to be got from schools, universities or courses; and that is why we are granting concessions on the chequerboard system; come and learn on the spot.

Economically, we have a vast deal to gain from concessions. Of course, when settlements are created they will bring capitalist customs with them, they will demoralise the peasantry. But watch must be kept, we must put up our Communist influence in opposition at every step. This also is a kind of war, the military rivalry of two methods, two of formations, two kinds of economy—communist and capitalist. We shall prove that we are the stronger. We are told: "Very good, you have held your own on the foreign front, you are beginning to build; well, build, and we shall see who will win. . . ." Of course, the task is a difficult one, but we said, and continue to say,

¹ The Second Congress of the Third International was held in Moscow, from July 19 to August 5, 1920.—Ed.

that socialism has the power of example. Force is of avail in relation to those who want to restore their power. But that exhausts the value of force, and after that only influence and example are of avail. We must demonstrate the importance of communism practically, by example. We have no machines, the war has impoverished us, the war has deprived Russia of her economic resources; yet we do not fear this rivalry, because it will be useful to us in all respects.

This will also be a war in which not the slightest yielding is permissible. This war will be useful for us in all respects; and the transition from the old war to the new war will also be useful, not to mention the fact that there is a certain indirect guarantee of peace. At the meeting which was so badly reported in *Pravda*, I said that we have just passed from war to peace, but that we have not forgotten that war will again return. As long as capitalism and socialism exist, we cannot live in peace: in the end, one or the other will triumph—a funeral dirge will be sung either over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism. This is a respite in war. The capitalists will seek pretexts for fighting. If they accept the proposal and agree to concessions, it will be harder for them. On the one hand, we shall have the best conditions in the event of war; on the other hand, those who want to go to war will not agree to concessions. The existence of concessions is an economic and political argument against war. The states that might war on us will not war on us if they take concessions. From the point of view of the danger of a collision between capitalism and Bolshevism, it must be said that concessions are a continuation of the war, but in a different sphere. Every step of the enemy will have to be watched. Every means of administration, surveillance, influence and authority will be required. And this is war. We have fought a much bigger war, yet in this war we shall mobilise even larger numbers of the people than in that war. In this war literally everybody who toils will be mobilised; he will be told, and given to understand: "If capitalism does this or that, you workers and peasants who have overthrown the capitalists must do no less than they. Learn."

The specific form which concessions to capitalism took within the borders of the Soviet Union was the liquidation of the extreme policies of the period of war communism (1917–21) and the inauguration of a New Economic Policy (NEP).¹ Lenin simply had to chose between concessions and speedy extermination. Since he was never a man who permitted Marxist theory to interfere with necessary practice, he temporarily gave in to the "petty bourgeois" inclinations of the Russian workers and peasants. Until the Bolshevik regime could catch its breath and regroup its forces for the second socialist offensive, non-Bolsheviks could help to rebuild the wrecked Soviet economy, even though it brought private gain to themselves.²

The following translation is reprinted from Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution*, vol. II, 499–503.

¹ *History of CPSU (B)*, ch. 9.

² Schwartz, *Russia's Soviet Economy*, pp. 101–106, 399–400. Michael T. Florinsky (Columbia University), *Towards an Understanding of the U. S. S. R.*, New York, Macmillan, 1951, pp. 37, 81, 110–111, 145, 178. Eugene Lyons, *Assignment in Utopia*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1937, Chapter III: NEP: Burlesque on Capitalism. DeHuszar, *Soviet Power*, p. 395.

EXHIBIT No. 12

[Moscow, *Pravda*, March 23, 1921]**THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY: THE DECREE
OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN SOVIET EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON
THE SUBSTITUTION OF A TAX IN KIND FOR REQUISITIONING**

In order to assure an efficient and untroubled economic life on the basis of a freer use by the farmer of the products of his labor and of his economic resources, in order to strengthen the peasant economy and raise its productivity and also in order to calculate precisely the obligation to the state which falls on the peasants, requisitioning, as a means of state collection of food supplies, raw material and fodder, is to be replaced by a tax in kind.

2. This tax must be less than what the peasant has given up to this time through requisitions. The sum of the tax must be reckoned so as to cover the most essential needs of the Army, the city workers, the nonagricultural population. The general sum of the tax must be diminished inasmuch as the reestablishment of transportation and industry will permit the Soviet Government to receive agricultural products in exchange for factory and hand-industry products.

3. The tax is to be taken in the form of a percentage or partial deduction from the products raised in the peasant holding, taking into account the harvest, the number of eaters in the holding and the number of cattle.

4. The tax must be progressive; the percentage must be lower for the holdings of middleclass and poorer peasants and of town workers. The holdings of the poorest peasants may be exempted from some and, in exceptional cases, from all forms of the tax in kind.

The industrious peasants who increase the amount of land planted and the number of cattle in their holdings and those who increase the general productivity of their holdings receive privileges in paying the tax in kind.

5. The taxation law must be so framed, and published within such a time limit, that the peasants should be informed as exactly as possible about the amount of their obligations before the beginning of the spring field work.

6. The delivery to the state of the products listed in the tax ends within definite time limits, which are precisely established by the law.

7. The responsibility for paying the tax rests with each individual household and the organs of the Soviet Government are requested to prosecute everyone who does not fulfill his obligation. All-around responsibility is abolished. In order to control the assessment and the payment of the tax, organizations of local peasants are formed, consisting of groups of payers of various rates of the tax.

8. All the reserves of food, raw material and fodder which remain with the peasants after the tax has been paid are at their full disposition and may be used by them for improving and strengthening their holdings, for increasing personal consumption and for exchange for products of factory and hand industry and of agriculture.

Exchange is permitted within the limits of local economic turnover, both through cooperative organizations and through markets.

9. Those farmers who wish to deliver to the state the surplus in their possession after the tax has been paid must receive, in exchange

for the voluntary delivery of this surplus, objects of general consumption and agricultural machinery. With this end in view, a steady state reserve fund of agricultural machinery and of objects of general consumption is being created. It includes both domestic products and goods purchased abroad. Part of the state gold reserve and part of the ready raw material are set aside for the purpose of making purchases abroad.

10. The supply of the poorest classes of the agricultural population is arranged by the state according to a special ruling.

11. As a development of the present decree, the All-Russian Soviet Central Executive Committee requests the Council of People's Commissars to issue corresponding detailed instructions within a period of not more than one month.

PRESIDENT OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN SOVIET CENTRAL
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, M. KALININ,
SECRETARY, ZALUTZKY.

To the Peasants of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic:

The difficult and destructive war which the Soviet Government carried on for three years with Tsarist Generals and landlords, with Russian and foreign capitalists ended in the victory of the workers and peasants. In this war, thanks to the heroism of the Red Army, we saved the land of the peasants from seizure by the landlords, did not permit the manufacturers to return to their factories, did not allow the foreign bourgeois countries to deprive Russia of independence or give them her riches to be robbed. The war was very costly and demanded a great many sacrifices from the workers and peasants. Especially difficult for the peasants was the requisitioning of agricultural products, which the Soviet Government was obliged to take in order to feed the many millions of Red Army soldiers, the workers of the railroads and of the most important industrial enterprises. The Soviet Government knew very well all the burdensomeness of requisitioning for the peasants, the unevenness of its distribution, all its inconveniences for the development of the peasant holdings. But it stood firmly for requisitioning, realizing very well that the working peasants will sooner forgive the Soviet Government all the burdens of requisitioning for the sake of victory over the enemies than the abolition of requisitioning, purchased at the price of the victory of the landlords, the loss of the land, the break-up and destruction of the Red Army.

Now, when the first onset of the capitalists and landlords against the Soviet Government has been repulsed, when Russia has defended its independence from the power of foreign capital in war and speaks on equal terms with the most powerful countries of the world, when mighty England has signed a trade agreement with us, when we are able to send back half of the Red Army to peaceful labor, when by means of foreign trade we can obtain for the peasants products in exchange for part of their own surplus, now the moment has come to decrease the burdens of the peasants without risking the loss of the most precious conquests of the workers' and peasants' revolution.

From now on, by decision of the All-Russian Soviet Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, requisitioning is abolished and a tax in kind in agricultural products is introduced in its place.

This tax must be smaller than the requisitions. It must be fixed before the spring planting, so that each peasant may reckon in advance what part of the harvest he must give to the state and what part will remain in his full possession. The tax must be collected without all-around responsibility, *i. e.*, it must fall on the individual household, so that a careful and industrious proprietor will not have to pay for a defaulting fellow-villager. After the tax has been paid the remainder left with the peasant is to be disposed of at his will. He has a right to exchange it for products and machinery which the state will send into the village from abroad and from its own factories; he can use it in exchange for the products which he needs through the coöperatives and through the local markets. At the same time the Soviet Government does not repudiate its duty of supplying with necessary products the poorest classes of the village, which will have no surplus for exchange.

The abolition of grain requisitions and the substitution of a tax in kind will be a great relief for the peasant population and at the same time will strengthen the union of the peasants and workers, on which all the conquests of the Revolution are based.

But the peasants must remember that this measure also is temporary. Only the terrible poverty and disorganization of foreign trade compel the Soviet Government to take part of the peasants' products in the form of a tax, *i. e.*, without any compensation. But as our industry, on the success of which depends the fate of the peasant economy, makes progress and as the importation of foreign goods in exchange for our raw material increases, the amount of the tax in kind, which falls on the peasants, will decrease. In the future we shall achieve such success in the upbuilding of socialist economy that for each pood of peasant grain the Soviet Government will give a product of equal value and one which the village will need.

The time of spring planting is approaching. The All-Russian Soviet Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars call upon the peasants of Russia to strain all their energy so that not a single *desyatina* of arable land will remain untilled. Every peasant now must know and firmly remember that the more land he plants the greater will be the surplus of grain which will remain in his full possession. But let all Workers' and Peasants' Russia also firmly remember that the Soviet Government is now able to ease the burdens of the peasants only because the heroic Red Army has beaten the enemies of the working people and proved to the whole world that the Workers' and Peasants' state cannot be overthrown. If disagreements should begin in the country between the workers and peasants and among the numerous peoples who are part of our great union of toilers, foreign robbers would always prefer to break their agreements with us, to stop trade, to begin a new war, so as to bring back into power the landlords and capitalists and make out of weakened Russia an easy prey for their robbery and oppression.

Long live our valiant Red Army!

Long live the indestructible union of the workers and peasants!

Long live the invincibility of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government!

Long live Russia's peaceful labor, free from the power of landlords and capitalists!

This appeal must be read in all the villages and stanitsas, in factories and Red Army divisions of the RSFSR.

Signed by Kalinin, Lenin, Yenukidze, all the People's Commissars and all members of the Presidium of the All-Russian Soviet Central Executive Committee.

The task of explaining the New Economic Policy to "infantile left wing" and other American Communists was assigned to a leading Bolshevik named Karl Radek. It appeared in one of the earlier Communist publications printed in America several years before the regular *Communist* magazine was established (Part II: Communist Activities in the United States). As the reader will observe, Radek's article faithfully repeated Lenin's directives. Unfortunately for the author, it was not adequate to save him from Stalin's purges of the thirties.¹

EXHIBIT No. 13

[Chicago, *The Communist*, Official Organ of the Communist Party of America (section of the Communist International), April 1921. Pp. 3-4]

SOVIET RUSSIA'S CONCESSIONS TO CAPITALISM

BY KARL RADEK

When the working class of Russia took over power in November, 1917, neither the bourgeois nor the Socialist world believed that it would maintain the state power for three months, let alone three years and more.

That German imperialism dealt with Soviet Russia in general was but the result of its straightened condition because of the war. It wanted to conclude peace in the East, even with an entirely transitory government, in the well-founded belief that when the Bolsheviks disappeared the peasants could not organize a party or a government at any time within sight.

Soviet Russia, however, had to have peace, not only because it had no army but because it could only become a reality if it had a breathing space. At the time of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations Soviet Russia was only a program; it existed only in the decrees announced by the Council of People's Commissaries.

At that time the underground organs of Czarist absolutism were not completely destroyed, nor was feudal possession rooted out. The forms of Soviet government in country and city appeared still as experiments, not as organized realities.

The Bolshevik Government had the choice either of being a government of revolutionary partisans carrying on a guerilla war with the aid of the Allies against German imperialism and permitting Russian capital to accomplish its restoration under the protection of German bayonets, or else treating the Brest road of Golgotha, at the price of national humiliation, to accomplish first of all the work of defeating the bourgeoisie and of organizing the proletariat.

When the fools among the German Independents still speak of an illusory foreign policy of the Soviet Government (after their own November experiences they ought to keep to themselves the charge of "disorganization" of the Russian army by the Bolsheviks), then indeed, these bankrupt Wilsonians cannot be helped.

That the policy of the Soviet Government, which was based on the conviction that the process of breaking up world imperialism would

¹ Ypsilon, *Pattern for World Revolution*, Chicago, Ziff, Davis, 1947, pp. 281-286. Ypsilon is a pseudonym for two former members of the Comintern: Johann Rindl and Julian Gumperz.

not be retarded by the Brest peace but would be accelerated, was correct, showed not only its triumph but also that Soviet Russia, though in a position between the devil and the deep blue sea, could so collect and organize itself that one year after the collapse of German imperialism it wrested the acknowledgment from the representatives of the victorious Entente imperialism that "Bolshevism could not be crushed by the sword."

In the measure that the Brest peace despite its robber character was of positive significance to Soviet Russia, in that it ended the great war, Soviet Russia did not extort it by its own power, the workers of Germany did not extort it; the pressure of the Entente army in the West created the Brest peace.

Even if the victorious imperialism of the Entente now concludes a still worse robber's peace, as long as this peace permits Soviet Russia the possibility of existence the main breach will be in the capitalist state system since this peace will be a result of the opposition which Soviet Russia leads with its own forces and with the aid of the world proletariat.

But why should Soviet Russia, which cannot be destroyed by the sword, conclude a compromise peace with the Entente? Why should it not want to wait, with weapons in its hands, until the time when the crumbling Entente capitalism has made such progress that it must hold out an honest peace to Soviet Russia?

The answer to this question is simple. During the World War, which the criminal policy of all imperialist states protracted, a swift catastrophe for world capitalism could be counted on, and the establishment of the power of the workers in many countries where the slaughter permitted them no other solution. At the conclusion of the Brest peace the Soviet Government considered the breathing space allowed by this peace a very short one; either the world revolution would soon come and save Soviet Russia or else it (Soviet Russia) would soon collapse in the unequal struggle, as we thought then. This conception expressed the situation at that time.

The collapses of German imperialism, the inability of the Allies to crush Soviet Russia by military means, and at the same time the fact that the World War came to an end; that the crisis of demobilization was overcome; that the world revolution affects the capitalist world not as an explosion but as a breaking up, and accordingly as a lengthy process—completely changes the situation and conditions of foreign policy for the Soviet Government.

On the one hand we cannot count on a speedy, mechanical liberation; on an instantaneous mass movement that would drive Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Wilson and everybody connected with them to the wall; and on the other hand, we cannot be convinced with mathematical certainty that the process of capitalism collapsing is making progress rapidly enough to ease Soviet Russia's conditions.

But as it is a lengthy process to be reckoned with, the question for Soviet Russia is not that of seeking and finding a *modus vivendi* for the states that are still capitalist. If tomorrow the proletarian revolution conquers in Germany or in France the situation of Soviet Russia will be better, because two proletarian states, as an economic and military force, can exercise a greater pressure on the capitalist world; but it will, despite this, have an interest in concluding peace with the States which are still capitalist so as to begin economic reconstruction.

As early as the spring of 1918 the question of an economic compromise faced the Soviet Government. When Colonel Raymond Robins, unofficial American representative in Russia, left Moscow for Washington on May 2, 1918, he took with him a concrete proposal of the Soviet Government containing the conditions of economic concessions. At the same time Bronski, assistant to the People's Commissar for Commerce and Industry, submitted in his first meeting with the representatives of the German Government practical proposals for the co-operation of the Soviet Government with German capital. Like proposals were communicated to Bruce Lockhart, the English representative to the British Government.

It may be granted that at that time, in the midst of the world war, there was ground for hope that a revolutionary explosion might do away with the necessity for such concessions, but the principal thing is that the policy of granting these concessions had already been arrived at.

As long as the proletariat in all of the most important States has not won; as long as they are not in a position to use all the productive forces in the world for reconstruction; as long as capitalist states exist beside proletarian ones; so long will it be necessary for proletarian countries to make compromises; so long will there be in those countries neither a pure Socialism nor a pure capitalism, but, territorially separated from each other, they will have to make concessions in their own spheres of state authority.

The extent of these concessions, which must be made to capitalism, will depend upon the power of the respective proletarian states. That concessions must be made can be contested by no one who does not at the same time show the means by which the opponents of this policy can achieve immediate victory for the proletariat in all countries.

Soviet Russia will not permit itself to be beaten and we are certain that if the Entente States do not hold out an acceptable peace it will starve and struggle still more and they will be forced later to offer a better peace. The exhaustion of a country with Russia's resources by a blockade demands a period of time which the imperialist cubs of the Entente countries will not survive.

But it is clear that if Soviet Russia must struggle much longer it cannot begin economic reconstruction. The war requires that its lessened productive forces be placed in the service of making munitions, its best forces be applied to war manufacture, its ruined railroads devoted to the transport of troops.

The necessity of war demands that the power of attack be centralized in the hands of the state executive, threatens the Soviet system and what is more important, threatens to devour the best elements of the working class. The Soviet Government has accomplished a superhuman task to oppose all this. What it has done in its cultural work, despite all difficulty, already astonishes even honest bourgeois opponents (read Goode's reports in the *Manchester Guardian*) and in two or three years Soviet Russia will add over a hundred thousand new educational organizations and new cultural forces.

How seriously the leaders regard the danger attending reconstruction, the danger of the bureaucracy in a new form, is shown very clearly by the minutes of the debates at the March convention of the Bolsheviks in 1919, which have now been published. But war is

war, a gruesome destroyer, and if war can be ended by sacrifice it must be concluded.

Certainly it is indeed bad that the Russian people must allot excellent concessions to English, American and French capitalists, for it could make better use of these concessions itself than to pay tribute. But so long as it must carry on the war not only can it not work its claims but it must throw its miners into the fury of battle.

Consider the matter in this way: If it were a question of economic, Socialist reconstruction or war against world capitalism, which sets limits to Socialist reconstruction, the correct decision would be war. But matters do not stand so. The question which is to be decided is either Socialist reconstruction within the limits of a temporary compromise or war *without economic reconstruction*.

In January 1924, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations published the two excerpts contained in this exhibit.¹ Both deal with the early attitude of the Bolshevik party toward antireligious activities in the Soviet Union. For non-Communist evaluations of this Soviet policy see two works by Timasheff and Curtiss.²

EXHIBIT No. 14

[*Izvestia*, March 31, 1921]

To all Organizations and Members of the Russian Communist Party: Nearly every organization has difficulties with the violation by individual members of our program in the sphere of religion. Point thirteen of our program, obliging all members of the party to carry on antireligious propaganda, is almost completely ignored.

At a time when the party as a whole is carrying on an antireligious struggle individual members of the party not only are not carrying on this struggle, but even at times assist in strengthening religious ceremonies, not having strength enough to stand up against the prejudices and demands of the backward masses of the population among whom they live and with whom they are bound by material, economic, and family ties. In the struggle with these conditions individual organizations, depending on their composition, take different measures. The Central Committee with the object of generalizing local experience proposes to all organizations and members of the party to express their opinion on this question and make concrete proposals setting forth the most salient facts relating to the violation of the party program in the sphere of religion.

Secretary of Central Committee of Russian Communist party:

YAROSLAVSKY.

Manager of Department of Agitation and Propaganda:

KATANYAN.

[*Izvestia*, October 20, 1923, p. 7]

The publication "Atheist" is owned by the Moscow group of the active atheists. The slogan of the Group is "Religion is the Opiate of the People." The object of the organization is the educational propaganda of atheism as well as the unmasking of the counter

¹ *Recognition of Russia*, 68th Cong., 1st sess., U. S. Senate, hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, January 22, 1921, pp. 171, 443.

² N. S. G. in ashoff, *Religion in Soviet Russia*, New York: Sheed and Ward, 1942, pp. 24-37. John Shelton Curtiss, *The Russian Church and the Soviet State, 1917-50*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1953, pp. 44-163.

revolutionary and blackmail activities of the ecclesiasts of whatever creed. According to the ideology of the Group, an atheist is a revolutionist guided in the social, individual, and home life by education and by freedom from beliefs in the existence, as well as interference, within the natural life and society of all magic forces whatsoever.

In so far there have been published, besides the small pamphlets, the following:

Elderman, G., *Primitive communism and Primitive Religion*.

Niemojewski, A., *The philosophy of the life of Christ*.

Drews, A., *The myth of the Christ*.

Dienson, E., *God and the devil*.

Robertson, J., *The myth of the Gospels*.

Corvin, *The mirror of priesthood*.

Drews, A., *The legend about St. Peter*.

Drews, A., *Did Christ exist?*

The Group will open on the 1st of November, 1923, on the corner of the Tverska and Leontievska Streets, its own theater "Atheist," the repertory of which will include:

Polivanov, S., *The Sorcerer Tarquinius*.

Polivanov, S., *The Inquisitor Torquemada*. (Based on the story of Victor Hugo.)

as well as many other pieces of antireligious writers such as: Comrade Lunacharsky, Eisner, Gorodetsky, S., and others. Preparations are underway for a comic opera and a musical revue: "The business of the Churchmen." The managers of the theater will be: Aksagarsky, Kubanin and Spitzberg. The actors have been selected from the "Grits" (a young men's society) and the theater will be conducted with iron discipline. The Group also has undertaken as its special task the production of antireligious shows. It is probable that in the premises of the theater "Atheist" there will be located the League of the active Atheists, operating within the Party and the Unions, whose Statutes have been submitted for the approval of the N. K. W. D. (the People's Commissars of the interior).

On February 6, 1922, the Cheka or Extraordinary Committee for Combating Counterrevolutionary Sabotage was declared abolished. Its functions were immediately taken over by another organization with a milder sounding name: the State Political Administration or GPU.¹ A year later, the word "unified" was added to the title and GPU became OGPU. The reader will note its first two areas of operation: counterrevolutionary outbreaks and espionage. In practice, nothing changed but the name. The same people continued to carry on the same systematic use of terror. Lenin was far too realistic a man to discharge experienced personnel, except for "deviations."

The following text is reprinted from a study made by Professor Batsell under a grant from the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College.²

¹ Walter Russell Batsell, *Soviet Rule in Russia*, New York, Macmillan, 1929, pp. 131, 291, 333, 481-482, 489-594. Cookridge, *Soviet Spy Net*, pp. 13, 17. Robert G. Neumann (UCLA), *European and Comparative Government*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1935, pp. 557-561.

² Batsell, *op. cit.*, pp. 606-609.

EXHIBIT No. 15

[Moscow, *Collection of Instructions and Orders of the Workers and Peasants Government*, April 1, 1922]

DECREE OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (VTsIK) ON THE ABOLITION OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION (CHEKA) AND ON THE CREATION OF A STATE POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION

FEBRUARY 6, 1922

In accordance with the resolution of the ninth all-Russian congress of soviets on the reorganization of the cheka for the struggle with counter-revolution, speculation, and offences connected with official duties, and on the local organs of the cheka, the VTsIK decrees:

1. That the cheka and its local organs shall be abolished
2. That the people's commissariat for interior shall, together with the other tasks indicated in paragraph 1 of the acts concerning the people's commissariat for interior, execute throughout the entire territory of the R. S. F. S. R. the following tasks:
 - (a) Suppression of open counter-revolutionary outbreaks, including banditry;
 - (b) Taking measures to prevent and combat espionage;
 - (c) Guarding rail and water transport;
 - (d) Political policing of the borders of the R. S. F. S. R.;
 - (e) Combating contraband and crossing of the borders of the republic without proper permission;
 - (f) Executing special orders of the presidium of the VTsIK or of the sovnarkom for protecting the revolutionary order.
3. For the fulfillment of these tasks there is to be formed in connection with the people's commissariat for interior a state political administration (G. P. U.), under the personal chairmanship of the people's commissar for interior or of his deputy, who is to be appointed by the sovnarkom, and in the local places there are to be political sections; in the autonomous republics and regions the political sections are to be connected with the central executive committee and in the provinces with the executive committees thereof.
4. The political sections connected with the central executive committees of the autonomous republics and regions remain directly subordinate to the central G. P. U. attached to the people's commissariat for interior, on the same principles as the other unified people's commissariats and administrations of the autonomous republics and regions.

5. The political sections of the provincial executive committees shall act in accordance with a special act referring thereto, approved by the presidium of the VTsIK.

Note. Special sections and transport sections forming part of the G. P. U. and the political sections conduct the struggle against crimes in the army and on the railroads according to special regulations concerning them, approved by the presidium of the VTsIK.

6. At the direct disposal of the G. P. U. there are special army detachments, the size of which shall be determined by the decisions of the soviet of labor and defence, under the orders of a special staff of the troops of the G. P. U. of the people's commissariat for interior, this staff being part of the G. P. U.

7. Owing to the necessity of adopting measures for stopping the activities of those who take part in counter-revolutionary attempts, in banditism, espionage, thefts on the railways and waterways, contraband, and crossing the frontiers without permission, the G. P. U., the political sections, as well as their representatives in the districts, have the right to undertake searches, seizures and arrests as follows:

(a) In the case of persons caught in the act of committing a crime, the arrests, searches, or seizures by agents of the G. P. U. of the political sections may be effected without a special decision of the G. P. U., or of the political sections, or a special order containing the approval of the chairman of the G. P. U., within 48 hours from the time such procedure was resorted to; in all the other cases the arrest, as well as the searches and seizures, are admissible only upon special decision of the O. G. P. U. or the political sections, over the signature of their representatives, according to special orders which are issued in the manner stipulated by the instructions elaborated by the G. P. U., and confirmed by the people's commissariat for justice.

(b) Not later than two weeks after the arrest the indictment shall be submitted to the prisoner.

(c) Not later than two months after the day of the arrest the G. P. U. must either free the arrested person or ask the presidium of the VTsIK for permission to continue the detention of the arrested person, provided this is warranted by special circumstances, for a period determined by the presidium of the VTsIK, or it shall prefer the matter to the courts.

8. All general criminal cases concerning speculation, offenses committed in connection with official duties, and other offenses which, before the publication of this decree, were in the hands of the all-Russian cheka and its organs, shall be transmitted within two weeks to the respective revolutionary tribunals or people's courts, and in the future all cases concerning crimes directed against the soviet structure or representing violations of the laws of the R. S. F. S. R. shall be exclusively judged by the courts, either by the revolutionary tribunals or by the people's courts, according to the case.

9. The people's commissariat for justice shall supervise the execution of articles 7 and 8.

10. The acts concerning the powers of the people's commissariat for interior shall be complemented in accordance with this decree.

President of the VTsIK
M. KALININ
Secretary of the VTsIK
A. YENUKIDZE

S.U.R., 1922, No. 16.

Steklov's article on the relationship between the Soviet regime and the Communist International is here reprinted from the 1924 hearings held in the matter of recognition of Russia.¹ While Steklov assures us that the Communist International was "not quite" the creature of Moscow, the reader can form his own conclusion from the somewhat less than Aesopian language of the article itself. At a later date, Steklov was exiled for his anti-Stalinist deviations.²

¹ *Recognition of Russia*, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, January 21, 1924, pp. 199-201.

² Souverine, *Stalin*, p. 659.

EXHIBIT No. 16

[Izvestia November 7, 1922]

REPUBLIC OF SOVIETS AND III INTERNATIONAL

The coincidence of the date of the celebration of the 5th Anniversary of the October revolution and the opening of the 4th Congress of the Communist International is by no means an accidental or arbitrary occurrence. This coincidence has a deep significance, and flows out of the organic connection between two historical phenomena.

The Soviet Republic celebrates today its 5th Jubilee; the Communist International convenes its 4th Congress. Thus the Communist International appears somewhat younger than its Soviet brother. And, in fact, it was founded in the second year of the Soviet Republic, and on the formal initiative and under the strong influence of the Russian Communist Party. The majority of the Communist parties entering into its composition were founded later than the Russian party. This has given cause to our enemies to affirm that the whole Communist International, as such, is a creature of Moscow. But, in fact, this is not quite so.

However paradoxical it may appear at the first glance, the October Revolution and the Russian Communist Party which realized it, from a broad historical point of view, are themselves the product and creation of the Communist International. To be sure, as a complete and formal organization, the Communist International arose later. But as an idea it existed earlier than they. Before its formal proclamation the Communist International existed in the consciousness of all revolutionary Marxists. Its fundamental elements were developed at the Conferences in Zimmerwald and Kienthal and in the inter-party disputes during the Imperialistic War. As a categorical imperative and a directing spirit it was active long before the Constituent Congress of the III International. In particular, the Russian Bolsheviks as far back as 1914-1915 looked upon themselves as part of the future III International, acted in conformity with its principles, and in accordance with them carried out the October Revolution.

But, however we may look upon the chronological succession of events and on their historical sequence, the close organic and spiritual bond between the Soviet Republic, product of the October Revolution, and the Communist International can not be doubted. And even if the connection had not been admitted many times by both sides, it would, nevertheless, be clear to all, and as an established fact. It is clear to us as to our enemies.

Comrade Kalinin, in his speech at the opening of the last session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, remarked that: "In the general strength of the III Communist International the strength of the Soviet federation has an enormous significance," and that "the workers and peasants of the Soviet Republic are one of the great component forces of the Communist International."

That is a deep truth. The counterrevolutionary press makes sport over the Russian peasant being interested in the International. Regarding the Russian worker that press raises no quarrel. But in

regard to the peasant the assertion of Kalinin is true. It is possible that the average Russian peasant has a very poor conception of just what the Communist International is, and even less understands its program. Nevertheless he knows very well about the Communist International and feels himself bound to it. Compelled for four years to defend themselves from the attacks of international capital, the Russian laboring masses on their own skin keenly felt the significance of the international solidarity of the workers. The laborers and peasant masses of the Soviet Republic, hitherto boycotted and blockaded by the Capital of the Imperialistic powers, understand perfectly that their daily material interests are closely bound up with the success of the International Revolutionary movement. And in this sense Russia is now the country most internationalistically inclined in its broadest masses.

On this side the very close bond between the Soviet Republic and the Communist International is not subject to doubt. This connection is not only of a spiritual, but also of a material and palpable character. On its side the Communist International in the same measure is spiritually and materially connected with Soviet Russia. It is not a question of material support, about which the bourgeois press makes so much noise, and which, in the largest part, belongs to the realms of myths. In any case the material support, which, for instance, the workers of all countries extended to the Soviet Republic during the famine of last year, is not less than the support which might be extended by the Russian Communist Party to fraternal parties abroad.

Of course, in event of the possibility arising, both sides will extend to each other the maximum assistance. But at present it is a question of a bond of another sort, preeminently of a spiritual political character.

The Communist International rests on Soviet Russia. The very fact of the existence of the Socialist Republic, for five years repulsing attacks from all sides, maintains the revolutionary state of mind of the international proletariat and does not permit it to become depressed in its difficult moments, inspires it to unwearied struggle, assists the workers' organization everywhere. In the Soviet Republic the International proletariat has an inaccessible stronghold in which the elaboration of the international Communist Program and tactics is proceeding, and where the systematic accumulation of creative proletariat experience and the construction of a proletariat state are going on. Here there is a real asylum for all those who fight for social revolution, whither they can seek shelter from the vindictive persecution of the bourgeoisie and where they can in practice acquaint themselves with the process of the construction of a Communist society.

The mutual solidarity of the Soviet Republics and the Communist International is an accomplished fact. In the same degree as the existence and the stability of Soviet Russia are of importance to the III International, the development and strengthening of the Communist International is of importance to Soviet Russia. In the past the International has helped Russia to ward off the attacks of world Capital. In the future its aid will prove more effective. The success of the Communist International will contribute to the consolidation of the political and economic position of Soviet Russia,

and vice versa. The spiritual, moral, and material bond between them is based on the complete solidarity of interests.

That is why the idea of opening the 4th Congress of the Communist International on the day of the celebration of the anniversary of the October Revolution was a happy one. It is a symbol full of deep significance, speaking equally convincingly for enemies and for friends.

STEKLOV.

According to the Constitution of the U. S. S. R., the structure of the Soviet Government and the Bolshevik, now Communist, Party are distinct. The following reprint contains some interesting comments by two famous "old Bolsheviks" who failed to survive the Stalin purges of the thirties.¹

EXHIBIT No. 17

[Reprint of excerpts from *Recognition of Russia*, hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, January 21, 1924. Pp. 165-168, 172-173]

4. STATEMENTS OF BOLSHEVIK LEADERS REGARDING DOMINATING POSITION OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

No. 8. (A) Speech of Zinoviev at XII Congress of the Russian Communist Party, April 17, 1923—Speech of Zinoviev

* * * The Party must govern and guide literally every sphere of our economic life. (Pravda, April 18, 1923.)

No. 9. (B) Speech of Kamenev at XII Congress of Russian Communist Party, April 19, 1923—Kamenev

We have never made that distinction which is actually demanded by the new economic policy, a distinction between the Soviet apparatus and the Party. The Soviet apparatus, as I have already said, more than the Party, is subject to all sorts of degeneracy and small bourgeois influence. Take a clever enemy, such an enemy as one who this year will proceed against us, not with the slogan of "Constituent Assembly," nor with the slogan, "Soviet Power without Communists"—there are very few such fools left on earth—we have clever enemies, who do not operate with slogans of "Constituent Assembly," that is, the new bourgeoisie, the new upper layers of the peasantry. And do they not say: It is impossible to struggle with the Communist Party, but it is necessary to attempt to move a little to one side the Communist Party from the Soviet apparatus, to allow the Soviet apparatus to manage things independently, in order that the Party should not have such an influence, in order that the direction and control of Communism should not be so near to the Soviet apparatus. * * *

And that is why we say that he who speaks against the Party, who demands a division of function between the Soviet apparatus and the Party, he wishes to introduce such a division of power as exists in other states. * * * (Pravda, No. 86, April 20, 1923.)

¹ A detailed account of the domination of the Soviet Government by the Bolshevik Party can be found in Richard Pipes, *The Formation of the Soviet Union*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, Chapter VI: The Consolidation of the Party and State Apparatus. See also Fischer, *Stalin and German Communism*, pp. 354-356, 489-490, 594-602.

No. 10. (C) Resolution of XII Congress of Russian Communist Party on the Report of the Central Committee, April 19, 1923—Resolution of XII Congress

* * * At the present moment the Russian Communist Party directs and must direct all the political and cultural work of the organs of the STATE power; directs and must direct the activity of all economic organizations of the Republic. The task of the Party is not only to distribute correctly its workers throughout the various branches of the Government, but also to verify and determine the very course of their work. The dictatorship of the labor classes cannot be materialized in any other way than in the shape of the dictatorship of their vanguard; that is, the Communist Party. (Pravda, April 20, 1923.)

No. 11. (D) Speech of Zinoviev Delivered in Petrograd on May 8, 1923—Fundamental Results of the Twelfth Congress of Russian Communist Party

* * * We know from the fundamental Communist works that the dictatorship of the Proletariat is impossible without the dictatorship of its advance guard; that is, without the dictatorship of its party. * * * Speaking of the State, it is necessary to distinguish two things; speaking strictly scientifically, "state" means the aggregate of state institutions and organs concentrated as the weapons of compulsion in the hands of the governing class (in our case, of the Proletariat). But frequently by "state" is meant the country, society.

The question of dictatorship of the party has an enormous importance in both cases. In so far as it is a question of state in the direct sense of the word, it is especially important that the Communist Party, through which the Proletariat realizes its power, should hold the state apparatus completely in its hands, for only by this means can the Proletariat realize its dictatorship in a peasant country. * * * This question involves the question of the hegemony of the Proletariat. In order that the Proletariat may remain dominant in the Soviet State, composed in the majority not of proletariat, it is necessary that the directing rôle of the dictatorship belong to the advance guard of the Proletariat—that is the Communist Party. * * * Represent to yourselves, comrades, for one minute, that here in Russia in 1923 the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists are legal parties; imagine that they exist in Petrograd and in Moscow; that they publish newspapers * * *. They would say, "Fine, you have performed great services; you have crushed the whites; it is true, you dispersed the constituent assembly; that was not very kind on your part. You do not wish a democracy; it is necessary to compromise. Let there be a Soviet State; but consider, you, in all, have only 400,000 party members; while in Soviet Russia there are 120,000,000 inhabitants. How can you pretend that you, small group in 400,000, have realized the dictatorship in the whole state? * * *"

We at the Eleventh Congress of the Party said in complete agreement with Comrade Lenin the following: Our party has the monopoly of legality. That signifies that only it publishes news-

papers; that only it exists openly and freely; and that it has driven the enemies of the Soviet power underground. * * *

The Party will not yield an inch. It will not permit itself to be pushed away from economic work; it will go into every economic detail. It will appoint every economic worker from the highest to the lowest. The Party not for one second will be pushed away from economic matters, knowing that now the fate of the revolution is bound up with the fate of economic conditions. That is so. And together with that our party must strongly protest against the attempts to supersede politics by economics. (Pravda, No. 104, May 12, 1923.)

5. INSTANCES OF INTERDEPENDENCE OF STATE AND PARTY MACHINERY

(A) POWERS AND ACTIVITIES OF CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION

No. 12. (1) Act Organizing Central Control Commission—Act Organizing Central Control Commission

* * * * *

The act considers that the principal tasks of the Central Control Commission are: To see to it that all Soviet organs pursue the policies laid down by the party; systematically to keep the party informed about everything that takes place in the party as a whole, in the Soviet apparatus and in the mass of the population; to cooperate with the Central Committee in developing more accurate and systematic work in the party apparatus, and in introducing more system in party measures for guiding state and economic apparatus; to assist the Central Committee in selecting the controlling personnel of party, state, and economic organs. (Pravda, No. 118, May 31, 1923.)

No. 13. (2) Resolution of XII Congress of Russian Communist Party on Organization, April 27, 1923—Twelfth Congress of the Russian Communist Party—Resolution on Organization

Central Control Commission: The division of work between party organs and state organs (in the sense of the decree of the Eleventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party) is necessary but without the least prejudice to the guiding rôle of the party. In order that the party, not in theory but in actuality, may be able to realize the directing guidance of state and economic organs it is necessary that at those central points, at which the reorganized Workmen-Peasants Inspection should stand, there should be established the closest organic bond between the directing organs of the state and party control.

The Congress elects fifty members of the Central Control Commission, preeminently from among the workers and peasants, with serious party experience, and suitable for party control and soviet control work. The basic problem of the Central Control Commission is the work of securing the conformation of the activity of all soviet organs with the directions of the party in all relations.

* * * The People's Commissar of the Workmen-Peasant Inspection is selected by the Central Committee of the party in so far as possible from among members of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission. Into the composition of the collegium of the People's Commissariat should enter some members of the presidium of the Central Control Commission. Not less than one-half of the remaining members of the Central Control Committee should be delegated for work in the Workmen-Peasants Inspection, and in the domain of fulfilling the soviet tasks imposed on them they work under direction of the collegium of the Workmen-Peasants Inspection in accordance with the orders, instructions, elaborated by the presidium of the Central Control Committee, together with the collegium of the People's Commissariat and confirmed by the Central Committee of the party. (Pravda, No. 93, April 28, 1923.)

* * * * *

4. POSITION OF RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY IN SOVIET STATE

No. 24. (A) Report of Zinoviev at XI Congress of Russian Communist Party—Report of Comrade Zinoviev—Monopoly of Legality

It is important yet to point out another dangerous side. I refer to the fact that we are the only legal party in the country and have in this wise, as it were, a monopoly of legality. * * * Let us speak clearly—we have a monopoly of legality. We do not grant our opponents political freedom. We do not give the possibility of legal existence to those who pretend to compete with us. * * * From the moment when we became monopolists in the arena of the political struggle, from that moment, half consciously and partly completely unconsciously, rolled towards us that element which in another time would be with the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists. This phenomenon is quite a natural one which was inevitable at a certain period of time and will be still for some time inevitable. * * * All these elements desiring to participate in the political life run up against a barrier which is the Russian Communist Party. They see at each step that they can not participate in the economic life when they do not stand in some relation to the Russian Communist Party and they begin first with one foot and then with both feet to enter into the party. They may think sincerely that they are Communists. This is a mass condition, a natural one which we must have in view constantly. As long as we are the monopolists of legality in our country, and this condition will last yet for many years, they will come to us not perhaps with evil intentions, not perhaps with any real egotistical aims but simply as an active part of the population desiring to participate in the economic life and the economic reconstruction. (Pravda No. 75, April 2, 1922.)

International Press Correspondence, more commonly referred to as *Inprecorr*, was authorized at the Third World Congress (1921) as the official publication of the Communist International. The present article on the state of Russian family life in 1923 outlines some of the consequences of the early Bolshevik attempt to modify this pillar of "bourgeois" society. As a counterbalance to certain economic concessions made necessary by the New Economic Policy

(NEP), attacks on family life were intensified.¹ In later years, the Bolshevik masters completely reversed themselves upon the subject of the emancipation of husbands and wives, parents and children. Experience had taught them that casual relationships did not provide enough workers for the Five Year Plans or enough soldiers to meet the threat of Nazi aggression. Today, Soviet authorities look down with scorn upon "decadent bourgeois" customs of divorce and shallow romantic infatuation.² Only in the Soviet Union and under the protecting guidance of correct Leninist-Stalinist ideology can true love and stable family life flourish.

EXHIBIT No. 18

[*Inprecorr*, October 18, 1923. P. 759]

FAMILY LAW IN SOVIET RUSSIA

By A. Goichbart (Moscow)

Our family law is completely separate from the marriage law. The fact whether the parents are living in a formally registered marriage state or not has, in general, no (juridical) bearing whatever on the rights of their child. The distinction made by all bourgeois codes of civil law between legitimate and illegitimate children is entirely unknown to our Soviet law. Every child possesses equal rights with respect to its parents, and the parents have like duties towards their children.

The lack of social prerequisites has, unfortunately, prevented us up to now from substituting individual education in the family by the much more purposeful and sensible social education. But individual family education, where it still exists, exists solely in the interests of the children, and not of the parents. In almost all bourgeois countries the relation between parents and children is based on the relics of a slaveholding and feudal state of society, in which the parents possessed the same rights over their children as over their slaves and serfs. Almost everywhere the power exercised over children by their parents, especially by the father, resembles the right of a slave owner over a slave. The laws concerning the relations between parents and children are everywhere the remains left over from the past dark centuries.

But our laws look to a future which is perhaps no longer so distant. We are not yet in a position to emancipate the children from the rights exercised over them by their parents. But we accord these rights to the parents solely in the interest of the children. As soon as the rights are abused, the parents are entirely deprived of them. The commission for the revision of our family and marriage laws, which is working under my chairmanship, has not only confirmed this principle of our family law, but established it even more firmly. It allows of proof and repudiation of paternity, as opposed to the existing registration, only in so far as this is in the interest of the child. Thus if a child is registered as being the child of the mother and her registered husband, the court can only consent to any proceedings for the establishment of the paternity of a third person if this change would be of advantage (socially, materially, or otherwise) and not of disadvantage to the child. If the registered father wishes to prove the incorrectness of the registration, proceedings on his evidence are

¹ Timasheff, *Great Retreat*, pp. 192-203. Gsovski, *Soviet Civil Law*, I, 111-136.

² *Young Communists in the U. S. S. R.* Translated by Virginia Rhine, Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1950, pp. 77-79.

only permissible if they would be to the advantage of the child, even if the truth of the assertion, that the registered person is not the father of the child, is incontestable.

The following limitation of parental rights is also in the interest of the child. The parents are not entitled to determine what religion is to be embraced by their children. The commission unanimously passed an article to the following effect: "Until the children are of age they are regarded as belonging to no religion whatever. Any agreement made by parents as to their children belonging to one or another religion, is not legally binding."

Our family law not only obliterates all differences between all children, but also the differences between the relations of the two parents and the children. All bourgeois laws, made by men, accord privileges to the father which are not enjoyed by the mother. In our law this difference is unknown. At least the mother's position is not legally lower than the father's.

We are not yet able to impose the whole burden of maintenance of the children on society at large—the state. We are still obliged to impose a great part of the costs on the parents, especially the father. But how difficult it is, in other states, to obtain the fulfilment of this obligation on the part of the father. And even when it is possible to prove paternity, it is rendered exceedingly difficult for the mother to prove her assertions. In the hour of her greatest need she has no help. When is she most in need of support? Immediately after the birth of her child. And it is just at this moment that she has to apply to the law. Then a considerable time elapses before the court pronounces judgment. During this time the child can perish for lack of sustenance. According to our law, on the other hand, the expectant mother can, before the birth of the child, make a declaration to the registry office as to its paternity. And if the man named as being the father does not enter a protest against this, he is registered as the father. Should he however protest, it is at least possible for the mother to produce her evidence before the birth of the child, so that her claims for alimony may be already established by the time she is actually in need of help.

This provision on the part of the laws is a great alleviation of the position of mother and child, and no objection can be raised against it by anyone giving a more than superficial consideration to the question. Everyone has learnt from literature and consequently from life, that the "cooling off of love" usually takes place immediately after pregnancy has been discovered, that is, a considerable time before the birth. If the woman then makes her declaration at this point, the man has much less occasion and less possibility of denying his paternity. Although broad strata of the population as yet know very little about our family law, still there were more than 1,700 such declarations of paternity before birth made in the year 1922. When the new laws become more generally known, the mothers will make wider use of this great amelioration of their position.

The commission has not only confirmed this enactment of the law, but has further extended it by the decree that the declaration can be made at the appropriate registry office for the place of residence of the mother. The commission further proposes to extend the code of criminal law by the enactment that the deliberate denial of paternity

is to be punished in accordance with the law relating to perjury, that is, with imprisonment for not less than one year.

As will be seen from the above, our family law is permeated by the will to secure and alleviate the position of the children and of their mothers.

Nikolai Bukharin was one of the leading theoreticians of the Russian Communist movement. After Zinoviev had been removed in disgrace from the top command of the Communist International, Bukharin succeeded him as president until he too fell from favor in 1929.¹ Unlike the *ABC of Communism*, Bukharin's sociological treatise, entitled "*Historical Materialism*," is not simply written. What was much more unfortunate for its author, it expressed theories which Stalin was to find highly offensive. Only the text of the last three pages is here reproduced. If Bukharin had been a very prudent man, he would never have even suggested that Socialists might not establish socialism, either in one country or on a worldwide scale. Nor would he have ever raised the embarrassing question as to why Marxist literature contained so little discussion of the nebulous Communist utopia. As he listened at the 15th Bolshevik Party Congress to Stalin's disparaging comments upon the unreliability of intellectuals, Bukharin must have become belatedly aware of his own unforgivable deviations.

EXHIBIT No. 19

[New York, International Publishers, 1925. Nikolai Bukharin, *Historical Materialism: A System of Sociology*. Authorized translation from the Third Russian Edition. Pp. 309-311]

j. The Classless Society of the Future

Here we encounter a question that has been but little discussed in Marxian literature. We have seen that the class rules through the party, the party through its leaders; each class and each party therefore having its staff of officers. This staff is technically necessary, for we have seen that it is the result of the lack of uniformity within the class and the inequality of the party members. Each class therefore has its organizers. Viewing the evolution of society from this point of view, we may reasonably ask the following question: Is—in general—the communist classless society, of which Marxists speak, a possibility?

It is. We know that the classes themselves have risen organically as Engels described, from the division of labor, from the organizational functions that had become technically necessary for the further evolution of society. Obviously, in the society of the future, such organizational work will also be necessary. One might object that the society of the future will not involve private property, or the formation of such private property, and it is precisely this private property that constitutes this basis of the class.

But this argument need not remain unanswered. Professor Robert Michels, in his very interesting book, *Zur Soziologie des Parteiwesens in der modernen Demokratie* (Leipzig 1910, p. 370), says: "Doubts again arise on this point, however, whose consistent application would lead to an outright denial of the possibility of a classless state (the author should not have said 'state' but 'society'.—N. B.). Their administration of boundless capital (*i. e.*, means of production.—N. B.) assigns at least as much power to the admin-

¹ Ypsilon, *Pattern for World Revolution*, pp. 113, 191.

istrators as would possession of their own private property." Viewed from this point of view, the entire evolution of society seems to be nothing more than a substitution of one group of leaders for another. Accordingly, Vilfredo Pareto speaks of a "theory of the circulation of élites" (*théorie de la circulation des élites*). If this view is a correct one, Michels must also be correct in his conclusion, *i. e.*, *socialists* may be victorious, but not *socialism*. An example will show Michels' error. When the bourgeoisie is in power, it is by reason of the power—as we know—not of all the members of the class, but of its leaders. Yet it is evident that this condition does not result in a class stratification *within* the bourgeoisie. The landlords in Russia ruled their high officials, constituting an entire staff, an entire stratum, but this stratum did not set itself up as a class against the other landlords. The reason was that these other landlords did not have a lower standard of living than that of the former; furthermore, their cultural level was about the same, on the whole, and the rulers were constantly recruited from this class.

Engels was therefore right when he said that the classes up to a certain moment are an outgrowth of the insufficient evolution of the productive forces; administration is necessary, but there is not sufficient bread for all, so to speak. Parallel with the growth of the socially necessary organizational functions, we therefore have also a growth of private property. But communist society is a society with highly developed, increased productive forces. Consequently, it can have no economic basis for the creation of its peculiar ruling class. For—even assuming the power of the administrators to be stable, as does Michels—this power will be the power of specialists over machines, not over men. How could they, in fact, realize this power with regard to men? Michels neglects the fundamental decisive fact that each administratively dominant position has hitherto been an envelope for economic exploitation. This economic exploitation may not be subdivided. But there will not even exist a stable, close corporation, dominating the machines, for the fundamental basis for the formation of monopoly groups will disappear; what constitutes an eternal category in Michels' presentation, namely, the "incompetence of the masses" will disappear, for this incompetence is by no means a necessary attribute of every system; it likewise is a product of the economic and technical conditions, expressing themselves in the general cultural being and in the educational conditions. We may state that in the society of the future there will be a colossal overproduction of organizers, which will nullify the *stability* of the ruling groups.

But the question of the *transition period* from capitalism to socialism, *i. e.*, the period of the proletarian dictatorship, is far more difficult. The working class achieves victory, although it is not and cannot be a unified mass. It attains victory while the productive forces are going down and the great masses are materially insecure. There will inevitably result a *tendency* to "degeneration," *i. e.*, the excretion of a leading stratum in the form of a class-germ. This tendency will be retarded by two opposing tendencies; first, by the *growth of the productive forces*; second, by the abolition of the *educational monopoly*. The increasing reproduction of technologists and of organizers in general, out of the working class itself, will undermine this possible new class alignment. The outcome of the struggle will depend on which tendencies turn out to be the stronger.

The working class, having in its possession so fine an instrument as the Marxian theory, must be mindful of this fact: by its hands an order of society will be put through and ultimately established, differing in principle from all the preceding formations; namely, from the primitive communist horde by the fact that it will be a society of highly cultivated persons, conscious of themselves and others; and from the class forms of society by the fact that for the first time the conditions for a human existence will be realized, not only for individual groups, but for the entire aggregate of humanity, a mass which will have ceased to be a mass, and will become a single, harmoniously constructed human society.

The hectic deeds of violent revolution leave little time for such secondary things as literature and the fine arts. Thus, Lenin and, later, Stalin often found themselves much too busy to closely supervise the development of proletarian culture (this section, exhibit No. 30). In the earliest years of the Bolshevik revolution, Futurism and the Proletcult ran wild. Their protagonists even ventured a claim to the right to act independently of the Bolshevik party.¹ With the close of the civil war in 1920, however, Lenin was able to give some attention to less urgent matters. He promptly disbanded the Proletcult and ordered all artists and writers to take dictation from the Bolshevik authorities.²

But even after his death in January 1924, the Bolshevik leaders had not yet decided upon a single policy with regard to literature and the arts. Hence, the decree of July 1, 1925, permitted competition and experimentation. Although the fellow travelers were regarded as vacillating and unreliable, they might produce something useful and were consequently, given their chance. The name "fellow travelers" appears to have been invented by Trotsky as a designation for those non-Bolsheviks who were going most of the way with the revolution.³ In 1925, Stalin was not yet able to enforce his monolithic will upon everybody in the Soviet Union. Besides, he could later use this July 1, 1925, decree against its principal author, Bukharin.

On April 23, 1932, Stalin found time to settle the question of literary experimentation once and forever. Those fellow travelers who had been able to surrender all the way were absorbed into the Union of Soviet Writers.⁴ The remainder were eliminated from public life.

The following translation is reprinted from Edward J. Brown, *The Proletarian Episode in Russian Literature*, pp. 235-240.

EXHIBIT No. 20

[Moscow, *Resolution of the Politburo*. "On the Policy of the Party in the Field of Literature: Resolution of the TSK RKP (b), July 1, 1925"]

1. The rise in the material welfare of the masses in recent times, together with the changes in their outlook which have been brought about by the revolution, the intensification of mass activity, the significant broadening of horizons, and so forth, is causing a great growth of cultural needs and demands. We have entered upon a phase of the cultural revolution which is establishing the necessary condition for further development toward a communist society.

2. A part of this mass cultural growth is the appearance of a new literature—proletarian and peasant in the first instance—beginning in embryonic forms, but at the same time unusually broad in its scope (worker correspondents, village correspondents), and ending ultimately in consciously ideological literary and artistic production.

¹ Edward J. Brown, *The Proletarian Episode in Russian Literature, 1928-32*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1952, pp. 9, 177.

² Gleb Struve, *Soviet Russian Literature, 1917-50*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1951, p. 26.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁴ Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 213, 251.

3. On the other hand, the complexity of the economic process; the simultaneous growth of contradictory and even inimical forms of economic life, the consequent growth and strengthening of a new *bourgeoisie*; the inevitable, though at first unconscious, attraction to it of a part of the old and new intelligentsia; the constant secretion from the depths of social life of new ideological agents of this *bourgeoisie*—all of this must inevitably be reflected also on the literary surface of our social life.

4. Thus, as the class war in general has not ended, neither has it ended on the literary front. In a class society there is not, nor can there be, a neutral art, though the class nature of art generally and of literature in particular is expressed in forms which are infinitely more various than, for instance, in politics.

5. However, it would be quite wrong to leave out of consideration the basic fact of our social life; namely, the fact of the conquest of power by the working class, and the existence in the country of a proletarian dictatorship. Prior to the seizure of power the proletarian party provoked the class war for the disintegration of the society as a whole; during the period of the proletarian dictatorship the Party is faced with the task of getting along with the peasantry while slowly changing it; it is faced with the problem of allowing a certain collaboration with the *bourgeoisie* while slowly driving it out. It must also solve the problem of securing the services of technicians and of all kinds of intellectuals for the revolution, and of taking them away from the *bourgeoisie*.

Thus though the class war has not yet ended, it has changed its form, for the proletariat before the seizure of power strives for the destruction of a given society, but in the period of its dictatorship gives first importance to "peaceful organizing work."

6. Always preserving, broadening, and strengthening its leadership, the proletariat should occupy a forward position in a number of new sectors of the ideological front. The process of penetration of the dialectical-materialist outlook into altogether new fields has already begun (biology, psychology, the natural sciences, etc.). The conquest of positions in the field of belles-lettres must in the same way sooner or later become a fact.

7. It must be remembered, however, that this problem is infinitely more complicated than other problems being solved by the proletariat. Even within the limitations of a capitalist society the working class could prepare itself for a victorious revolution, build cadres of fighters and leaders and produce a magnificent ideological weapon for the political struggle. But it could work out neither the problems of natural science nor the tasks of technical development; and by the same token the proletariat, the class which was culturally deprived, was unable to develop its own literature, its own characteristic artistic forms, its own style. Although the proletariat has ready infallible criteria regarding the sociopolitical content of any literary work, it does not have such definite answers to all questions of artistic form.

8. What has been said above should determine the policy of the ruling party in the field of belles-lettres. In this field we must consider the following problems: relationships among proletarian writers, peasant writers, and the so-called "fellow-travelers," and others; questions of criticism; questions of the style and form of

artistic works and methods of developing new artistic forms; and, finally, questions of an organizational character.

9. The relationships among various groups of writers are determined by our general policy. However, it must be borne in mind that leadership in the field of literature belongs to the working class as a whole, with all its material and ideological resources. The hegemony of proletarian literature does not yet exist, and the Party should help these writers to earn for themselves the historical right to that hegemony. Peasant writers should receive our full support. Our task consists in guiding their growing cadres onto the rails of proletarian ideology, *by no means, however, discouraging in their works peasant literary images, which are the necessary prerequisites for their influence upon the peasantry.*

10. With relation to the "fellow-travelers" we must bear in mind: (1) their differentiation, (2) the importance of many of them as qualified specialists of literary technique; and (3) the presence of vacillation in this group of writers. The general directive should be for tactful and careful relations with them, and for such an approach as will guarantee all the conditions for their earliest possible movement in the direction of communist ideology. While discouraging antiproletarian and antirevolutionary elements (now quite insignificant), and while fighting to expose the ideology of the new *bourgeoisie* which is taking form among a part of the fellow-travelers—those of the "change-of-landmarks" stripe—the Party should have a patient attitude toward intermediate ideological formations, patiently aiding those inevitably numerous formations to develop in the process of ever closer comradesly cooperation with the cultural forces of communism.

11. In relation to the proletarian writers, the Party should take the following position: while aiding their development and in every way supporting their organizations, the Party should prevent by all means the appearance among them of Communist conceit as a most harmful phenomenon. The Party, just because it sees in them the future ideological leaders of Soviet literature, must oppose a light-minded and indifferent attitude toward the cultural heritage, as also toward specialists of literary expression. Equally deserving of condemnation is the position which underestimates the great importance of the struggle for the ideological hegemony of the proletarian writers. Against capitulationism, on the one hand, and against Communist conceit on the other, such should be the slogan of the Party. The Party should also fight against attempts to create a purely hot-house proletarian literature. A broad grasp of phenomena in all their complexity; a literature not shut up within the confines of the factory only; a literature, not of the factory, but of a great, struggling class, leading millions of peasants—such should be the scope of proletarian literature.

12. What has been said above determines the tasks of criticism, which is one of the chief educational weapons in the hands of the Party. While it should not for one moment retreat from the positions of communism, nor from proletarian ideology, and while it must reveal the objective class meaning of certain works, Communist criticism should fight mercilessly against counterrevolutionary phenomena in literature; it should expose the "change-of-landmarks"

liberalism, and the like, and yet at the same time show the greatest tact, attention, and patience toward all those groups which can and will join the proletariat. Communist criticism must drive out the tone of literary command. Such criticism can have deep educational significance only when it relies on its own ideological superiority. Marxist criticism should once and for all drive out of its midst all pretentious, half-literate, and self-satisfied Communist conceit. Marxist criticism should have as its slogan "to learn," and should resist every appearance of cheap judgment and ignorant arrogance in its own milieu.

13. While it has infallible criteria of judgment regarding the class content of literary tendencies, the Party as a whole must not bind itself to any one tendency in the field of literary form. Giving general leadership to literature, the Party cannot support any one faction in literature (classifying these factions according to their different views on form and style), just as it cannot by resolutions settle questions of the form of the family, though in general it does and should lead in the development of new ways of life. Everything indicates that a style proper to the epoch will be created, but it will be created by different methods, and the solution of this problem has not yet been begun. In the present phase of cultural development any attempt to bind the Party in this direction must be repulsed.

14. Therefore the Party should declare itself in favor of the free competition of various groups and tendencies in this province. Any other solution of the problem would be an official, bureaucratic pseudo-solution. In the same way it is inadmissible to legalize by a decree the monopoly of the literary printing business by any one group or literary organization. While morally and materially supporting proletarian and proletarian-peasant literature, and aiding the fellow-travelers, the Party cannot offer a monopoly to any of these groups, even the one most proletarian in its ideology. For this would be to destroy proletarian literature itself.

15. The Party must in every way root out all attempts at officious and incompetent administrative interference in literary matters; the Party should see to it that there is careful selection of persons for those institutions which have authority in matters of publishing, so as to guarantee a really correct, tactful, and helpful leadership of our literature.

16. The Party should indicate to all workers in belles-lettres the necessity of a correct limitation of functions as between critics and writers. For the latter it is necessary to transfer the center of gravity of their work to literary production in the narrow sense, taking advantage in this of the material of the present day. It is necessary also to give increased attention to the development of national literature in the many republics and *oblasts* of our Union. The Party should emphasize the necessity for the creation of literature intended for the mass reader, both worker and peasant. It is necessary to break more decisively and boldly with the prejudices of gentility in literature, and, taking advantage of all the achievements of the old masters, to work out a proper form understandable to the millions. Only when it has solved this problem will Soviet literature and its proletarian vanguard fulfill its cultural mission.

The following speech was the first of Stalin's utterances to be carried by the *Daily Worker*. A few years later, some American comrades were to regret the condescending reference to him as being merely "one of the most prominent Communists." In 1924, Zinoviev may have appeared much more important in his role of chairman of the Communist International. By 1936, Stalin had taken care of Zinoviev forever.

Stalin's modesty of style in this speech is quite disarming. He speaks entirely on his own. He patiently exhorts. He gently advises. Most significant to many who did not hear or at least not in time, he concluded by "warning." In his pursuit of vengeance, Stalin always preserved a deadly calm.¹

EXHIBIT No. 21

[*Daily Worker*, March 5, 1924. Supplement, p. 4]

STALIN DISCUSSES TASKS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISTS

NOTE.—Today the DAILY WORKER begins the publication of the speech of Stalin, one of the most prominent of the Russian Communists, on the big problems now confronting the Russian Communist Party. This address was made before a selected audience of Russian party workers. There will be another installment tomorrow.

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WHAT STALIN SAID

Comrades, I must above all emphasize that I speak here on my own behalf, and not in the name of the Central of the Party. If the meeting decides to hear my address, I am at its service. (Please go on!)

This does not mean that I differ in opinion in any way to the Central in this question—not at all. I speak here in my own name solely for the reason that within the next few days the commission appointed by the Central to work out measures for the improvement of the inner political situation will be submitting its results to the Central.

These results have not yet been laid before us, and thus I have not yet a formal right to appear in the name of the Central, altho I am fully convinced that that which I am about to say, will be at the same time essentially the expression of the attitude adopted by the Central in this question.

DISCUSSION—A GOOD SIGN

The first question which I should like to raise here is the question of the meaning of the discussion being carried on at present in the press and in the nuclei.

What is this discussion about, and what does it signify?

Is it not a tempest which has broken into the peaceful life of the Party; is this discussion not a sign, as some say, of the disintegration and decay of the Party, or, as others say, a sign of degeneration of the Party?

I believe, comrades, that neither the one nor the other is true, there is neither a degeneration nor a disintegration. The fact is that the Party has grown of late, that it has unburdened itself of a considerable amount of ballast, that it has become more proletarian.

You are aware that two years ago we had no fewer than 700,000 Party members. You are aware that several hundreds of thousands of one-time Party members have left the Party or have been expelled.

¹ Eugene Lyons, *Stalin, Czar of all the Russias*, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1940, pp. 37, 253, 287. This biographical study throws considerable light upon the emotional reactions of Soviet Russia's *vozhd* until his death in March 1953. The title "*vozhd*" implies even more than that of *fuehrer* or *duce*.

The Party has further improved in its component parts, and has attained a higher qualitative level during this period as a result of the improvement in the material situation of the workers, of the uplift of industry, of the return of the old qualified workers from the country, and of the fresh wave of cultural uplift among the industrial workers.

In one word: all these conditions have tended to the growth of the Party, to its qualitative progress. Its requirements have become greater, its demands are higher, it wants to know more than it used to, and it wants to decide more than it has hitherto decided.

The discussion which has arisen is no sign of weakness in the Party, and much less of degeneration; it is rather a sign of strength, a sign of power, a sign of the improvement of the elements composing the Party, a sign of its increased activity.

CAUSES OF THE DISCUSSION

The second question with which we have to deal is the question of why precisely this moment, the autumn of this year, has happened to be the period in which the question of inner Party policy has assumed so acute a character? How is this to be explained? What are the causes?

I assume, comrades, that there are two causes at the bottom of it.

The first cause is the wave of ferment and strikes, in connection with working wages, which passed over some districts of our republic in August of this year. This strike wave showed that our organizations are faulty, that some of our organizations—Party and state organizations—possess inadequate contact with the events going on in the works and factories, and it also showed that some illegal organizations have been existing within the Party, anti-communistic in their essential character, and striving to divide the Party.

All these deficiencies thus brought to light by the strike wave have thrown such a bright light into the eyes of the Party, have flooded it with such a blaze of sobering illumination, that it recognized the necessity of inner changes in the Party.

The second cause rendering the question of the inner Party policy so acute at precisely this moment, has been the extensive leave of absence permitted by our Party comrades. We can well comprehend their doing this, but the mass character of the leave taken, had the effect that the pulse of Party life was considerably weakened just at the moment when fermentation began to be apparent in the workshops and factories, so that the manifestation of the defects which had arisen was greatly facilitated at this period, the autumn of this year.

DEFECTS OF INNER PARTY LIFE

What are the faults and failings of our inner Party life? Is it that the line taken by the Party has been wrong, as some comrades think, or is it that the line was right in itself, but has been departed from in actual practice, and has been adjusted in accordance with certain subjective conditions?

I believe that the essential defect of our inner Party life consists precisely of the fact that tho the line of the Party has been right as expressed in the resolutions passed by its congresses, the actual

practice in the provinces (not everywhere, of course, but in some districts) has been wrong.

Altho the proletarian democratic line held to by our Party has been correct, its execution in the provinces has created facts and experiences which are a bureaucratic distortion of this line.

This is the essential defect. The existence of contradictions between the fundamental lines laid down by the Party, as established at the X, XI and XII Congresses, and the actual practice of our organizations when endeavoring to act on these lines in the provinces. This is the substance of all the inadequacies evinced by our inner Party life.

The Party had laid down the rule that the most important questions of our Party work, naturally with the exception of urgent matters, or of affairs involving military or diplomatic secrets, have to be brought up for debate at the Party meetings. This is absolutely demanded by the Party. But in the provinces it has been the practice, tho, of course, not everywhere, to consider that there was no particular reason why a number of questions of inner Party practice should be dealt with at the Party meetings, as the Central and other leading organizations decided these questions themselves.

The Party has laid down the rule that the official persons of our Party have to be elected, and that this rule has to be unconditionally followed unless the nature of the Party membership, etc., offers some insuperable obstacle.

You know that according to the statutes of the Party, a secretary of the governments Party organization has to have been a member of the Party before the October Revolution, a secretary of the district organization has to have been a member for three years, a secretary of a nucleus one year. In actual practice the Party has not seldom decided that where a lengthy membership of the Party is necessary, it is not needful for an election actually to take place.

The Party has laid down the rule that the masses in the country must be kept informed of the work done by the economic organs, by the undertakings and trusts, for our Party nuclei are naturally morally responsible to the nonpartisan masses for deficiencies in the works and factories. Nevertheless, the Party administrators have been of the opinion that since we have a Central, and this gives instructions to the economic organs, and these economic organs are further bound by these instructions, that the instructions thus passed on shall be also carried out without the control of the Party masses from below.

The Party has laid down the rule that the responsible functionaries of the various groups of work, whether Party workers, economists, trade unionists, military, are despite all specialization arising from their inseparable components of a whole, for they are one and all working for the cause of the proletariat, and this cause is an inseparable whole.

The actual practice of the Party has been such that where there has been a specialization in work, a division of work into that of the actual Party workers, economists, military, etc., then the Party workers are not responsible for the economists nor the economists for the Party workers, so that alienation and lack of contact is inevitable among the different categories.

This is, in general, the character of the contradictions existing between lines laid down by the Party and their actual execution.

It is far from my intention to accuse the local organizations of being to blame for this deviation from Party lines, for, when the matter is

regarded in its true light, it is not a case of anyone being to blame, it is rather a natural evil arising from our organizations in the provinces. The root of this evil, and the remedy for it, I shall refer to later.

I wish first to establish this fact, in order that the contradictions may be explained, and shall then attempt to propose measures for removing the evil.

And it is equally far from my intention to regard our Central as entirely blameless, for it has its small sins, like any other organization or institution, sins composed partly of faults and partly of natural evil. Some blame is deserved, if only for the fact that the Central, for some reason or another, did not observe the growing inadequacies and take timely measures for their removal.

But this is not the question at the moment; what is of importance at present is to get at the causes of the inadequacies of which I have just spoken.

[*Daily Worker*, March 8, 1924. Supplement, p. 6.]

STALIN ON TASKS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Note.—THE DAILY WORKER today publishes the concluding part of the speech delivered by Comrade Stalin to a large meeting of party workers on the problems confronting the Russian Communists at the present time. Our readers cannot help but admire the frankness with which the Russian leaders discuss their weaknesses. Smaller men would try and gloss over or excuse them. Not so the Russian Communist chiefs. They know that organizations are composed of men and women who are liable to err and the best way to remedy mistakes is to acknowledge their presence and find a cure for them. We urge you not to miss a single part of this important discussion. In our next issue we will publish the first portion of Comrade Zinoviev's speech. He is Chairman of the Communist International and President of the Petrograd Soviet.

COMRADE STALIN CONTINUES

In the seventh place, it is necessary to do more work among the nonpartisan workers. This is one means by which the inner Party situation and the activity of the Party masses can be bettered. I must say that our organizations still pay too little attention to this. Too little attention especially to the presence of nonpartisan workers in our Soviet organs. Comrades, I believe that if we do not put a certain minimum of faith in the nonpartisans, we shall evoke a very great mistrust of our organizations on the part of the nonpartisans.

FAITH OF NONPARTISANS

This faith on the part of the nonpartisans is imperatively necessary. Comrades, it is imperatively necessary to force the Communists to drop their candidatures. No speeches should be held maintaining that Communists only should be elected. The nonpartisans must be encouraged, induced to take up state work. We shall gain only advantage from this, and will receive as a reply the trust of the nonpartisans in our organizations.

In the eighth place, work among the peasantry must be intensified. I do not know why our village nuclei, for instance, cannot be set to practical tasks: First, of being the interpreters and distributors of the Soviet laws bearing on the life of the peasantry, and secondly, of being agitators and spreaders of elementary agronomical knowledge,

if no more than to teach that the fields must be sown at the right time, the seed cleansed, etc.

I should like to mention two extremes, two exaggerations which have appeared in some discussion articles in the "Pravda" with respect to the questions of the workers' democracy.

DANGER OF NEP

The first extreme is in regard to nomination by election. This consists of the efforts made by some comrades to carry out nomination by "election" to the utmost possible point. Election having once been admitted to be the right method, then go on electing at any price! This view, comrades, is a mistaken one. The Party will not accept it. To be sure we are no longer living in times of war, we are passing thru a period of peaceful development—but we have the New Economic Policy. Do not forget this, comrades. It was not during the war that the Party undertook the task of purging itself, but after the war. Why?

Because during the war the fear of defeat held the Party closely together, and various elements corroding the Party internally were obliged to fall into the line of the Party which was struggling to the death. These bonds are no longer there to hold us together, for there is no war. But we have the NEP, we have permitted capitalism to reenter, and the bourgeoisie is striking fresh roots. It is true that all this furthers the work of purging the Party, of placing it upon a firmer foothold. But on the other hand, it envelops us in the atmosphere of the rising and growing bourgeoisie.

Sifting of Party Membership

It was precisely after the NEP that the Party undertook a sifting process, reducing its number by one-half. It was precisely after the NEP that the Party decided that the security of our organizations against the NEP required, for instance, that it be made difficult for nonproletarian elements to gain admittance to the Party, that lengthy membership of the Party be made condition to appointment as a functionary of the Party, etc. Did the Party act rightly in taking these precautionary measures, which limited the "broad democracy"? In my opinion it acted rightly. It is just for this reason that I assume that the democracy is necessary, that nomination by election is necessary, but that the limiting measures prescribed by the XI and XII Congresses must still remain in force, at least, the most fundamental of them.

The second extreme deals with the question of the limits of discussion. Some comrades demand that discussion be unlimited; they consider the Alpha and Omega of Party work to consist in consultation on all questions and forget all other sides of Party work, that of real activity demanded by the execution of the Party decisions in real life. The Party is not merely a union of persons acting in like manner; it is a fighting union of participators in like action, fighting on the basis of common ideology of their program and tactics.

I conclude my address, comrades, by warning you against these two extremes, and proceed determinedly and straightforwardly on the course towards inner Party democracy which was laid down by the

Central in September of this year, then we shall assuredly experience a great uplift in our Party work.

By the time the 14th Congress of the Russian Bolshevik Party was held in December 1925, Lenin was nearly 2 years dead and Stalin had already eliminated Trotsky from the high affairs of the Soviet Government. Others, of course, made long speeches at the Congress.¹ Within less than 15 years, few of them were still around.

The pattern set in this speech was to be repeated at later party congresses. Stalin began with comments upon the international situation and next took up questions connected with the domestic economy. The third main section dealt with party problems. In 1925 and for sometime thereafter, Stalin had to add a concluding section in reply to certain opponents. By the time that the 17th Bolshevik Party Congress was held in January 1934, nobody was rash enough to venture a single syllable of criticism.

In the section on the international situation, Stalin developed a theme which was to be repeated in all his reports to the Bolshevik Party congresses: the irreconcilable differences between the Soviet peace-loving camp and the decadent imperialist warmongering camp. At the same time, he hastened to assure the non-Communist world that it had nothing to fear from the activities of the Communist International.

Turning next to problems of domestic economy, Stalin explained all difficulties as arising ultimately from capitalist encirclement. In his reply to his opponents, Stalin took care of Trotsky, who had already been removed from power, and of Kamenev, who had helped Stalin eliminate Trotsky. He also firmly chastised Lenin's widow, Krupskaya, for certain deviations in the matter of the New Economic Policy. And he defended Bukharin for past mistakes of no great consequence. After Bukharin had helped him to remove Kamenev and Zinoviev from the scene, Stalin revived these charges against Bukharin, adding at the same time much more serious ones. Although he concluded with an observation that, in 1925, he was opposed to lopping off old Bolsheviks, he emphatically declared that somehow (best known to himself) the party would achieve unity.

Probably the most significant feature of Stalin's speech to the 14th Bolshevik Party Congress was his defense of the non-Marxist doctrine of socialism in one country. As early as 1917, and more emphatically after Lenin's death in January 1924, Stalin had maintained that Bolshevik society could be established in a single country without awaiting the advent of world revolution.² It was this theory which brought him into irreconcilable conflict with many old Bolsheviks. According to their belief, a genuine Marxist revolution had to be a worldwide affair. Their thinking was as much conditioned by experiences of foreign travel as by their Marxist ideology. Unlike many other old Bolsheviks, Stalin had rarely left Russia. And his thought patterns were not so much those of an orthodox Marxist as of a completely uninhibited, power-bent Russian. In the end, Stalin's "unity" triumphed over international Marxism.

EXHIBIT No. 22

[Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1950. J. Stalin, *Political Report of the Central Committee to the 14th Congress of the C. P. S. U. (B), December 18, 1925*. Pp. 8, 32-34, 45-47, 53-56, 61-64, 110, 122-123, 126-130, 136-138, 155-157, 159-162, 169-171]

I. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

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5. The capitalist world and the Soviet Union

I pass to the fifth series of contradictions, the antagonisms between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world.

The major factor in this sphere is that an all-embracing world capitalism no longer exists. After the Land of Soviets came into

¹ Fischer, *Stalin and German Communism*, pp. 476-495. Souvarine, *Stalin*, pp. 397-411.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 392-396. Souvarine quotes from several original Soviet documents.

being, after old Russia was transformed into the Soviet Union, all-embracing world capitalism ceased to exist. The world has split up into two camps: the camp of imperialism and the camp that is fighting imperialism. This is the first point that must be noted.

The second point that must be noted in this sphere is that two major countries are coming out at the head of the capitalist countries—England and America, as an Anglo-American alliance. Our country—the Soviet Union—is coming out at the head of the discontented who are engaged in mortal struggle against imperialism.

The third point is that two major, but opposite, centres of attraction are being created and, in conformity with this, two lines of gravitation towards these centres all over the world: the Anglo-American—for the bourgeois governments, and the Soviet Union for the workers of the West and for the revolutionaries of the East. The power of attraction of the Anglo-American centre lies in its wealth; credits can be obtained there. The power of attraction of the Soviet Union lies in its revolutionary experience, its experience in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers from capitalism and of the oppressed nations from imperialism. I am speaking of the gravitation of the workers of Europe and of the revolutionaries of the East towards our country. You know what a visit to our country means to a European worker, or to a revolutionary from an oppressed country, how they make pilgrimages to our country, and what an attraction our country has for all that is honest and revolutionary all over the world.

Two camps, two centres of attraction.

The fourth point is that in the other camp, the camp of capitalism, there is no unity of interests and no solidarity; that a conflict of interests, disintegration, a struggle between victors and vanquished, a struggle among the victors themselves, a struggle among all the imperialist countries over colonies, over profits, reign there; and because of all this, stabilization in that camp cannot be durable. On the other hand, in our country a healthy stabilization is proceeding and gaining strength, our economy is growing, our socialist construction is growing, and throughout the whole of our camp all the discontented elements and strata in the West and in the East are gradually and steadily rallying around the proletariat of our country, rallying around the Soviet Union.

In that camp, the camp of capitalism—there is strife and disintegration. In our camp, the camp of Socialism—there is solidarity and ever-increasing unity of interests against the common foe—against imperialism.

Such are the major facts that I wanted to note in the sphere of the fifth series of contradictions—the antagonisms between the capitalist world and the Soviet world.

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Of the questions concerning our foreign policy, of the questions that arose in the period under review, questions that are exceptionally delicate and urgent, that concern the relations between our government and the governments of the West-European countries, I would like to mention two: first, the question that the English Conservatives have raised more than once and will raise again—the question of propaganda; and second, the question of the Communist International.

We are accused of conducting special propaganda in Europe, and in the colonies and dependent countries, against imperialism. The English Conservatives assert that the Russian Communists are the people whose mission it is to destroy the might of the British empire. I would like to say here that all this is utter nonsense. We do not need any special propaganda, either in the West or in the East, now that workers' delegations visit our country, see for themselves the order of things here and carry their information about the order of things here to all the Western countries. We do not need any other propaganda. This is the best, the most potent and most effective propaganda for the Soviet system and against the capitalist system. (*Applause.*)

We are told that we are conducting propaganda in the East. I assert that this too is utter nonsense. We do not need any special propaganda in the East, now that, as we know, the whole of our state system rests on the basis of the coexistence and fraternal collaboration of the extremely diverse nationalities in our country. Any Chinese, any Egyptian, any Indian who comes to our country and stays here six months has the opportunity to convince himself that ours is the only country that understands the spirit of the oppressed peoples and is able to arrange collaboration between the proletarians of the former dominant nationality and the proletarians of the former oppressed nationalities. We need no other propaganda, no other agitation in the East except that the delegations that come here from China, India, and Egypt, after working and looking round, should carry their information about our order of things all over the world. This is the best propaganda, and is more effective than all other forms, than all other kinds, of propaganda.

But there is a force that can destroy, and certainly will destroy the British empire. That force is the English Conservatives. That is the force that will, certainly, inevitably lead the British empire to its doom. It is sufficient to recall the Conservatives' policy when they came into power.⁷ What did they begin with? They began by putting the curb on Egypt, by increasing the pressure on India, by intervening in China, and so forth. Such was the policy of the Conservatives. Who is to blame, who is to be accused, if the English lords are incapable of pursuing any other policy? Is it difficult to understand that by proceeding on these lines the Conservatives must, as surely as twice two are four, lead the British empire to inevitable doom?

A few words about the Comintern. Hirelings of the imperialists and authors of forged letters are spreading rumours in the West to the effect that the Comintern is an organization of conspirators and terrorists, that Communists are touring the Western countries for the purpose of hatching plots against the European rulers. Among other things, the Sofia explosion in Bulgaria is being linked with Communists. I must declare what every cultured person must know, if he is not an utter ignoramus, and if he has not been bribed—I must declare that Communists have never had, have not now and never can have anything in common with the theory and practice of individual terrorism; that Communists have never had, have not now and never can have anything in common with the theory of plotting against individual persons. The theory and practice of the Comintern is to organize the mass revolutionary movement against

capitalism. This is true. This is the aim of the Communists. Only ignoramuses and idiots can confuse plots and individual terrorism with the Comintern's policy in the mass revolutionary movement.

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II. THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION

I pass to the second part of the Central Committee's report. This part deals with the internal situation in our state and with the Central Committee's policy on questions concerning the internal situation. I would like to quote several figures. Although no new figures have been published in the press recently, nevertheless, we cannot, unfortunately, avoid quoting some here.

1. The national economy as a whole

But permit me, before passing to the figures, to expound several general postulates which define our work in the building of socialist economy (I intend to start with our economy).

First postulate. We are working and building within a capitalist encirclement. This means that our economy and work of construction will develop in antagonism, in conflicts between our system of economy and the capitalist system of economy. This antagonism we cannot possibly avoid. It is the framework within which the struggle between the two systems, the socialist and the capitalist systems, must proceed. It means, furthermore, that our economy must be built up not only in opposition to the capitalist economy outside our country, but also in opposition to the different elements within it, the opposition of the socialist elements to the capitalist elements.

Hence the conclusion we must: build our economy in such a way as to prevent our country from becoming an appendage of the world capitalist system, to prevent it from being drawn into the general system of capitalist development as its subsidiary enterprise, so that our economy should develop not as a subsidiary enterprise of world capitalism, but as an independent economic unit, based mainly on the home market, based on the link between our industry and peasant husbandry in our country.

There are two general lines: one proceeds from the assumption that our country must for a long time yet remain an agrarian country, must export agricultural produce and import equipment; that we must take this stand and develop along this line in the future. In essence, this line demands that we should pack up our industry. It found expression recently in Shanin's theses (perhaps some of you have read them in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*). To follow this line would mean that our country would never be able, or almost never be able, to become really industrialized; that instead of being an economically independent unit based on the home market, our country would, objectively, become an appendage of the general capitalist system. This line means the abandonment of our construction tasks.

That is not our line.

There is another general line, which proceeds from the assumption that we must exert all efforts to make our country an economically self-reliant, independent country based on the home market; a

country that will serve as a centre of attraction for all those countries which gradually drop out of capitalism and enter the channel of socialist economy. This line demands the utmost expansion of our industry, in proportion and in conformity, however, with the resources at our command. It emphatically rejects the policy of converting our country into an appendage of the world capitalist system. It is our line of construction that the Party adheres to and will continue to adhere to in the future. This line is obligatory as long as the capitalist encirclement exists.

It will be different when the revolution is victorious in Germany or in France, or in both countries together, when the building of Socialism commences there on a higher technical basis. We will then pass from the policy of transforming our country into an independent economic unit to the policy of steering our country into the general channel of socialist development. But until that happens, we shall imperatively need that minimum of independence for our national economy without which it will be impossible to safeguard our country from economic subordination to the world capitalist system.

* * * * *

I would like to say a word or two about state capitalism, and about state industry which is socialistic in type, in order to clear up the misunderstandings and confusion that have arisen in the Party around this question.

Would it be right to call our state industry, state capitalist industry? No. Why? Because under the dictatorship of the proletariat, state capitalism is a form of organization of production in which two classes are represented: an exploiting class which owns the means of production, and an exploited class which does not own the means of production. No matter what special form state capitalism may assume, in substance, it must after all remain capitalistic. When Ilyich analyzed state capitalism, he had in mind primarily concessions. Let us take concessions and see whether two classes are represented in them. Yes; they are represented. The capitalist class, i. e., the concessionaires, who exploit and temporarily own the means of production, and the proletarian class, whom the concessionaire exploits. That we have no elements of Socialism here is evident if only from the fact that nobody would dare turn up at a concession enterprise to start a campaign to increase productivity of labour; for everybody knows that a concession enterprise is not a socialist enterprise, that it is an enterprise alien to Socialism.

Let us take another type of enterprise—state enterprises. Are they state capitalist enterprises? No; they are not. Why? Because in them are represented not two classes, but one class, the working class, which, through its state, owns the instruments and means of production and is not exploited; for the major part of what is produced in these enterprises over and above wages is used for the further expansion of industry, i. e., for the improvement of the conditions of the working class as a whole.

It may be said that, after all, this is not complete Socialism, bearing in mind the survivals of bureaucracy that have remained in the organs of administration of these enterprises. This is true. But this does not contradict the fact that state industry belongs to the socialist type of

production. There are two types of production: the capitalist type, including state capitalism, where there are two classes, where production is carried on for the profit of the capitalist; and there is another type, the socialist type of production, where there is no exploitation, where the means of production belong to the working class, and where the enterprises are run not for the profit of an alien class, but for the expansion of industry for the benefit of the workers as a whole. This is exactly what Lenin said: our state enterprises are a consistently socialist type of enterprises.

Here an analogy with our state could be drawn. Our state too is not called a bourgeois state, for, according to Lenin, it is a new type of state, the proletarian type of state. Why? Because our state apparatus functions not for the purpose of oppressing the working class, as is the case with all bourgeois states without exception, but for the purpose of freeing the working class from the oppression of the bourgeoisie. That is why our state is a proletarian type of state, although any amount of trash and survivals of the olden days can be found in the state apparatus. Lenin, who proclaimed our Soviet system as a proletarian type of state, castigated it for its bureaucratic survivals more strongly than anybody else. Nevertheless, he kept on reiterating that our state is a new proletarian type of state. The type of state must be distinguished from the heritage and survivals which still remain in the system and apparatus of state. It is also equally imperative to distinguish the bureaucratic survivals in state enterprises from the type of structure of industry that we call the socialist type. It is wrong to say that because there are mistakes, bureaucracy, etc., in our economic organizations or in our trusts, our state industry is not socialistic. It is wrong to say that. If that were true, then our state, which is of the proletarian type, would not be proletarian. I can name a whole number of bourgeois apparatuses that function better and more economically than our proletarian state apparatus; but that does not mean that our state apparatus is not proletarian, that the type of our state apparatus is not superior to the bourgeois type. Why? Because although that bourgeois apparatus functions better, it functions for the capitalist, whereas our proletarian state apparatus, even if it does wobble sometimes, after all, functions for the proletariat and against the bourgeoisie.

This fundamental difference must not be forgotten.

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III. THE PARTY

I pass to the question of the Party. I do not put the Party at the end of my report because it is the last in importance of all the factors of our development. No, not because of that, but because, with us, the Party crowns the whole edifice.

I have spoken about the successes the proletarian dictatorship has achieved in the sphere of foreign and domestic policy; in the sphere of external manoeuvring under the conditions of our capitalist encirclement and in the sphere of socialist construction within the country. But these successes could not have been achieved had our Party not been equal to these tasks, had it not become big and strong. The Party's importance in this respect, as the guiding force, is immeasurable. The dictatorship of the proletariat is not exercised

automatically; it is exercised primarily by the Party's forces, under its guidance. Without the Party's guidance, under the present conditions of our capitalist encirclement, the dictatorship of the proletariat would have been impossible.

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REPLY TO DEBATE ON THE POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, DECEMBER, 23, 1925

Comrades. I will not separately answer the notes that have been sent up on individual questions, because the whole of my speech in reply to the debate will practically be an answer to these notes.

Nor do I intend to answer personal attacks or any verbal thrusts of a personal character, for I think that the Congress is in possession of sufficient material with which to verify the motives of these attacks and what is behind them.

Nor will I deal with the "cave men," the people who gathered somewhere near Kislovodsk and devised all sorts of combinations for the different organs of the Central Committee. Well, let them combine, that is their business. I would only like to emphasize that Lashevich, who talked here with aplomb in opposition to combinator politics, was himself found to be one of the combinatorators and, it turns out, at the "cave men's" conference near Kislovodsk, played a role that was far from unimportant. Well, God be with him. [Laughter.]

I pass to the subject.

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2. *Kamenev and our concessions to the peasantry*

Second rejoinder—to Kamenev. He said that by adopting the well-known decisions at the Fourteenth Party Conference on economic development, on reviving the Soviets, on liquidating the survivals of war communism, on precisising the question of renting land and of hiring labour, we made concessions to the kulaks and not to the peasants; that these are concessions not to the peasantry, but to the capitalist elements. Is that true? I assert that it is not true; that this is calumny against the Party. I assert that a Marxist cannot approach the question in this way; that only a Liberal can approach the question in this way.

What are the concessions that we made at the Fourteenth Party Conference? Do these concessions fit into the framework of NEP, or not? Undoubtedly they do. Perhaps we expanded NEP at the April Conference? Let the Opposition answer: Did we expand NEP in April, or not? If we expanded it, why did they vote for the decisions of the Fourteenth Conference? And is it not well known that we are all opposed to the expansion of NEP? What is the point, then? The point is that Kamenev has got himself mixed up; for NEP includes the permission of trade, of capitalism, of hired labour; and the decisions of the Fourteenth Conference are an expression of NEP, which was introduced when Lenin was with us. Did Lenin know that in the first stages, advantage of NEP would be taken primarily by the capitalists, the merchants, the kulaks? Of course he knew. But did Lenin say that in introducing NEP we were making concessions to the profiteers and capitalist elements and not to the peasantry? No, he did not say that, nor could he do so. On the

contrary, he always said that in permitting trade and capitalism, and in changing our policy in the direction of NEP, we were making concessions to the peasantry with the view to preserving and strengthening our link with it; for under present conditions, the peasantry cannot exist without trade, without some revival of capitalism; for at the present time we cannot establish the link in any way except through trade, for only in this way can we strengthen the link and build the foundations of socialist economy. That is how Lenin approached the question of concessions. That is how the question of the concessions made in April 1925 should be approached.

Permit me to read to you Lenin's opinion on this subject. This is how he substantiated the Party's transition to the new policy, to the New Economic Policy, in his address "On the Food Tax" at the conference of Party nucleus secretaries of the Moscow Gubernia:

"I want to deal with the question of how this policy can be reconciled with the point of view of Communism; and how it comes about that the Communist Soviet State is facilitating the development of free trade. Is this good from the point of view of Communism? In order to reply to this question we must carefully examine the changes that have taken place in peasant farming. At first the position was that we saw the whole of the peasantry fighting against the rule of the landlords. The landlords were equally opposed by the poor peasants and the kulaks, although, of course, each did so with different intentions: the kulaks fought with the intention of taking the land from the landlords and developing their kulak farming on it. It was then that it became revealed that the kulaks and the poor peasants had different interests and different aims. In the Ukraine, even today, we see this difference of interests much more clearly than here. The poor peasants could obtain very little direct advantage from the transfer of the land from the landlords to the peasants because they had neither the materials nor the implements. And we saw the poor peasants organizing to prevent the kulaks from seizing the land that had been taken from the landlords. The Soviet government assisted the Committees of Poor Peasants that sprang up in Russia and in the Ukraine. What was the result? *The result was that the middle peasants became the predominant element in the rural districts. . . .* The extremes of kulaks and poor have diminished; the majority of the population has come nearer to the position of the middle peasant. If we want to raise the productivity of our peasant farming we must first of all reckon with the middle peasant. *It was in accordance with this circumstance that the Communist Party had to mould its policy. . . . Thus, the change in the policy towards the peasantry is to be explained by the change in the position of the peasantry. The rural districts have become more middle-peasant, and in order to increase the productive forces we must reckon with this.*"* (Cf. Vol. XXVI, pp. 304-305.)

And in the same volume, on page 247, Lenin draws the general conclusion:

"We must build our state economy in conformity with the economy of the middle peasants,* which we have been unable to transform in three years, and will not be able to transform in ten years."

In other words, we introduced free trade, we permitted a revival of capitalism, we introduced NEP, in order to increase the productive forces, to increase the quantity of produce in the country, to strengthen our link with the peasantry. The link, the interests of our link with the peasantry as the basis of our concessions on the lines of NEP—such was Lenin's approach to the subject.

Did Lenin know at that time that the profiteers, the capitalists, the kulaks would take advantage of NEP, of the concessions to the peasantry? Of course he knew. Does that mean that these concessions were practically concessions to the profiteers and kulaks?

* All italics mine.—J. St.

No, it does not. For advantage of NEP in general, and of trade in particular, is being taken not only by the capitalists and kulaks, but also by our state and cooperative organizations; for it is not only the capitalists and kulaks who trade, but also our state organizations and cooperatives; and when our state organizations and cooperatives learn how to trade, they will gain (they are already gaining!) the upper hand over the private traders, linking our industry with peasant farming.

What follows from this? It follows from this that our concessions proceed mainly in the direction of strengthening our link, and for the sake of our link, with the peasantry.

Whoever fails to understand this, approaches the subject not as a Leninist, but as a Liberal.

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6. Concerning NEP

The question of NEP. I have in mind Comrade Krupskaya and the speech she delivered on NEP. She says: "In essence, NEP is capitalism permitted under certain conditions, capitalism that the proletarian state keeps on a chain. . . . Is that true? Yes, and no. That we are keeping capitalism on a chain, and will keep it so as long as it exists, is a fact, that is true. But to say that NEP is capitalism is nonsense, utter nonsense. NEP is a special policy of the proletarian state calculated on permitting capitalism while the key positions are held by the proletarian state, calculated on a struggle between the elements of capitalism and the elements of Socialism, calculated on an increase in the role of the socialist elements to the detriment of the capitalist elements, calculated on the victory of the socialist elements over the capitalist elements, calculated on the abolition of classes and on the building of the foundations of socialist economy. Whoever fails to understand the transitional, dual nature of NEP departs from Leninism. If NEP were capitalism, then NEP Russia that Lenin spoke about would be capitalist Russia. But is present-day Russia a capitalist country and not a country that is passing from capitalism to Socialism? Why then, did Lenin not say simply: *Capitalist* Russia will be socialist Russia," but preferred a different formula: "*NEP* Russia will be socialist Russia"? Does the Opposition agree with Comrade Krupskaya that NEP is capitalism, or does it not agree? I think that not a single member of this Congress will be found who would agree with Comrade Krupskaya's formula. Comrade Krupskaya (may she forgive me) talked utter nonsense about NEP. One cannot come out here in defence of Lenin against Bukharin with nonsense like that.

Connected with this question is Bukharin's mistake. What was Bukharin's mistake? On what questions did Lenin dispute with Bukharin? Lenin asserted that the category state capitalism was compatible with the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Bukharin denied this. He was of the opinion, and with him the "Left" Communists, including Safarov, were of the opinion too, that the category state capitalism was incompatible with the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin was right, of course. Bukharin was wrong. He admitted this mistake. That was the nature of Bukharin's mistake. But that was in the past. Now, if in 1925, in

May, he repeats that he disagrees with Lenin on the question of state capitalism, I think it is simply a misunderstanding. Either he ought frankly to withdraw this statement, or it is a misunderstanding; for the line he is now defending on the question of the nature of state industry is Lenin's line. Lenin did not come to Bukharin; on the contrary, Bukharin came to Lenin. And precisely for this reason we back Bukharin. (*Applause.*)

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9. Concerning the history of the disagreements

Permit me now to pass to the history of our internal struggle within the majority on the Central Committee. What did our disagreement start from? It started from the question: "What is to be done with Trotsky?" This was at the end of 1924. The Leningrad group at first proposed that Trotsky be expelled from the Party. Here I have in mind the period of the discussion in 1924. The Leningrad Gubernia Party Committee passed a resolution that Trotsky be expelled from the Party. We, i. e., the majority on the Central Committee, did not agree with this (*voices: "Quite right!"*), we had some struggle with the Leningrad group and persuaded them to delete the point about expulsion from their resolution. Shortly after this, when the Plenum of the Central Committee met and the Leningrad group, together with Kamenev, demanded Trotsky's immediate expulsion from the Political Bureau, we also disagreed with this proposal of the Opposition, we obtained a majority on the Central Committee and restricted ourselves to removing Trotsky from the post of People's Commissar for War. We disagreed with Zinoviev and Kamenev, because we knew that the lopping policy was fraught with grave danger for the Party, that the lopping method, the blood-letting method—and they demanded blood—was dangerous, contagious: today you lop off one, tomorrow another, the day after tomorrow a third—what will we have left in the Party? (*Applause.*)

This first clash within the majority on the Central Committee was the expression of the fundamental difference between us on questions of organizational policy in the Party.

The second question that caused disagreement among us was that connected with Sarkis' speech against Bukharin. This was at the Twenty-First Leningrad Conference in January 1925. Sarkis at that time accused Bukharin of advocating syndicalism. Here is what he said:

"We have read in the Moscow *Pravda* Bukharin's article on worker and village correspondents. The views that Bukharin develops have no supporters in our organization. But such views, which in their way are *syndicalist*, not *Bolshevik*, anti-Party, are held by a number of even responsible comrades (I repeat, not in the Leningrad, but in other organizations). These views treat of the independence and extraterritoriality of various mass worker-peasant public organizations in relation to the Communist Party" (Stenographic Report of the Twenty-First Leningrad Conference).

This speech was, firstly, a fundamental mistake on Sarkis' part, for Bukharin was absolutely right on the question of the worker and village correspondent movement; secondly, this was, not without the encouragement of the leaders of the Leningrad organization, a gross violation of the elementary rules of comradely discussion of a question. Needless to say, this was bound to aggravate relations within the Central Committee. The matter ended with Sarkis' open admission of his mistake in the press.

This incident showed that open admission of a mistake is the best way of avoiding an open discussion and of eliminating disagreements privately.

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Next came the question of Bukharin. I have in mind the "get rich" slogan. I have in mind the speech Bukharin delivered in April, when he let slip the phrase "get rich." Two days later the April Conference of our Party opened. None other than I, in the Conference Presidium, in the presence of Sokolnikov, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Kalinin, stated that the "get rich" slogan is not our slogan. I do not remember Bukharin making any rejoinder to this protest. When Comrade Larin asked for the floor at the Conference, to speak against Bukharin, I think, it was none other than Zinoviev who then demanded that no speeches be permitted against Bukharin. However, after this, Comrade Krupskaya sent in an article against Bukharin, demanding that it be published. Bukharin, of course, gave tit for tat, and, in his turn, wrote an article against Comrade Krupskaya. The majority on the Central Committee decided not to publish any discussion articles, not to open a discussion, and to instruct Bukharin to state in the press that the "get rich" slogan was a mistake; Bukharin agreed to this and carried out the instruction, on his return from vacation, in an article against Ustryalov. Now, Kamenev and Zinoviev think they can frighten somebody with the "prohibition" hogey, by expressing indignation, like Liberals, at our having prohibited the publication of Comrade Krupskaya's article. You will not frighten anybody with that. Firstly, we refrained from publishing not only Comrade Krupskaya's article, but also Bukharin's. Secondly, why not prohibit the publication of Comrade Krupskaya's article if the interests of Party unity demand this of us? In what way is Comrade Krupskaya different from every other responsible comrade? Perhaps you think that the interests of individual comrades should be placed above the interests of the Party and its unity? Are not the comrades of the Opposition aware that for us, for Bolsheviks, formal democracy is a cipher, but the real interests of the Party are everything? (*Applause.*)

Let the comrades point to a single article in the Party's Central Organ, in *Pravda*, that directly or indirectly approves of the "get rich" slogan. They cannot do so, because there are no such articles. There was one case, the only one, when *The Komsomolskaya Pravda* published an article by Stetsky, in which he tried to justify the "get rich" slogan in a mild and barely perceptible way. But what happened? The very next day the Secretariat of the Central Committee called the editors of that newspaper to order in a special letter signed by Molotov, Andreyev and Stalin. This was on June 2, 1925. Several days later, the Organization Bureau of the Central Committee, with the full consent of Bukharin, adopted a resolution to the effect that the editor of that newspaper be removed. Here is an excerpt from the letter:

"Moscow, June 2, 1925. To all the members of the editorial board of *The Komsomolskaya Pravda*.

"We are of the opinion that certain passages in Stetsky's articles 'A New Stage in the New Economic Policy' raise doubts. In these articles, in a mild way it is true, countenance is given to the 'get rich' slogan. This is not our slogan, it is wrong, it gives rise to a whole series of doubts and misunderstandings and should find no room in a leading article in *The Komsomolskaya Pravda*. Our slogan

is—socialist accumulation. We are removing the administrative obstacles to the improvement of the welfare of the rural districts. This operation will undoubtedly facilitate all accumulation, both private-capitalist and socialist. But the Party has never yet said that it makes private accumulation its slogan. . . .”

Is the Opposition aware of these facts? Of course it is. In that case, why don't they stop baiting Bukharin? How much longer are they going to shout about Bukharin's mistake?

I know of mistakes made by some comrades, in October 1917, for example, compared with which Bukharin's mistake is not even worthy of attention. These comrades were not only mistaken then, but had the “audacity,” on two occasions, to violate a vital decision of the Central Committee adopted under the direction and in the presence of Lenin. Nevertheless, the Party forgot about these mistakes as soon as these comrades admitted their error. But compared with these comrades, Bukharin committed a slight error. And he did not violate a single Central Committee decision. How is it to be explained, then, that in spite of this, the unbridled baiting of Bukharin still continues? What do they really want of Bukharin?

That is how the matter stands with Bukharin's mistake.

* * * * *

12. *The party will achieve unity*

In the main, we still hold the viewpoint of this document. In our draft resolution we, as you know, have already modified some formulations in the interests of peace in the Party.

We are opposed to lopping. We are opposed to the lopping policy. That does not mean that leaders will be permitted with impunity to give themselves airs and sit on the Party's head. No, excuse us from that. There will be no obeisances to leaders. (Voices: “Quite right!” *Applause.*) We stand for unity, we are opposed to lopping. The lopping policy is abhorrent to us. The Party wants unity, and it will achieve it *with* Kamenev and Zinoviev if they are willing, *without them* if they are unwilling. (Voices: “Quite right!” *Applause.*)

What is needed for unity? That the minority should submit to the majority. Without this there is no Party unity, nor can there be.

We are opposed to the publication of a special discussion sheet. *The Bolshevik* has a discussion section. That will be quite enough. We must not allow ourselves to be carried away by discussions. We are a Party that is governing a country—don't forget that. Do not forget that every disagreement at the top finds an echo in the country that is harmful to us. Not to speak of the effect it has abroad.

The organs of the Central Committee, apparently, will remain in their present shape. It is doubtful whether the Party will agree to break them up. (Voices: “Quite right!” *Applause.*) The Political Bureau is endowed with full powers as it is, it is superior to all the organs of the Central Committee except the Plenum. And the Plenum is the supreme organ—that is sometimes forgotten. Our Plenum decides everything, and it calls its leaders to order when they begin to lose their balance. (Voices: “Quite right!” *Laughter. Applause.*)

There must be unity among us, and there will be if the Party, if the Congress displays firmness of character and does not allow itself

to be scared. (*Voices:* "We won't. We've been under fire before.") If any of us go too far, we will be called to order—this is essential, this is necessary. The Party cannot be led except collectively. Now that Ilyich is not with us it is silly to dream of such a thing (*applause*), it is silly to talk about it.

Collective work, collective leadership, unity in the Party, unity in the organs of the Central Committee on the condition that the minority submits to the majority—that is what we need now.

As regards the Leningrad workingmen Communists, I have no doubt that they will always be in the front ranks of our Party. With them we built the Party, with them we reared it, with them we raised the standard of revolt in October 1917, with them we vanquished the bourgeoisie, with them we combated, and will combat, the difficulties in our path of construction. I am sure that the Leningrad workingmen Communists will not lag behind their friends in the other industrial centres in the struggle for the iron, Leninist unity of the Party. (*Loud applause. The Internationale is sung.*)

[Published in *Pravda*, Nos. 291, 292 and 296 of December 20, 22 and 29, 1925.]

Alexandra Kollontai was one of the best known women Bolsheviks. Despite her "infantile left-wing" deviations of the twenties, and despite the ideological incorrectness of some of her writings, she was adroit enough to survive the purges.¹ Kollontai's reputation in the non-Communist world stems principally from her novels and shorter writings on the "proletarian" attitude toward love and sex. In 1927, while she was Soviet Ambassador to Mexico, one of her novels was published in English under the title *Red Love*. The Russian edition bore the more truly proletarian designation, *Love of the Worker Bee*. Only the foreword is here printed.

The novel itself deals with the love of a dedicated Bolshevik woman named Vassilissa for Volodya, who was nicknamed "The American" because he had spent his youth in the United States. In time, Volodya becomes converted to bolshevism. Later still, Vassilissa and he establish a household. Unfortunately, Volodya's "American petty bourgeois" proclivities soon betray him and he succumbs to the anti-Bolshevik, Nepman love of "luxury." True worker bee that she is, Vassilissa abandons him to his frivolous, anti-Bolshevik mistress. Vassilissa then returns to the more worthy cause of organizing workers in a textile factory.

At their best, Kollontai's compositions elaborate upon the Communist idea that everything, including sex and love, must be subordinated to "the cause."² At the very worst, they advocate all sorts of casual relationships. It was these latter aspects of her writings that got her into serious trouble with the Kremlin masters.³

No less an authority than Lenin himself frowned upon the so-called "glass of water" attitude toward sex which some people, more bohemian than Bolshevik, maintained to be the correct interpretation of Marxist doctrine on the family.⁴ According to the "glass of water" concept, sex amounted to nothing more than a passing gratification: "When I'm thirsty, I take a drink of water and then forget about it." In the early years of the revolution, many "fluttering scoundrels" (as Soviet propaganda later disparagingly called them) were not satisfied with only those casual relations which might help to advance the revolution. Instead, they abandoned themselves in a most alarming manner to reckless promiscuity. By the year 1934, abortions in the city of Moscow outnumbered births 3 to 1.⁵ And, to the west, Hitler was relentlessly building his Nazi military power.

¹ Souvarine, *Stalin*, pp. 213, 271, 328.

² Angela Calomiris, *Red Masquerade*, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1950, p. 128. An account by a former FBI undercover agent of the reaction of American comrades to the changing Soviet line on sex and marriage.

³ Ella Winter, *Red Virtue*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1933, Chapter VIII: Love Must Be Changed. This work by an American Communist constitutes an apology for Soviet customs.

⁴ *Stavonic Encyclopedia*. Edited by Joseph S. Roucek (University of Bridgeport), New York, Philosophical Library, 1949, pp. 302-303. The articles in this encyclopedia are uneven in quality.

⁵ Timasheff, *Great Retreat*, p. 196, gives references to original Soviet sources. A competent outline of the reversal of Bolshevik thought on the subject of love and marriage from 1917 to 1945 can be found in Dr. Timasheff's work. Since 1945, the trend has become even more conservative.

Kollontai's *Letter to a Young Comrade* (exhibit No. 24) represents one of her efforts to modify her views of love and sex so as to bring them into line with changing Communist requirements. In the *Letter*, she concedes that there is a place for lasting true love in Communist society. The ever paramount rule, however, remains unchanged: All sexual union or expression of romantic desire must be directed toward the superior good of the world revolution. Because Kollontai's ideas on love and sex are no longer acceptable in the U. S. S. R., the *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia* gives them the silent treatment in its sketch of her life. It concentrates instead upon the accomplishments of her career as a Soviet Ambassador.

EXHIBIT No. 23

[New York, Seven Arts, 1927. Alexandra Kollontay, *Red Love*. Authorized translation. Pp. 5-7.]

FOREWORD TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

This novel is neither a study in "morals," nor a picture of the standard of life in Soviet Russia. It is a purely psychological study of sexual relations in the post-war period.

I have chosen the environment of my own country and made my own people protagonists, for I know them better and could give a more vivid picture of their inner life and characters. Many of the problems presented are not exclusively Soviet-Russian; they are world-wide facts, which can be noted in all countries. These silent psychological dramas, born of the change in the sexual relations; this evolution, especially, in the feelings of women, are well known to the younger generation of Europe.

Do we ever judge a man for his conduct in love-affairs? Generally, if he does not overstep certain, very flexible limits, we say that his sexual life is his own "private affair." The character of a man is evaluated not by his conduct in family morals, but by his efficiency in work, by his intellect, his will, his usefulness to the State and Society. As long as the majority of women had no direct duties to the State or to Society, as long as their whole activity was concentrated within the family limits, civilized nations demanded no other qualities in woman than that she display "good morals" in sexual and family life.

Now, when more than half of the grown-up women-citizens in most countries toil and struggle, just as the men do, Society puts new demands on the women. Their ability to respond to the social duties of a citizen begins to have more value than their "goodness" and "stainlessness" in family-morals. Family life is not the unique field of activity for women nowadays; often enough her family duties come into bitter conflict with her out-of-home work and her public duties. It is only natural, therefore, that the method of evaluating a woman today is different from that of our grandfathers and grandmothers.

Though a woman may, at the present time, attain "perfection" in the current bourgeois standard of family morals, and be "esteemed" by her own people, she may neither receive the real appreciation of society nor the "respect" of the State. She will merely be "overlooked." On the contrary: a woman may not be "spotless" from the point of view of current bourgeois sex morals, but if she is an outstanding figure in politics, art, science, etc., one will not even "whisper" about her behind her back. Were one to put into the balance two women: one with "good morals," but who never did any useful work for the country or humanity, and the other, whose "family morals"

are not free from criticism, but who is an efficient public worker—there would be no doubt about the choice.

Our criteria in sex morals are always changing. There is never a standstill. There are merely periods in human history when the evolution of morals goes on more rapidly, other periods (with a general stagnation in all fields of life) when change seems to relax. Only half a century ago Dumas-fils wrote of a "divorcée" as of a "fallen" creature, while today France openly discusses the question of equalizing the rights of non-legal mothers with those of legally married women. There remains less and less of the old bourgeois hypocrisy in our way of thinking and judging of sex morals.

I do hope that this book will aid in combating the old, bourgeois hypocrisy in moral values and show once more that we are beginning to respect woman, not for her "good morals," but for her efficiency, for her ingenuity with respect to her duties toward her class, her country and humanity as a whole.

Mexico City, March 10th, 1927

EXHIBIT No. 24

[New York, Longmans, Green, 1947. Isabel dePalencia, *Alexandra Kollontay*. Pp. 151-157]

But where Alexandra's views on love and marriage are more definitely expressed is in *A Letter to a Young Comrade* which was translated into Spanish and published in Madrid:

"Young comrade, you asked me what position love occupies in the proletarian ideology. You seem surprised that in moments such as these young workers should be absorbed with questions of love and everything connected with it as much if not more than with the great problems that must be solved by the Workers' Republic. Let us look together for an explanation of this fact, and for the answer to the first problem.

"What position does love occupy in the proletarian ideology? You must remember that Russia is at present a field of battle between two civilizations, two ideologies that give rise to new conflicts day by day. The victory of communist principles and ideals in politics and economics necessarily produced a revolution also in the common concept of world principles and in the spiritual forces of humanity.

"Already one can appreciate the changes that are taking place in the old concepts of life, society, work, and norms of conduct, that is to say, in what regards the so-called morality. Sexual relations are an important part of those norms.

"The revolution in the ideological field will complete the transformation brought about in human thought during the 5 years of the republic.

"As the distance between the two ideologies, the bourgeois and the proletarian, grows, new problems arise that must be solved, among them the problem of love which humanity has through its history solved in different ways, according to the time and the idea which characterized the 'spirit of the epoch,' in other words, its culture.

"In Russia, during the Civil War, the attention of the people was taken up with passions and feelings that had nothing to do with the

affection between man and woman. Who could possibly seriously worry about the sufferings of love during the years in which the specter of death was threatening them all?

"The only question then was, Who will win? Will it be progress, or will it be reaction? There were neither opportunities, nor psychic energies enough for the 'the joys and tortures of love.'

"The biological instinct of reproduction, the simple voice of nature, took the situation in hand. Men and women entered into marriage as easily as they were divorced later, without frenzy and without tears. Prostitution began to disappear and the free union between the sexes, without commitments, took its place.

"Biological instincts were the only factors. The beauty that should attend love was absent. Only two forms of sexual union existed then: the marriage consolidated by time, that the very seriousness of the moment made more enduring and stronger in comradeship, and those other marriage relationships entered into merely to satisfy a passing need, and cast off as rapidly as they had been accepted.

"The brutal instinct of reproduction is what I call the 'wingless Eros'; it does not absorb our psychic forces and is entirely different from the 'winged Eros' which brings forth a feeling woven with different emotions in the heart and the spirit.

"The revolutionaries had no time to allow themselves to be mastered by the latter sentiment. In those days no one could afford to spend strength in feelings that could contribute nothing, directly at least, to the triumph of the Revolution. The individual life, which should be the foundation of matrimony, exacts a great deal of psychic energy.

"Now the picture has changed. The U.S.S.R. have entered into an epoch of relative peace, an epoch in which it is necessary to fix and develop what has been obtained and conquered. Until the proletariat has assimilated the laws that govern the creation of material wealth and of the powers that direct the feelings of the soul, humanity will not triumph all along the ideological front as it has triumphed in the field of military strength and work.

"Now that the atmosphere brought about by the fight has been cleared up, man has turned to other things, and is claiming his rights in love. The instinct of reproduction is no longer enough.

"Men and women do not come together as they did during the Revolution. They do not want a passing union merely to satisfy their sexual instincts. They are beginning to *live love* with all the suffering this may entail.

"Intellectual needs grow day by day within the Soviet Republic. There is hunger for knowledge, in science, in art, in literature and in the theater. Men look too far for a new form in the problems of love.

"This is not a sign of reaction or decadence. On the contrary love is not only a biological force but a social factor. In all the periods of human development, it has been considered an indispensable and inseparable part of the intellectual culture of each epoch.

"In the ideology of the workers, the greatest importance should be given to another aspect of this feeling, that one which can contribute real benefits to collective interests. Love cannot be considered merely as a private affair interesting just for man and one woman, but a principle of union of great value for the community, and we must not forget that, throughout the historical development of

humanity, lines of conduct have been marked out indicating when and under what conditions love could be considered 'legitimate' and when not. In the first place, its position corresponded to the interests of the community and it was considered illegitimate when in conflict with those interests.

"History shows us in very definite form the changes in the field of love that have taken place through the centuries.

"In patriarchal times love was considered in the light of friendship between two persons of the same tribe, friendly love devoid of sexual passion, for love at that time was a civic virtue and love between man and woman was of no social value.

"The man who was ready to risk his life for his beloved was strictly censured. All the writings of olden times condemn the love of Paris and Helen, which gave origin to a war that brought unhappiness to humanity.

"Later, in feudal times, the important factor was the family. In order to be considered virtuous, a man had in every case to sacrifice himself for his family and its traditions. Women had always to be led, when making their choice, by those same family interests.

"In feudal times love and matrimony did not march together although then for the first time women began to acquire certain rights. Women could expect to find in their adorers the highest qualities of courage and endurance. The knight had to show he was ready to carry out great enterprises in honor of his lady, and through this belief that the conquest of a woman's heart was the noblest of enterprises, love was placed at almost inaccessible heights. Carried away by their imagination, the knights of the middle ages even ended up by falling in love with women they did not know, such as Cervantes tells us of in his *Don Quixote* and *Dulcinea*.

"The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the accumulation of wealth in each family transformed the conception of marriage. Money became the basic reason for the union of man and woman.

"And so on through the ages the conception of the feeling of attraction of the sexes changed according to the needs of the community.

"The new communist society is built on principles of comradeship and solidarity and if it is to be really strong it must comprehend every aspect of human feeling. Love must strengthen, not only the bonds of matrimony and of the family, but also those that are necessary for the development of collective solidarity.

"From being a mere biological phenomenon, love has become a social and psychological factor. With women there is still another factor to be borne in mind—the biological instinct of maternity.

"The social régime built on this principle requires society to possess, in the highest grade, a potential capacity for love, that is to say, a capacity for sensations of mutual attraction and sympathy. If these are lacking real comradeship cannot become consolidated. The sensations of sympathy, such as sensitiveness and delicacy of feeling for others, are derived from the common source of a capacity to love, not in a purely sexual sense but in the highest meaning of the word.

"The bourgeois systems have understood this, that is why they have tried to consolidate the family on the basis of a moral virtue—'the love between married people.' To be a father of a family is, in their eyes, to achieve one of the greatest ends in life for man.

"Under the pressure of the economic relations that appear to us to be unacceptable in every way, the sexual instinct became licentiousness; an end in itself. Love is a conglomerate of the most diverse feelings: spiritual tenderness, passion, attraction, compassion and even custom.

"The old régimes have also invested love with the idea that it is based on the principle of property. Woman was supposed to belong to man, to be an instrument, a tool, chiefly for pleasure.

"The proletarian ideology tends to pursue and do away with the 'wingless Eros,' with its licentiousness, its satisfaction of mere carnal desires through prostitution, the conversion of the sexual act into a finality in itself, an easy pleasure, more implacably than the bourgeois moral code ever did.

"The ideal of love within comradeship that has been created by the proletarian ideology to take the place of that other feeling which is absorbing and exclusive is based on the recognition of reciprocal rights, on the art of knowing how to respect another's personality even in the field of love, on a firm mutual support, and on the community of collective aspirations.

"Once the difficult times, full of tremendous responsibility, through which a communistic society had perforce to go, were over, love assumed a different aspect. After the bonds of sympathy and the capacity to love have been fully developed, the inequality between the sexes will disappear altogether. Love between man and woman will occupy the post of honor as the one feeling capable of enriching human happiness within a new society.

"At present we are going through a period of transition, but it is to be hoped that in the new proletarian morals that are developing the relations between man and woman will be based on:

1. Equality; disappearance of the overpowering masculine self-sufficiency and the servile submission of women.

2. Mutual and reciprocal recognition of rights, and disappearance of all feeling of property.

3. Fraternal sensibility, together with an art that will allow the assimilation and comprehension of the psychic developments taking place in the soul of the beloved. (In the bourgeois ideology, the woman alone was expected to possess this sensibility.)

"In laying aside the prejudices that have, up to this moment, ruled conjugal life, the proletarian ideology has the duty to form a new morality and offer new norms in order that the relations between the sexes can be best applied to the interests of society.

"With the disappearance of the blind impulse of passion, the feeling of property, the egotistic fatuousness of man, and the submission of woman, and her underlying protests against the throttling of her personality, new and precious elements of love are sure to develop in time. The interest that the problems affecting love has awakened in young workers is not a sign of decadence.

"I am sure, young and enthusiastic comrade, that you too will find love in the place it should occupy within the ideology of the proletariat as well as in the daily life of humanity."

In a 1927 interview with labor delegates from abroad, Stalin frankly acknowledged the existence of Soviet systematic terror as an indispensable means of combatting alleged capitalist encirclement. Liberal requests for leniency he callously rejected as stupid. In conclusion, he assured the foreign delegates

that nobody would ever be able to accuse him of weakness in dealing with his opponents.¹

Georges Agabekov, former chief of the Near East section of the OGPU, has described some instances of the Soviet systematic use of terror in countries of "capitalist encirclement" at about the time the following *Inprecorr* article was published.²

EXHIBIT No. 25

[*Inprecorr*, December 31, 1930. P. 1259]

COMRADE STALIN ON THE G. P. U.

On November 5th 1927 a delegation visited Comrade Stalin composed of eighty representatives of labour organisations of Germany, Finland, Denmark and Esthonia. The interview lasted six hours. The delegates asked a series of questions which Comrade Stalin had to answer. One of the French delegates asked a question to the following effect:

The G. P. U. enjoys judicial powers, it tries people without witnesses and without lawyers for the defence, it secretly arrests people. Since such powers are inconceivable to the French mind, it would be interesting to know why they are necessary. Is it intended to alter or restrict them?

Comrade Stalin answered this question as follows:

The G. P. U. or the Cheka is the punitive organ of the Soviet Government. It is more or less similar to the Committee of Public Safety which existed in France during the great revolution. It punishes primarily spies, conspirators, terrorists, bandits, speculators, counterfeiters. It is something in the nature of a military-political tribunal set up for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of the revolution against any attempts on the part of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and their agents.

It was set up on the morrow after the October Revolution when all kinds of conspiracies and terroristic and espionage organisations were discovered, organisations financed by Russian and foreign capitalists. It developed and gained in vigour when a number of terroristic acts had been perpetrated against prominent Soviet leaders, after the assassination of Comrade Uritsky, a member of the Revolutionary Committee of Leningrad, killed by a member of the Social Revolutionary Party, after the murder of Comrade Volodarsky, another member of the Revolutionary Committee of Leningrad, who was also killed by a Social Revolutionist, after the attempt on Lenin also by a member of the same Social Revolutionary Party. One must admit that the G. P. U. hit the enemies of the revolution at that time with the skill of sure marksmen and never failed. This, incidentally, has remained the quality of that organisation to this day. Since then the G. P. U. has become the dread of the bourgeoisie, the untiring sentry of the revolution, wielding the unsheathed sword of the proletariat.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the bourgeoisie of all countries hate the G. P. U. so much. All kinds of legends have been invented about the G. P. U. The G. P. U. has been slandered in the most fantastic way. And what does that mean? It means that the G. P. U. properly

¹ *Verdict of Three Decades*. Edited by Julian Steinberg, New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950, pp. 227-228.

² Georges Agabekov, *OGPU: The Russian Secret Terror*. Translated from the French by Henry W. Bunn, New York, Brentano's, 1931.

guards the interests of the Revolution. The avowed enemies of the revolution curse the G. P. U., and from this it follows that the G. P. U. is doing the right thing.

The attitude of the workers to the G. P. U. is quite different. Visit the labour quarters and ask the workers what they think of the G. P. U. . . . you will find that they regard it with respect. Why? Because they see in that organisation the true defender of the revolution.

I can understand why the bourgeoisie hates and distrusts the G. P. U. I can understand the various bourgeois travellers who upon coming to the Soviet Union immediately ask whether the G. P. U. is still alive and as to whether the time has not yet come for its elimination. This can all be easily understood and it is not surprising. But I fail to understand some of the working-class delegates who on coming to the U. S. S. R. ask with alarm as to whether many counter-revolutionaries have been punished by the G. P. U., as to whether the punishment of terrorists and plotters against the proletarian government is still to continue, and is it not time to put a stop to the G. P. U.? Why are some of the working-class delegates so much concerned about the enemies of the proletarian revolution? How is this to be explained? What is its background?

They preach the greatest leniency, they advise us to destroy the G. P. U. . . . But is there any guarantee that the capitalists of all countries will cease organising and financing counter-revolutionary groups of conspirators, terrorists, incendiaries, dynamiters, after the elimination of the G. P. U.? To disarm the revolution without having any guarantees that the foes of the revolution are disarmed—would not that be foolish, would it not be a crime against the working class? No, comrades, we do not want to repeat the mistakes of the Paris Commune. The Communards of Paris were too lenient in relation to the gangs of Versailles, for which Marx quite justly chastised them at the time. And the price they paid for their leniency was that when Thiers entered Paris, tens of thousands of workers were slain by the Versaillesans. Do the comrades think that the Russian bourgeoisie and landlords are less bloodthirsty than were the Versaillesans of France? We know, at any rate, how they treated the workers when they occupied Siberia, the Ukraine, North Caucasus in alliance with the French and British, Japanese and American interventionists.

By this, I do not mean to say that the internal situation in the country is such as to call for punitive organs of the revolution. From the viewpoint of the internal situation, the revolution is so firm and invincible that we could well do without the G. P. U. But the trouble is that the internal enemies are not isolated individuals. The trouble is that they are connected in a thousand different ways with the capitalists of all other countries who assist them in every way and by all means. We are a country surrounded by capitalist States. The internal enemies of our revolution are the agents of the capitalists of the other countries. The capitalist States constitute a base and the rear for the internal enemies of our revolution. Combating the enemies at home, we consequently fight against the counter-revolutionary elements of all countries. Judge for yourselves, could we under such conditions dispense with the punitive organs, such as the G. P. U.

No, comrades, we do not want to repeat the mistakes made by the Communards of Paris. The revolution needs the G. P. U. and the G. P. U. is going to live on as the scourge of the enemies of the proletariat.

On November 7, 1934, the *Daily Worker* reprinted an address delivered by Stalin upon the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. The name "October Revolution" comes from the fact that the Bolshevik seized power on October 25, old-style Russian calendar. Shortly after the revolution, the Soviet Union adopted the western calendar. Hence, November 7 instead of October 25.

Stalin's anniversary speech summarizes much of what he regarded as his principal achievements since his rise to power. Much attention is devoted to national and colonial revolutions. In 1927, Stalin was concentrating his attention upon Comintern activities in China. Despite his failures with regard to that country, he had the domestic situation so well under control that the blame for the failure of the Chinese revolution fell, not upon himself, but upon others.¹ Here also, he boasts overoptimistically of the "end of capitalist stabilization" and the advent of world depression. Whether or not he actually believed his 1927 analysis of capitalist decay, it could at least be made to serve as an excuse for the liquidation of the New Economic Policy in the Soviet Union.

Like many other leading Bolsheviks, Stalin feared that prolongation of less radical NEP policies constituted a serious threat to the future of the Bolshevik Party. While the NEP had brought some measure of recovery from the chaos which had prostrated the national economy during the period of war communism (1917-21), it was definitely a turn-away from Bolshevism.² In 1927, Stalin was already laying plans to wreck the NEP and to establish in its place a second Socialist offensive.

EXHIBIT No. 26

[*Daily Worker*, November 7, 1934. P. 2]

On the International Character of the October Revolution— Triumph of 1917 is Leading to Basic, Worldwide Changes

Bolshevik Revolution Has Raised the Fighting Spirit of Oppressed Peoples of the Entire World, Stalin Declares

[Because of its fundamental importance, the *Daily Worker* today—on the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution—reprints Stalin's classic article, "On the International Character of the October Revolution." The article was written in 1927, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution.—Editor's Note.]

By J. Stalin

The October Revolution is not only a revolution within "national limits." It is above all a revolution bearing an international stamp, a world revolution, for it means a fundamental change in the whole history of mankind, from the old capitalist world to the new Socialist world.

The October Revolution differs in principle from all revolutions of the past. The aim which it sets itself is not the replacement of one form of exploitation by another, of one group of exploiters by another, but the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, the annihilation

¹ Borkenau, *World Communism*, Chapter XVIII: The Chinese Revolution. David J. Dallin, *The Rise of Russia in Asia*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1949, pp. 228-234.

² Schwartz, *Russia's Soviet Economy*, pp. 101-104. Gordon, *Workers Before and After Lenin*, pp. 366-379.

of all and every group of exploiters, the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the setting up of the power of the revolutionary class among all subjected classes which have arisen up to now, and organization of a new, classless Socialist society.

Precisely for this reason the victory of the October Revolution means a fundamental change in the history of humanity.

That is the reason why the October Revolution is a revolution bearing an international character, a world revolution. Therein lies also the reason for the profound sympathy the subjugated classes of all peoples cherish for the October Revolution, in which they see the guarantee of their liberation.

A whole number of fundamental questions can be pointed out, upon the line of which the effect of the October Revolution upon the development of the revolutionary movement of the whole world proceeds:

1. The October Revolution is characterized in the first place by the fact that it broke through the front of world imperialism, overthrew the imperialist bourgeoisie in one of the biggest capitalist countries, and placed power in the hands of the Socialist proletariat.

The class of wage slaves, the class of the downtrodden, the class of the oppressed and exploited has for the first time in the history of humanity risen to be the ruling class, and by its example inspired the proletariat of all countries.

NEW EPOCH

That means that the October Revolution opened a new epoch, an epoch of the proletarian revolutions in the imperialist countries. It has deprived the landowners and the capitalists of the means and instruments of production and converted them into social property, and by this means opposes social property against bourgeois property. It has thereby exposed the lie of the capitalists regarding the inviolability, the sacredness and the permanency of bourgeois property.

It has wrested power from the bourgeoisie, deprived it of political rights, shattered the bourgeois state apparatus and handed over power to the Soviets, thereby opposing bourgeois parliamentarism, as the capitalist democracy, with the Socialist Soviet power, as the proletarian democracy. Lafargue was right when he said already in 1887, that on the day following the revolution "all former capitalists will lose the right to vote." The October Revolution thereby exposed the lie of the social democrats that a peaceful transition to Socialism by bourgeois parliamentarism is possible.

But the October Revolution has not stopped short at this. It could not stop short at this. After shattering the old bourgeois order, it proceeded to build up the new Socialist order. Ten years of the October Revolution are ten years of building up the Party, the trade unions, the Soviets, the cooperatives, the cultural organizations, transport and communications, industry and the Red Army.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

The indubitable success of the Socialism of the Soviet Union on the field of construction have palpably shown that the proletariat can successfully rule a country without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie; can successfully conduct the whole national economy

without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie; and that it can successfully build up Socialism in spite of the capitalist environment. The old "theory" that the exploited cannot do without the exploiters, has now become the cardinal point of the political "philosophy" of the social democracy in general and of the social democratic policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie in particular. This "theory", which has assumed the character of a prejudice, constitutes today one of the most serious obstacles in the way of the revolutionary proletariat in the capitalist countries. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is the fact that it gave a deadly blow to this fallacious "theory."

Such generally known facts as the steady growth of Communism in the capitalist countries, the increasing sympathy of the proletarians of all countries for the working class in the Soviet Union, and finally the flocking of workers' delegations to the land of the Soviets demonstrate beyond dispute that the seed scattered by the October Revolution is already beginning to bear fruit.

2. The October Revolution has shaken imperialism not only in the centres of its rule, in the "mother countries." It has also delivered its blow against the outposts of imperialism, as well as against its border districts, and undermined the rule of imperialism in the colonial and dependent countries.

The October Revolution, by overthrowing the landowners and capitalists, has broken the chain of national and colonial suppression and, without exception, liberated from this yoke all the subjugated peoples of this gigantic State. The proletariat cannot emancipate itself without emancipating the subjugated peoples. The October Revolution has accomplished these national and colonial revolutions in the Soviet Union not under the banner of national hostility and of collisions between the nationalities, but under the banner of mutual confidence and of fraternal rapprochement of the workers and peasants of the nationalities, not in the name of nationalism but in the name of internationalism.

Precisely for this reason the pariah peoples, the slave peoples have, for the first time in the history of humanity, risen to the level of peoples who are really free and really equal, and who have by their example infected the suppressed peoples of the whole world.

That means that the October Revolution has opened a new epoch, an epoch of colonial revolutions which will be carried out by the suppressed peoples of the world in alliance with and under the leadership of the proletariat.

One of the most important results of the October Revolution is the fact that it has shown by deeds that the emancipated non-European peoples who have been drawn into the process of Soviet development, are capable of producing real advanced culture and real advanced civilization which is in no way behind European culture and civilization. The October Revolution has shown by deeds the possibility and practicability of the proletarian international method of liberating the subjugated peoples as the only correct method; it has shown by deeds the possibility and utility of the brotherly alliance of the workers and peasants of the most varied peoples on the basis of free choice and internationalism.

The era of exploitation and subjugation of the colonial and dependent countries without revolt and resistance on their part is past.

There has commenced the era of emancipatory revolutions in the colonial and dependent countries, the era of the awakening of the proletariat of these countries, the era of its hegemony in the revolution.

3. The October Revolution, by shaking imperialism, has at the same time created in the first proletarian dictatorship a powerful, open center of the international revolutionary movement, which the latter had never formerly possessed and around which it can now crystallize by organizing the revolutionary united front of the proletariat and of the suppressed peoples of all countries against imperialism.

That means above all that the October Revolution has dealt world capitalism a deadly wound from which it will never recover. Just for this reason capitalism will never again win back that "balance," that "stabilization" which it had before October.

That means that the October Revolution has also raised the fighting spirit of the suppressed peoples of the whole world to a certain height and compelled the ruling classes to reckon with them as a new and serious factor. If formerly there was no international open forum before which the hopes and aspirations of the suppressed classes could be demonstrated and formulated, there exists today such a forum in the first proletarian dictatorship. The destruction of this forum would for a long time darken the social and political life of the "advanced" countries with the cloud of unrestrained black reaction. Even the simple fact of the existence of the "Bolshevik State" curbs the black forces of reaction and facilitates the suppressed to fight for freedom.

END OF CAPITALIST STABILIZATION

This is the reason also for that fierce hatred which the exploiters of all countries cherish against the Bolsheviks. Just as at one time Paris was the place of refuge and school for the revolutionary representatives of the rising bourgeoisie, so today Moscow is the refuge and the school for the revolutionary representatives of the rising proletariat. Hatred against the Jacobins did not save feudalism from disaster. There cannot be the least doubt that hatred against the Bolsheviks will not save capitalism from its inevitable ruin.

The era of stability is past, and there has gone with it the legend of the imperishableness of the bourgeois social order.

The era of the catastrophe of capitalism has dawned.

4. The October Revolution is not only a revolution in the sphere of economic, social and political relations, it is at the same time a revolution of the mind, a revolution of the ideology of the working class. The October Revolution was born and strengthened under the banner of Marxism, under the banner of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the banner of Leninism, which is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution. It means, therefore, the victory of Marxism over reformism, the victory of Leninism over social democracy.

Formerly, before the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the social democrats were still able to parade under the banner of Marxism, without openly denying the dictatorship of the proletariat, without however doing the least thing to bring this idea nearer to realization. For such an attitude on the part of social democracy did not mean any threat to capitalism.

Today, after the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, after everybody has seen with his own eyes whither Marxism leads and what its victory may mean, the social democracy can no longer flirt with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat without creating a certain danger to capitalism. After it had long broken with the spirit of Marxism, it saw itself compelled to break also with the banner of Marxism and has openly and indisputably proceeded against the offspring of Marxism, against the October Revolution, against the first dictatorship of the proletariat in the world.

BANKRUPTCY OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Between social democracy and Marxism there lies today an abyss. From now on the only bearer and stronghold of Marxism is Leninism, Communism.

The October Revolution has separated social democracy from Marxism and driven it into the camp of the immediate defenders of capitalism against the first proletarian dictatorship in the world. When the social democratic leaders abuse the "Soviet regime" and laud parliamentary "democracy," they thereby wish to say that they are fighting and will fight for the re-establishment of capitalist conditions in the Soviet Union, for the maintenance of capitalist slavery in the "civilized" States. Present day social democracy is an ideological support of capitalism. Lenin was indisputably right when he said that the present social democratic politicians "will, in the civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, inevitably side with the Versaillaise against the Communards."

One cannot put an end to capitalism without putting an end to social democracy within the labor movement. Consequently, the era of the death of capitalism is at the same time the era of the death of social democracy in the labor movement.

The era of the rule of the Second International and of social democracy in the labor movement is at an end.

There has commenced the era of the rule of Leninism and the rule of the Third International.

The following article on the Friends of the Soviet Union deals with one of the thousands of Communist mass organizations, more familiarly known to non-Communists as front organizations.¹ In *Problems of Leninism*, Stalin outlined the basic strategy which underlies all "mass" or front organizations (sec. A, exhibit No. 13). His reference to them as "transmission belts" may not be entirely clear to younger readers. It arises from a comparison of the relationship of the Communist Party and its fronts with the old-fashioned water wheel or dynamo which supplied central power via transmission belts and gears to all the machinery of a factory. Nowadays, we have become accustomed to more efficient distribution and use of industrial power. Although the simile is antiquated, the underlying principle remains valid: all front or "mass" organizations receive their driving force from the Communist Party.

¹ Testimony of Earl Browder, hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 76th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 7 (Sept. 5, 1939), 4376, 4380. Calcutiris, *Red Masquerade*, p. 116

EXHIBIT No. 27

[*Inprecorr*, November 17, 1927. P. 1436]

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR! FOR THE SOVIET UNION! FOR REVOLUTIONARY CHINA!—APPEAL OF THE CONGRESS OF FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET UNION TO ALL WORKERS.

The Congress of the Friends of the Soviet Union has addressed the following appeal to all workers:

Against Imperialist War!

For the Soviet Union!

For Revolutionary China!

We, representatives of workers, peasants, co-operatives, representatives of the peoples suppressed by imperialism, we, workers in the field of science, art, education and culture, we, social democrats, non-Party, Communists and members of national-revolutionary Parties—all we assembled here in Moscow, at the Congress of the Friends of the Soviet Union on the occasion of the ten-years festival of the great October Revolution, consider it to be our duty to declare openly before all the world:

We regard war against the Soviet Union as a shameful counter-revolution, as the greatest crime against toiling humanity.

War against the Soviet Union is a war against the working class and the peasantry for the benefit of the landowners and capitalists. War against the Soviet Union is a crusade against Socialism for the benefit of capitalism.

War against the Soviet Union means war against the workers of the whole world, means the promotion of the blackest international reaction in its endeavours to annihilate the Labour Movement of all countries and to crush the struggle for freedom of the oppressed peoples.

War against the workers' State means support of the system of ever recurring imperialist wars, which will be more and more reactionary, atrocious and annihilating and will convert into a heap of ruins the achievements of technique, culture, science and art, gathered in the course of thousands of years.

We address to all honest opponents of war, to all workers by brain and hand the summons to take up a ruthless fight against the preparation for war against the Soviet Union, as well as against every attack on the proletarian dictatorship, no matter from whence these attacks may come, no matter by whom they are supported nor behind what ideological slogans they may be concealed.

The Congress records that the international situation has become extremely acute in recent times. The policy of the imperialist great Powers in the post-war period has completely exposed the true character of all phrases such as "defence of native country", "righteous war", "last war" "war for freedom and progress" etc. This policy found expression in shameful robber-treaties (Brest-Litovsk, Versailles, Trianon, St. Germain etc.). This policy found further expression in intensified exploitation and the brutal policy of violence in the colonies and in the Republics of Central and South America, the populations of which are exploited even more than formerly, and in addition are exposed to barbarous and abominable raids on the part of the imperialists whenever they, politically provoked, attempt

to free themselves from the despots. (Egypt, India, Syria, Morocco, Indonesia, China etc.)

The Congress stigmatises these actions of the imperialist governments and resolves to defend with all its powers the oppressed peoples, and in the first place the great Chinese people, this people which is conducting a heroic fight against the combined forces of the imperialists and of the feudal bourgeois counter-revolution, which now, under the flag of the Kuomintang, is annihilating the best forces of the Chinese struggle for freedom.

The Congress declares, that this policy of the ruling capitalist classes inevitably causes conflicts between the capitalist States and also leads to a bitter fight against the State of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Congress declares that the so-called League of Nations has proved itself to be the fighting alliance of the great capitalist robber States, as a union, directed in the first place against the Soviet Union, for a ruthless fight against the proletariat and against socialism.

The Congress further declares that the ruling classes of Great Britain, just as more than a hundred years ago, at the beginning of the European bourgeois revolution, they stood at the head of the counter-revolutionary coalitions against revolutionary France, so today they stand at the head of the "Holy Alliance" which the capitalist States are preparing for the fight against the first Workers' Republic. The breach of the Conservative government of Great Britain with the Soviet Union, the revolting acts of violence and the infamous executions of revolutionary heroes in China, the demand for the recall of the Ambassador of the Soviet Union from France, the incitement against the proletarian State by the press, the acts of terror, the insane piling up of armaments, the diplomatic, financial and economic encirclement of the Soviet Union—all this points to the threatening danger of an attack on the State of the victorious workers.

The Congress welcomes the policy of peace of the Soviet Union and declares that it is only thanks to the firm will for peace of the Soviet Union that the outbreak of war has not occurred up to now. The Congress declares that any capitalist government would long ago have resorted to sharper measures if it had been exposed to such disgraceful acts of violence as the organs of the proletarian State in London, Peking, Shanghai and Warsaw (murder of Voikov) have been subjected.

The Congress declares that the confidence of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, as well as of the Red Army, in their government's desire for peace and the necessity of defending the achievements of the Revolution, would mobilise all the working masses of the Soviet Union in order to conduct with success the defensive fight against every attack.

The Congress approves the initiative of the Soviet government which, on the occasion of the Disarmament Conference convened by the League of Nations, puts forward a real programme of peace and disarmament.

The Congress is of the opinion that this Conference is aimed chiefly at arriving at an agreement among the Powers regarding arming against the Soviet Union. The Congress therefore calls upon all workers and all honest fighters against imperialist war to support with all their power the action of the Soviet government and to expose more

plainly and unmistakably the fraud of the League of Nations and the organisations which support it.

The representatives of the workers and of the toiling peasants, the revolutionary intelligentsia and of the oppressed nations call for courageous support of the Soviet Union and of the Chinese Revolution.

Only the systematic organisational and propagandist preparation for mass action can be regarded as an honest fight for socialism and for the abolition of capitalist wars.

The Congress addresses to all workers, to all genuine supporters of peace and to all defenders of culture and civilisation the appeal to conduct with all means the fight against war preparations and the military attacks on the Soviet Union.

Hand and brain workers of all countries, fight unitedly against the base forces of capital!

Against the imperialists' policy, of violence in China!

Against bloody fascism!

Against intervention in the Soviet Union!

Fight, defend, protect in every way and with all means the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the workers, the guardian of peace, the stronghold of emancipation, the citadel of Socialism!

The opening comment of the official Soviet history on the 15th Bolshevik Party Congress, held in December 1927, declared the position of all Trotskyites and Zinovievites to be "truly lamentable."¹ Less than one percent of the delegates were willing to risk casting their ballots in opposition to Stalin.² Shortly before the Congress convened, Trotsky and Zinoviev (once head of the Comintern) were formally expelled from the party. Many additional expulsions soon followed.

After making his customary observations about the dangers of capitalist encirclement and the triumphs of the domestic economy, Stalin settled down to a prolonged attack upon the unreliable "intellectuals" and the anti-Bolshevik Nepmen.³ Here he was preparing the way for the inauguration of the second Socialist offensive in the U. S. S. R. Considerable attention was given to the forthcoming Five Year Plan for heavy industrialization and collective farming.

In the criticism of his political opponents, Stalin became intensely sarcastic. He took especial delight in heaping ridicule upon Kamenev, who had helped him to get rid of Trotsky. His concluding remark to the effect that the time had arrived to get the trash off the cart clearly indicated the future course of Soviet history.

EXHIBIT No. 28

Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1950. J. Stalin, *Political Report of the Central Committee to the 15th Congress of the CPSU(B), December 3, 1927.* Pp. 7, 25-30, 34, 61, 67-70, 78-137]

I. THE GROWING CRISIS OF WORLD CAPITALISM AND THE EXTERNAL SITUATION OF THE U. S. S. R.

Our country, comrades, is living and developing in a capitalist encirclement. Its external situation is determined not only by its internal strength, but also by the state of this capitalist encirclement, by the situation in the capitalist countries which surround our country, by their strength and weakness, by the strength and weakness of the oppressed classes all over the world, by the strength and weakness

¹ *History of CPSU (B)*, p. 285.

² Fischer, *Stalin and German Communism*, p. 597.

³ Dallin, *Real Soviet Russia*, pp. 113-116, 140-142. Lyons, *Assignment in Utopia*, Chapter VI: Demonstration Trial.

of the revolutionary movement of these classes. Not to speak of the fact that our revolution is a part of the international revolutionary movement of the oppressed classes.

That is why I think that the Central Committee's report should start with a brief sketch of our country's international situation; with a brief sketch of the situation in the capitalist countries and of the state of the revolutionary movement in all countries.

* * * * *

4. *The capitalist world and the U. S. S. R.*

a) Thus, we have all the symptoms of an extremely profound crisis and growing instability of world capitalism.

Whereas the *temporary* postwar economic crisis of 1920-1921, with its chaos within and breakdown of connections outside the capitalist countries, may be regarded as having been overcome, as a result of which the period of partial stabilization was ushered in, the *general* and *fundamental* crisis of capitalism observed as a result of the victory of the October Revolution and the dropping out of the U. S. S. R. from the world capitalist system, far from being overcome is, on the contrary, becoming more and more intense, and is shaking the very foundations of the existence of world capitalism.

Far from hindering the development of this general and fundamental crisis, stabilization, on the contrary, has created the grounds and source for its further development. The growing struggle for markets, the necessity of a new division of the world and spheres of influence, the bankruptcy of bourgeois pacifism and of the League of Nations, the feverish efforts to form new coalitions and an alignment of forces in view of the possibility of a new war, the furious increase in armaments, the brutal pressure upon the working class and the colonial countries, the growth of the revolutionary movement in the colonies and in Europe, the growth of the prestige of the Comintern throughout the world, and lastly, the consolidation of the might of the Soviet Union and its enhanced prestige among the workers of Europe and the masses of the working people in the colonies—are all facts which cannot but shake the very foundation of world capitalism.

The stabilization of capitalism is becoming increasingly decayed and unstable.

Whereas a year or two ago it was possible, and necessary, to speak of the ebb of the revolutionary tide in Europe, today, we have all grounds for asserting that *Europe is obviously entering the period of a new revolutionary upswing*. Not to mention the colonies and dependent countries, where the position of the imperialists is becoming more and more catastrophic.

b) The hopes of the capitalists that the U. S. S. R. would be tamed, that it would undergo capitalistic degeneration, that its prestige among the workers of Europe and the masses of the working people in the colonies would decline, have collapsed. The U. S. S. R. is growing and developing precisely as a country in which Socialism is being built. Its influence among the workers and peasants all over the world is growing and gaining strength. The very existence of the U. S. S. R. as a country in which Socialism is being built is one of the greatest factors in the disintegration of world imperialism and in the undermining of its stability both in Europe and in the colonies. The

U. S. S. R. is obviously becoming the banner of the working class of Europe and of the oppressed peoples of the colonies.

Therefore, to clear the ground for the future imperialist wars, to put a tighter grip on "their" working class and to curb "their" colonies with the view to strengthening the capitalist rear, it is necessary, the bourgeois bosses think, first of all to curb the U. S. S. R., that seat and hotbed of revolution, which, moreover, represents one of the biggest markets for the capitalist countries. Hence the revival of interventionist tendencies among the imperialists, the policy of isolating the U. S. S. R., the policy of surrounding the U. S. S. R., the policy of preparing the conditions for war against the U. S. S. R.

The strengthening of interventionist tendencies in the camp of the imperialists and the danger of war (against the U. S. S. R.) is one of the fundamental factors in the present situation.

It is considered that the most "threatened" and "injured" party under the conditions of the developing crisis of capitalism is the English bourgeoisie. And it is the English bourgeoisie that has taken the initiative in strengthening interventionist tendencies. Obviously, the assistance the Soviet workers rendered the British coal miners, and the sympathy the working class of the U. S. S. R. displays for the revolutionary movement in China, were bound to pour oil on the flames. All these circumstances determined England's rupture with the U. S. S. R. and the worsening of relations with a number of other states.

c) The struggle between two tendencies in the relations between the capitalist world and the U. S. S. R., the tendency towards military aggression (primarily England) and the tendency to continue peaceful relations (a number of other capitalist countries), is, in view of this, the fundamental fact in our foreign relations at the present time.

The facts indicating the tendency towards peaceful relations during the period under review are as follows: the Non-Aggression Pact with Turkey; the Guarantee Pact with Germany; the Tariff Agreement with Greece; the agreement with Germany regarding credits; the Guarantee Pact with Afghanistan; the Guarantee Pact with Lithuania; the initialing of a Guarantee Pact with Latvia; the Trade Agreement with Turkey; the settlement of the conflict with Switzerland; the Treaty of Neutrality with Persia; improvement in relations with Japan; growth of commercial intercourse with America and Italy.

The facts indicating the tendency towards military aggression during the period under review are as follows: England's note concerning financial assistance to the striking coal miners; the raid upon the Soviet diplomatic representatives in Peking, Tientsin, and Shanghai; the raid on Arcos; England's rupture with the U. S. S. R.; the assassination of Voikov; terroristic acts by British hirelings in the U. S. S. R.; strained relations with France on the question of the recall of Rakovsky.

Whereas a year or two ago it was possible, and necessary, to speak of a period of a certain equilibrium and "peaceful coexistence" between the U. S. S. R. and the capitalist countries, today, we have all grounds for asserting that *the period of "peaceful coexistence" is receding into the past*, making way for the period of imperialist raids and preparation for intervention against the U. S. S. R.

True, England's attempts to form a united front against the U. S. S. R. have failed so far. The reasons for this failure are: the antagonism of interests in the camp of the imperialists; the fact that some countries are interested in maintaining economic intercourse with the U. S. S. R.; the U. S. S. R.'s peace policy; the counteraction of the working class of Europe; the imperialists' fear of unleashing revolution in their own countries in the event of war against the U. S. S. R. But this does not mean that England will abandon her efforts to organize a united front against the U. S. S. R., that she will fail to organize such a front. The danger of war remains in spite of England's temporary failure.

Hence the task of taking into account the antagonisms in the camp of the imperialists, of postponing war by "buying off" the capitalists, and of taking all measures to maintain peaceful relations.

We must not forget what Lenin said about very much in our work of construction depending upon whether we succeed in postponing war with the capitalist world, which is inevitable, but which can be postponed either until the moment when the proletarian revolution in Europe matures, or until the moment when the colonial revolutions have fully matured, or, lastly, until the moment when the capitalists fight among themselves over the division of the colonies.

Therefore, the maintenance of peaceful relations with the capitalist countries is an obligatory task for us.

Our relations with the capitalist countries are based on the assumption that the coexistence of two opposite systems is possible. Practice has fully confirmed this. Sometimes the question of the debts and credits is a stumbling block. In this our policy is clear. It is based on the formula: "give and take." If you give us credits with which to fertilize our industry, you will get a certain part of the prewar debts, which we regard as extra interest on the credits. If you don't give, you will get nothing. Facts show that we have some achievements to record as regards receiving industrial credits. I have in mind just now not only Germany, but also America and England. Wherein lies the secret? In the fact that our country represents a vast market for imports of equipment, while the capitalist countries need markets for precisely this kind of goods.

5. Conclusions

To sum up, we have:

Firstly, an increase in the contradictions within the capitalist encirclement; the necessity for capitalism of a new division of the world by means of war; the interventionist tendencies of one part of the capitalist world headed by England; the reluctance of the other part of the capitalist world to become involved in war with the U. S. S. R., preferring to establish economic intercourse with it; the struggle between these two tendencies and the possibility, to some extent, for the U. S. S. R. to take these contradictions into account for the purpose of maintaining peace.

Secondly, we have the collapsing stabilization; growth of the colonial-revolutionary movement; symptoms of a new revolutionary upswing in Europe; enhancement of the prestige of the Comintern and its sections all over the world; obvious growth of sympathy of the working class of Europe for the U. S. S. R.; growing might of the

U. S. S. R. and growing prestige of the working class of our country among the oppressed classes all over the world.

Hence the Party's tasks:

- 1) Along the line of the international revolutionary movement:
 - a) *to fight to develop the Communist parties all over the world;*
 - b) *to fight to strengthen the revolutionary trade unions and the workers' united front against the capitalist offensive;*
 - c) *to fight to strengthen the friendship between the working class of the U. S. S. R. and the working class of the capitalist countries;*
 - d) *to fight to strengthen the link between the working class of the U. S. S. R. and the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries.*
- 2) Along the line of the U. S. S. R.'s foreign policy:
 - a) *to fight the preparation of new imperialist wars;*
 - b) *to fight England's interventionist tendencies and to strengthen the U. S. S. R.'s defensive power;*
 - c) *a policy of peace and the maintenance of peaceful relations with the capitalist countries;*
 - d) *to expand our trade with the outside world on the basis of strengthening the monopoly of foreign trade;*
 - e) *rapprochement with the so-called "weak" and "unequal" states which are suffering from the oppression and exploitation of the ruling imperialist powers.*

* * * * *

II. SUCCESSES IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN THE U. S. S. R.

Permit me, comrades, to pass to the internal situation in our country, to the successes achieved in our socialist construction, to the question of the destiny of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of its development of its consolidation.

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4. *Classes, the state apparatus and the country's cultural development*

From questions concerning the country's economic situation we will pass to questions concerning the political situation.

* * * * *

c) *The new bourgeoisie. The intelligentsia.* A characteristic feature of the new bourgeoisie is that, unlike the working class and the peasantry, it has no reason to be pleased with the Soviet regime. Its discontent is not accidental. It has its roots in life.

I have spoken about the growth of our national economy. I have spoken about the growth of our industry, about the growth of the socialist elements of our national economy, about the decline in the relative weight of the private capitalists, about the elimination of the small traders. But what does this signify? It signifies that while our industry and our trading organizations are growing, tens of thousands of small and medium capitalists are being ruined. How many small and medium shops have been closed during these years?

Thousands. How many small manufacturers have been proletarianized? Thousands. And how many civil servants have been discharged in connection with the reduction of staffs in our state apparatus? Hundreds and thousands.

Progress in our industry, progress in our trading and cooperative organizations, and improvement of our state apparatus is progress and improvement for the benefit of the working class, for the benefit of the bulk of the peasantry, but to the detriment of the new bourgeoisie, to the detriment of the middle strata generally and of the urban middle strata in particular. Is it to be wondered at that discontent with the Soviet regime is growing among these strata? Hence the counterrevolutionary moods among these people. Hence the Smena-Vekh ideology, a fashionable article in the new bourgeoisie's political market.

But it would be a mistake to think that the whole of the civil service element, the whole of the intelligentsia is in this state of discontent, in this state of grumbling or unrest against the Soviet regime. Parallel with the growth of discontent we have in the depths of the new bourgeoisie a differentiation among the intelligentsia, desertion from Smena-Vekhsism, the passing of hundreds and thousands of working intellectuals to the side of the Soviet regime. This, comrades, is undoubtedly a favourable factor that must be noted.

The pioneers in this are the technical intelligentsia, because, being closely connected with the process of production, they cannot help seeing that the Bolsheviks are leading the country forward, to a better future. Gigantic works of construction like the Volkhov Power Plant, the Dnieper Power Plant, the Svir Power Plant, the Turkestan Railway, the Volga-Don Canal, and a whole series of new gigantic industrial plants with which the fate of whole strata of the technical intelligentsia is bound, cannot but exercise some beneficial influence upon these strata. It is not only a bread and butter question for them, it is also a matter of honour, a matter of creative effort, which naturally draws them to the working class, to the Soviet regime.

This is apart from the rural working intelligentsia, especially village schoolteachers, who turned towards the Soviet regime long ago, and who cannot help welcoming the development of education in the rural districts.

Therefore, parallel with the growth of discontent among certain strata of the intelligentsia, we have the link between the working intelligentsia and the working class.

The Party's task is to continue along the line of isolating the new bourgeoisie and to strengthen the link between the working class and the working Soviet intelligentsia in town and country.

d) *The state apparatus and the struggle against bureaucracy.* So much is being talked about bureaucracy that there is no need to dilate upon it. That elements of bureaucracy exist in the state, in the cooperative and in the Party apparatus there can be no doubt. That it is necessary to combat the elements of bureaucracy, and that this task will confront us all the time, as long as we have state power, as long as the state exists, is also a fact.

But there must also be a limit. To carry the struggle against bureaucracy in the state apparatus to the point of destroying the state apparatus, to the point of discrediting the state apparatus, to attempt

to break it up, means going against Leninism, means forgetting that our apparatus is a Soviet apparatus, which represents a higher type of state apparatus compared with all the other state apparatuses that exist in the world.

* * * * *

III. THE PARTY AND THE OPPOSITION

1. *The state of the Party*

I will not, comrades, dilate on the numerical and ideological growth of our Party, I will not quote figures, because Kossior will report to you on this in detail.

Nor will I speak about the social composition of our Party, or about the figures pertaining to this, because Kossior will give you exhaustive data on this in his report.

I would like to say a few words about the higher level, the qualitative improvement in our Party's work of leadership both in the sphere of economics and in the sphere of politics. There was a time, comrades, two or three years ago, when a section of our comrades, headed by Trotsky, I think *laughter, voices*: "Think?"), hurled reproaches at our gubernia committees, regional committees and at our Central Committee, asserting that the Party organizations were incompetent and had no business to interfere in the country's economic affairs. Yes, there was such a time. Today, however, it is doubtful whether anybody would dare to hurl such accusations against the Party organizations. That the gubernia and regional committees have mastered the art of economic leadership, that the Party organizations are leading economic construction and not trailing in its rear, is such a glaring fact that only the blind or the daft would dare deny it. The very fact that we have decided to put on the agenda of this Congress the question of a five-year plan of development of the national economy, this very fact alone shows that the Party has made immense progress in the planned leadership of our economic construction both in the districts and at the centre.

Some people think that there is nothing exceptional in this. No, comrades, there is something exceptional and important in this, which must be noted. Reference is sometimes made to American and German economic bodies which, it is alleged, also direct their national economy according to a plan. No, comrades, those countries have not yet achieved this, and never will as long as the capitalist system exists there. To be able to lead according to a plan it is necessary to have a different system of industry, a socialist and not a capitalist system; it is necessary to have at least a nationalized industry, a nationalized credit system, nationalized land, the socialist link with the rural districts, working-class rule in the country, etc.

True, they have something in the nature of plans; but these are forecast plans, guesswork plans, not binding on anybody, and they cannot serve as a basis for directing the country's economy. It is different in our country. Our plans are not forecast plans, not guesswork plans, but *directive* plans, which are *binding* upon our leading bodies, and which *determine* the trend of our *future* economic development on a *country-wide* scale.

You see, we have a *fundamental* difference here.

That is why I say that even the simple fact that the question of a five-year plan of development of the national economy has been put on the Congress agenda, even this fact is an indication of the qualitatively higher level of our work of planned leadership.

Nor will I dilate on the growth of inner-Party democracy in our Party. Only the blind fail to see that inner-Party democracy, genuine inner-Party democracy, an actual upsurge of activity of the Party membership, is growing and developing in our Party. Some people chatter about democracy. But what is democracy in the Party? Democracy for whom? If by democracy is meant freedom for a couple or so of intellectuals divorced from the revolution to engage in endless chatter, to have their own organ of the press, etc., then we do not need such "democracy," because it is democracy for an insignificant minority that goes against the will of the overwhelming majority. If, however, by democracy is meant freedom for the Party membership to decide the questions connected with our construction, an upsurge of activity of the Party membership, drawing them into the work of Party leadership, developing in them the feeling that they are the masters in the Party, then we have such democracy, that is the democracy we need, and we will steadily develop it in spite of everything. (*Applause.*)

Nor will I, comrades, dilate on the fact that, parallel with inner-Party democracy, collective leadership is growing, step by step, in our Party. Take our Central Committee and Central Control Commission. Together they constitute a leading centre of 200-250 comrades, which meets regularly and decides most important questions connected with our work of construction. It is one of the most democratic and collectively functioning centres our Party has ever had. Well? Is it not a fact that the settlement of most important questions concerning our work is passing more and more from the hands of a narrow group at the top to the hands of this broad centre, which is most closely connected with all branches of construction and with all the regions of our vast country?

Nor will I dilate on the growth of our Party cadres. It is indisputable that during the past few years the old cadres of our Party have been permeated with new, rising cadres, consisting mainly of workingmen. Formerly, we counted our cadres in hundreds and thousands, but now we must count them in tens of thousands. I think that if we begin from the lowest organizations, the shop and team organizations, and go to the top, all over the Union, we will find that our Party cadres, the overwhelming majority of whom are workingmen, now number no less than 100,000. This indicates the immense growth of our Party. It indicates the immense growth of our cadres, the growth of their ideological and organizational experience, the growth of their communist culture.

Lastly, there is one other question on which there is no need to dilate, but which ought to be mentioned. This is the question of the growth of the Party's prestige among the non-Party workers and among the masses of the working people of our country generally, among the workers and the oppressed classes generally all over the world. There can scarcely be any doubt now that our Party is becoming the banner of liberation for the toiling masses all over the world, and that the title, Bolshevik, is becoming the honourable title for the best members of the working class.

Such, in general, comrades, is the picture of our achievements in the sphere of Party development.

This does not mean, comrades, that there are no defects in our Party. No, there are defects, and grave defects at that. Permit me to say a few words about these defects.

Let us take, for example, the guidance of economic and other organizations by our Party organizations. Is all well in this respect? No, not all. Often we settle questions, not only in the districts, but also at the centre, in the family, domestic circle way, as it were. Ivan Ivanovich, a member of the leading top body of such and such an organization, has, say, committed a grave blunder and has messed things up. But Ivan Fyodorovich is reluctant to criticize him, to expose the blunder he has committed, to rectify this blunder. He is reluctant to do so because he does not want to "make enemies." He has committed a blunder, messed things up? What of it? Who of us does not commit blunders? I will let him, Ivan Fyodorovich, off today; tomorrow he will let me, Ivan Ivanovich, off; for what guarantee is there that I will not commit a blunder? All nice and quiet. Peace and good will. What, do they say that a neglected blunder is detrimental to our great cause? That's nothing! We'll muddle through somehow.

Such, comrades, is the way some of our responsible comrades usually argue.

But what does this signify? If we Bolsheviks, who criticize the whole world, who, in the words of Marx, are storming heaven, if we, for the sake of this or that comrade's peace of mind, abandon self-criticism, is it not clear that this can lead only to the doom of our great cause? (*Voices: "Quite right!" Applause.*)

Marx said that what, among other things, distinguishes the proletarian revolution from every other revolution is that it criticizes itself and, in criticizing itself, strengthens itself. This is an extremely important point of Marx's. If we, the representatives of the proletarian revolution, shut our eyes to our defects, settle questions by the family circle-method, hush up each other's mistakes and drive the ulcers inwards into the Party's body, who will rectify these mistakes, these defects?

Is it not clear that we will cease to be proletarian revolutionaries, and that we will certainly perish if we fail to eradicate from our midst these philistine, family-circle methods of settling most important questions concerning our work of construction?

Is it not clear that by abandoning honest and straightforward self-criticism, by abandoning the honest and open rectification of our mistakes, we block our road to progress, to the improvement of our work, to new successes in our work?

After all, our development is not proceeding smoothly, not in an all-round, ascending curve. No, comrades, we have classes, we have contradictions within the country, we have a past, we have a present and a future, we have contradictions between them, and we cannot advance in the manner of a smooth and gentle rocking on the waves of life. We are advancing in the process of struggle, in the process of development of contradictions, in the process of overcoming these contradictions, in the process of bringing these contradictions to light and liquidating them.

We will never be in such a position, as long as classes exist, as to be able to say: Well, thank god, everything is all right now. We will never be in such a position, comrades.

Something in life is always dying. But that which is dying refuses to die quietly; it fights for its existence, defends its moribund cause.

Something new in life is always being born. But that which is being born does not come into the world quietly; it comes in squealing and screaming, defending its right to existence. (*Voices: "Quite right!" Applause.*)

The struggle between the old and the new, between the dying and nascent—such is the foundation of our development. By failing openly and honestly, as befits Bolsheviks, to point to, to bring to light, the defects and mistakes in our work, we close our road to progress. But we want to go forward. And precisely because we want to go forward we must make honest and revolutionary self-criticism one of our most important tasks. Without this there is no progress. Without this there is no development.

But it is precisely along this line that things are still in a bad way. More than that, it is enough for us to achieve a few successes for us to forget about the defects, to calm down and get conceited. Two or three big successes—and everything is a walkover. Another two or three big successes, and we get a swelled head; "knock him into a cocked hat!" But the mistakes remain, the defects continue to exist, the ulcers are driven inwards into the Party's body and the Party begins to sicken.

The second defect. It consists in introducing administrative methods in the Party, in substituting the method of administration for the method of persuasion, which is of decisive importance for the Party. This defect is a danger no less serious than the first one. Why? Because it creates the danger of our Party organizations, which are self-acting organizations, being converted into mere bureaucratic institutions. Calculating that we have no less than 60,000 most active workers scattered among all sorts of economic, cooperative and state institutions where they are fighting bureaucracy, it must be admitted that some of them, while fighting bureaucracy in these institutions, sometimes become infected with bureaucracy themselves and carry this infection into the Party organization. And this is not our fault, comrades, but our misfortune, because as long as the state exists, this process will continue to a greater or lesser degree. And precisely because this process has some roots in life, we must arm ourselves for the struggle against this defect, rouse the activity of the Party membership, draw them into the work of settling questions concerning the Party leadership, systematically implant inner-Party democracy and prevent the substitution in our Party practice of the administrative method for the method of persuasion.

The third defect. This defect consists in the desire of a number of our comrades to float with the current, smoothly and calmly, without perspective, without looking into the future, in such a way that a festive and holiday atmosphere should be felt all around, that we should have celebration meetings every day, with applause everywhere, and that all of us in turn be elected as honorary members of all sorts of presidiums. (*Laughter, applause.*)

Now it is this irresistible desire to see a festive atmosphere everywhere, this longing for decoration, for all sorts of anniversaries,

necessary and unnecessary, this desire to float with the current without caring a hang where they are floating to (*laughter, applause*), all this constitutes the substance of the third defect in our Party practice, the basis of the shortcomings in our Party life.

Have you seen boatmen, rowing conscientiously, by the sweat of their brow, but not seeing whither the current is carrying them? I have seen such boatmen on the Yenisei. They are honest and tireless boatmen. But the trouble is that they do not see, and do not wish to see, that the current may carry them against the rocks, where doom awaits them.

The same thing happens to some of our comrades. They row conscientiously, pulling hard all the time; their boat floats smoothly, with the current, but not only don't they know whither the current is carrying them, they do not wish to know. Working without perspective, floating without sail or rudder—this is what wishing to float only with the current leads to.

And the results? The results are obvious: first they become coated with mould, then they become drab, after that they sink into the quagmire of philistinism and are finally transformed into ordinary philistines. This is precisely the path of real degeneration.

Such, comrades, are some of the defects in our Party practice and in our Party life, about which I wanted to say a few bitter words to you.

And now permit me to pass to the questions connected with the discussion and with our so-called opposition.

2. *The results of the discussion*

Is there any sense, any value in a Party discussion?

Sometimes people say: why on earth did they start this discussion, what good is it to anyone, would it not have been better to settle the dispute privately, without washing dirty linen in public? This is wrong, comrades. Sometimes a discussion is absolutely necessary, and certainly useful. The whole point is—what kind of discussion? If the discussion is conducted within comradely limits, within Party limits, if its object is honest self-criticism, criticism of the defects in the Party, if, therefore, it improves our work and arms the working class, then such a discussion is necessary and useful.

But there is another kind of discussion, the object of which is not to improve our common work but to worsen it; not to strengthen the Party, but to disintegrate and discredit it. Such a discussion usually leads not to the arming but to the disarming of the proletariat. Such a discussion we do not need. *Voices: "Quite right!" Applause.*

When the opposition demanded an all-Union discussion about three months before the Congress, before the Central Committee's theses had been drawn up, before the publication of these theses, they tried to thrust upon us a kind of discussion that would have inevitably facilitated the task of our enemies, the task of the enemies of the working class, the task of the enemies of our Party. It was precisely for this reason that the Central Committee opposed the opposition's plans. And it is precisely because it opposed the opposition's plans that we succeeded in placing the discussion on the right lines by giving it a basis in the shape of the Central Committee's theses for the Congress. Now we can say without hesitation that, on the whole, the discussion has been a gain.

As regards washing dirty linen in public, this is nonsense, comrades. We have never been, and never will be, afraid of openly criticizing ourselves and our mistakes in front of the whole Party. The strength of Bolshevism lies precisely in that it is not afraid of criticism and that, in criticizing its defects, it acquires the energy to push further forward. Thus, the present discussion is a sign of our Party's strength, a sign of its might.

It must not be forgotten that in every big party, especially a party like ours, which is in power, and which contains some part of the peasant and civil servant element, there accumulate in the course of a certain time certain elements who are indifferent to questions concerning Party practice, who vote blindfolded and float with the current. The presence of a large number of these elements is an evil which must be combated. These elements constitute the marsh in our Party.

A discussion is an appeal to his marsh. The opposition appeal to it in order to win over some part of it. And they do indeed win over its worst part. The Party appeals to it in order to win over its best part, to draw it into active Party life. As a result, the marsh is compelled to self-determine itself in spite of all its inertness. And it does indeed self-determine itself as a result of these appeals, by giving up one section of its ranks to the opposition and another to the Party, thus ceasing to exist as a marsh. In the general balance sheet of our Party development this is an asset. As a result of the present discussion the marsh has diminished, or has ceased, or is ceasing, to exist. In this respect the discussion has been a gain.

The results of the discussion? The results are known. Up till yesterday, it appears, 724,000 comrades voted for the Party and a little over 4,000 voted for the opposition. Such are the results. Our opposition thundered that the Central Committee had divorced itself from the Party, that the Party had divorced itself from the class, that if ifs and ans were pots and pans they, the opposition, would certainly have had 99 per cent on their side. But as ifs and ans are not pots and pans it turns out that the opposition have not even one per cent. Such are the results.

How could it happen that the entire Party, as a whole, and following it the working class too, so thoroughly isolated the opposition? After all, the opposition are headed by well-known people with well-known names, people who know how to advertise themselves (*Voices*: "Quite right!"), people who are not afflicted with modesty (*applause*) and are able to blow their own trumpets.

It happened because the leading group of the opposition proved to be a group of petty-bourgeois intellectuals divorced from life, divorced from the revolution, divorced from the Party, from the working class. (*voices*: "Quite right!" *applause*.)

A little while ago I spoke about the successes we have achieved in our work, about our achievements in the sphere of industry, in the sphere of trade, in the sphere of our economy as a whole, and in the sphere of foreign policy. But the opposition are not interested in these achievements. They do not see, or do not wish to see, them. They do not wish to see them partly because of their ignorance and partly because of the obstinacy characteristic of intellectuals who are divorced from life.

3. *The fundamental divergences between the party and the opposition*

You will ask, what then, are the disagreements between the Party and the opposition, on what questions do they disagree?

On all questions, comrades. (*Voices: "Quite right!"*)

Recently I read a statement made by a non-party workingman in Moscow, who is joining, or has already joined the Party. This is how he formulates the disagreements between the Party and the opposition:

"Formerly we tried to find out what the Party and the opposition disagreed about. Now we cannot find out on what the opposition agrees with the Party. (*Laughter, applause.*) The opposition is opposed to the Party on all questions, therefore, if I sided with the opposition I would not join the Party." (*Laughter, applause.*) (Cf. *Izvestia*, No. 264.)

You see how aptly and yet concisely workingmen are sometimes able to express themselves. I think that this is the aptest and truest characterization of the opposition's attitude towards the Party, towards its ideology, its program and its tactics.

It is precisely because the opposition disagree with the Party on all questions that the opposition constitute a group with its own ideology, its own program, its own tactics and its own organizational principles.

The opposition possess everything that is needed to form a new party, everything except a "trifle,"—strength to do so. (*Laughter, applause.*)

I could mention seven fundamental questions on which there is disagreement between the Party and the opposition.

First The question of the possibility of victorious socialist construction in our country. I will not refer to the opposition's documents and statements on this question. Everybody is familiar with them and there is no need to repeat them. It is clear to everybody that the opposition deny the possibility of the victorious construction of Socialism in our country. And in denying this possibility they are directly and openly slipping into the position of the Mensheviks.

The opposition's stand on this question is not a new one for their present leaders. It was the stand taken by Kamenev and Zinoviev when they refused to go to the October insurrection. They openly stated at the time that by raising an insurrection we were going to our destruction, that we must wait for the Constituent Assembly, that the conditions for Socialism had not matured and would not mature soon.

Trotsky took the very same stand when he went to the insurrection; for he openly said that if a victorious proletarian revolution in the West did not bring timely assistance in the more or less near future, it would be foolish to think that revolutionary Russia could hold its own in face of a conservative Europe.

Indeed, how did Kamenev and Zinoviev on the one side, Trotsky on the other, and Lenin and the Party on the third, go to the insurrection? This is a very interesting question, about which it is worth saying a few words, comrades.

You know that Kamenev and Zinoviev were driven to the insurrection with a stick. Lenin drove them with a stick, threatening them with expulsion from the Party (*laughter, applause*) and they were forced to hobble to the insurrection. (*Laughter, applause.*)

Trotsky went to the insurrection voluntarily. He did not go straightforwardly, however, but with a reservation, which already at that time brought him close to Kamenev and Zinoviev. It is an interesting fact that it was precisely before the October Revolution, in June 1917, that Trotsky deemed it appropriate to publish in Petrograd a new edition of his old pamphlet *A Peace Program*, as if wishing to show thereby that he was going to the insurrection under his own flag. What does he say in that pamphlet? In it he polemizes with Lenin on the question of the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country, claims that this idea of Lenin's is wrong and asserts that we will have to take power, but if timely aid does not come from the victorious West-European workers it is hopeless to think that a revolutionary Russia can hold its own in face of a conservative Europe, and whoever does not agree with Trotsky's criticism suffers from national narrowmindedness.

Here is an excerpt from the pamphlet Trotsky published at that time.

"Without waiting for the others, we begin and continue our struggle on our national soil, fully confident that our initiative will give an impetus to the struggle in other countries, but if that does not happen, it will be hopeless, in the light of historical experience and in the light of theoretical reasoning to think that a revolutionary Russia, for example, could hold its own in face of a conservative Europe . . . To regard the prospects of the social revolution within national limits would mean falling a victim to the very same national narrowmindedness that constitutes the substance of social-patriotism." (Trotsky, 1917, Vol. III, part 1, p. 90.)

Such, comrades, was the trotskyite reservation, which does a great deal to explain to us the roots and the subsoil of his present block with Kamenev and Zinoviev.

But how did Lenin, how did the Party go to the insurrection? Also, with a reservation? No, Lenin and his Party went to the insurrection without any reservations. Here is an excerpt from one of Lenin's splendid articles, "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution," published abroad in September 1917:

"Victorious Socialism in one country does not at one stroke eliminate all war in general. On the contrary, it presupposes such wars. The development of capitalism proceeds extremely unevenly in the various countries. It cannot be otherwise under the commodity production system. From this it follows irrefutably that Socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will remain bourgeois or prebourgeois for some time. This must not only create friction, but a direct striving on the part of the bourgeoisie of the other countries to crush the victorious proletariat of the socialist state. In such cases a war on our part would be a legitimate and just war. It would be a war for Socialism, for the liberation of other nations from the bourgeoisie." (Lenin, "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution," *Notes of the Lenin Institute*, Vol. II, p. 7.)

You see that we have a totally different stand here. Whereas Trotsky went to the insurrection with a reservation that brought him close to Kamenev and Zinoviev, asserting that, taken by itself, proletarian power cannot be worth anything if timely aid does not come from outside, Lenin, on the contrary, went to the insurrection without reservations, asserting that proletarian power in our country must serve as a base for assisting the proletarians of other countries to free themselves from the yoke of the bourgeoisie.

That is how the Bolsheviks went to the October insurrection, and that is why Trotsky, and Kamenev and Zinoviev, have found common ground nearly ten years after the October Revolution.

One could depict in the form of a dialogue the conversation between Trotsky on the one hand, and Kamenev and Zinoviev on the other, when the opposition bloc was being formed.

Kamenev and Zinoviev to Trotsky: "So you see, dear comrade, in the end we proved to be right when we said that we ought not to go to the October insurrection, that we ought to wait for the Constituent Assembly, and so forth. Now, everybody sees that the country is degenerating, the government is degenerating, we are heading for destruction and there won't be any Socialism in our country. We should not have gone to the insurrection. But you went to the insurrection voluntarily. You made a big mistake."

Trotsky replies to them: "No, dear colleagues, you are unjust towards me. True, I went to the insurrection, but you forgot to say how I went. After all, I did not go to the insurrection straightforwardly, but with a reservation. (*General laughter.*) And since it is evident now that aid cannot be expected from anywhere, it is obvious that we are heading for destruction, as I foretold at the time in *A Peace Program*."

Zinoviev and Kamenev: "Yes, you are right. We forgot about your reservation. It is clear now that our bloc has an ideological foundation." (*General laughter. Applause.*)

That is how the opposition took its stand on the denial of the possibility of victorious socialist construction in our country.

What does that stand signify? It signifies surrender. To whom? Obviously to the capitalist elements in our country. To whom else? To the world bourgeoisie. But the Left phrases, the revolutionary arm waving—what has become of them? They have scattered like dust. Give our opposition a good shaking, cast aside the revolutionary phraseology, and at bottom you will find that they are defeatists. (*Applause.*)

Second. The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Have we the dictatorship of the proletariat or not? Rather a strange question. (*Laughter.*) Nevertheless, the opposition raise it in every one of their statements. The opposition say that we are in a state of Thermidor degeneration. What does that mean? It means that we have not the dictatorship of the proletariat, that our economics and our politics are a failure, are going backwards, that we are not going towards Socialism, but towards capitalism. This, of course, is strange and foolish. But the opposition insist on it.

Here, comrades, you have another divergence. It is on this that Trotsky's well-known thesis about Clemenceau is based. If the government has degenerated, or is degenerating, is it worth while to spare it, defend it, uphold it? Clearly, it is not worth while. If a situation arises favourable for the "removal" of such a government, if, say, the enemy comes within 80 kilometres of Moscow, is it not obvious that advantage should be taken of this situation to sweep this government away and set up a new, Clemenceau, i. e., Trotsky, government?

Clearly, there is nothing Leninist in this "stand." It is Menshevism of the purest water. The opposition have slipped into Menshevism.

Third. The question of the bloc between the working class and the middle peasants. All the time the opposition have concealed their hostility towards the idea of such a bloc. Their plat-

form, their countertheses, are remarkable not so much for what they say as for what the opposition have tried to conceal from the working class. But a man was found, I. N. Smirnov, also a leader of the opposition, who had the courage to tell the truth about the opposition, to drag them into the light of day. And what do we find? We find that we "are heading towards destruction," and if we want to "save" ourselves, we must fall out with the middle peasants. Not very clever, but clear.

Here the opposition's Menshevik ears have at last become exposed for everybody to see.

Fourth. The question of the character of our revolution. If the possibility of the victorious construction of Socialism in our country is denied, if the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat is denied, if the necessity of a bloc between the working class and the peasantry is denied, what then remains of our revolution, of its socialist character? Clearly, nothing, absolutely nothing. The proletariat came into power, it carried the bourgeois revolution to the end, the peasantry now have nothing to do with the revolution since they have already received land, so the proletariat can now retire and make room for other classes.

Such is the opposition's stand, if we delve down to the roots of the oppositional views.

Such are all the roots of our opposition's defeatism. No wonder the Bundist defeatist Abramovich praises them.

Fifth. The question of Lenin's stand on the leadership of colonial revolutions. Lenin took his stand on the difference between imperialist countries and oppressed countries, between the communist policy in imperialist countries and the communist policy in colonial countries. Taking his stand on this difference, he said, already during the war, that the idea of defending the fatherland is unacceptable and counterrevolutionary for Communism in imperialist countries, but quite acceptable and correct in oppressed countries which are waging a war of liberation against imperialism.

It is precisely for this reason that Lenin conceded the possibility, at a certain stage and for a certain period, of a bloc, and even of an alliance, with the national bourgeoisie in colonial countries if it is waging war against imperialism, and if it is not preventing the Communists from training the workers and the peasant poor in the spirit of Communism.

The sin the opposition have fallen into here is that they have completely broken away from this stand of Lenin's and have slipped into the position held by the Second International, which denies the expediency of supporting revolutionary wars waged by colonial countries against imperialism. And it is this that explains all the misfortunes that have befallen our opposition on the question of the Chinese revolution.

And so you have still another divergence.

Sixth. The question of the united front tactics in the international working-class movement. The sin which the opposition have fallen into here is that they are breaking away from the Leninist tactics on the question of gradually winning the vast working-class masses to the side of Communism. The vast working-class masses are won over to the side of Communism not only by the Party pursuing a correct policy. The Party's correct policy is a big thing, but it is

far from being everything. In order that the vast working-class masses should come over to Communism, it is necessary that the masses themselves should be convinced by their own experience that the communist policy is correct. And in order that the masses should become so convinced time is needed, the Party must work skilfully and ably in leading the masses to their positions, the Party must work skilfully and ably to convince the vast masses that its policy is correct.

We were absolutely right in April 1917, for we knew that things were moving towards the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and to the establishment of the power of the Soviets. But we did not yet call upon the broad working-class masses to rise in revolt against the power of the bourgeoisie. Why? Because the masses had not yet had the opportunity to convince themselves that our absolutely correct policy was correct. Only when the petty-bourgeois Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties had utterly discredited themselves on the fundamental questions of the revolution only when the masses were beginning to convince themselves that our policy was correct, only then did we lead the masses to the insurrection. And it is precisely because we led the masses to the insurrection at the proper time that we achieved victory then.

Such are the roots of the united front idea. Lenin put the united front tactics into operation precisely for the purpose of helping the vast working-class masses in the capitalist countries, who are imbued with the prejudices of Social-Democratic compromise, to learn from their own experience that the Communists' policy is correct and to pass to the side of Communism.

The sin the opposition have fallen into is that they utterly repudiate these tactics. At one time they were infatuated, foolishly and unwisely infatuated, with the united front tactics and heartily welcomed the conclusion of an agreement with the General Council in England, believing that this agreement was "one of the surest guarantees of peace," "one of the surest guarantees against intervention," one of the surest means of "making reformism in Europe harmless" (cf. Zinoviev's report to the Fourteenth Congress of the C. P. S. U. [B.]). But when their hopes of making reformism in Europe "harmless" with the aid of the Purcells and Hickses were cruelly dashed to the ground, they rushed to the other extreme and utterly repudiated the united front tactics idea.

Such comrades, is still another divergence, which demonstrates the opposition's complete abandonment of the Leninist united front tactics.

Seventh. The question of the Leninist Party principle, of Leninist unity in the C. P. S. U. (B.) and in the Comintern. Here, the opposition utterly break way from the Leninist principle of organization and take the path of organizing a second party, the path of organizing a new International.

Such are the seven fundamental questions which indicate that on all these questions the opposition have slipped into Menshevism.

Can these Menshevik views of the opposition be regarded as compatible with our Party's ideology, with our Party's program, with its tactics, with the tactics of the Comintern, with the organizational principles of Leninism?

Under no circumstances; not for a single moment!

You will ask: how could such an opposition come into being among us; where are their social roots? I think that the social roots of the opposition lie in the fact that the urban petty-bourgeois strata are being ruined under the conditions of our development, in the fact that these strata are discontented with the regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the striving of these strata to change this regime, to "improve" it in the spirit of establishing bourgeois democracy.

I have already said that as a result of our progress, as a result of the growth of our industry, as a result of the growth of the relative weight of the socialist forms of economy, a section of the petty-bourgeoisie, particularly the urban bourgeoisie, is being ruined and is going under. The opposition reflect the grumbling and discontent of these strata with the regime of the proletarian revolution.

Such are the social roots of the opposition.

4. *What is to be done further*

What is to be done further with the opposition?

Before passing to this question I would like to tell you the story about an experiment in joint work with Trotsky that Kamenev made in 1910. This is a very interesting question. The more so that it could give us some clue to the proper approach to the aforementioned question. In 1910 a plenum of our Central Committee was held abroad. It discussed the question of the relations between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, and Trotsky in particular (we were then a part of one party together with the Mensheviks, and we called ourselves a faction). The plenum decided in favour of conciliation with the Mensheviks and consequently, with Trotsky, in spite of Lenin, in opposition to Lenin. Lenin was left in the minority. But what about Kamenev? Kamenev undertook to cooperate with Trotsky. He did so with Lenin's knowledge and consent, because Lenin wanted to prove to Kamenev by experience that it was harmful and impermissible to cooperate with Trotsky against the Bolsheviks.

Listen to what Kamenev relates about this.

"In 1910, the majority of our faction made an attempt at conciliation and agreement with Comrade Trotsky. Vladimir Ilyich was strongly opposed to this attempt and, as a 'punishment,' as it were, for my persistence in the attempt to reach agreement with Trotsky, insisted that the Central Committee should send me as its delegate on the editorial board of Comrade Trotsky's newspaper. By the autumn of 1910—having worked on this editorial board for several months—I was convinced that Vladimir Ilyich was right in his opposition to my 'conciliatory' line, and with his consent I resigned from the editorial board of Comrade Trotsky's paper. Our rupture with Comrade Trotsky at that time was marked by a series of sharply worded articles in the Central Organ of the Party. It was at that time that Vladimir Ilyich suggested to me that I should write a pamphlet summing up our disagreements with the Liquidator-Mensheviks and with Comrade Trotsky. 'You have made an experiment in trying to reach agreement with the extreme Left (trotskyite) wing of the anti-Bolshevik groups, you have been convinced that agreement is impossible, and so you must write a summarizing pamphlet,' Vladimir Ilyich said to me. Naturally, Vladimir Ilyich insisted particularly that precisely on the subject of the relations between the Bolsheviks and what we then called trotskyism everything should be told . . . to the very end." (L. Kamenev's preface to his pamphlet *Two Parties*.)

What were the results of this? Listen further:

"The experiment in joint work with Trotsky—which, I make so bold to say, I performed with sincerity, as is proved precisely by the way Trotsky is now exploiting my letters and private conversations—showed that conciliation irresistibly slips into defence of liquidationism and definitely takes the side of the latter" (L. Kamenev, *Two Parties*.)

And further:

"Oh, had 'trotskyism' been victorious as a mood in the Party, what freedom there would have been for liquidationism, for otsovism, and for all the trends that were fighting the Party." (*Ibid.*)

Such, comrades, was an experiment in joint work with Trotsky. (*A voice*: "An instructive experiment.") Kameney, at that time, described these results in a special pamphlet that was published in 1911 under the title of *Two Parties*. I have no doubt that this pamphlet was very useful to all those comrades who still harboured illusions concerning cooperation with Trotsky.

And now I would ask: would not Kameney try to write another pamphlet, also bearing the title *Two Parties*, about his present experiment in trying to cooperate with Trotsky? (*General laughter. Applause.*) Perhaps there would be some use in his doing so. Of course, I can give Kameney no guarantee that Trotsky will not now use his letters and intimate conversations against him as he did then. (*General laughter.*) But it is scarcely worth while being afraid of that. At all events, a choice has to be made: either to be afraid that Trotsky will use Kameney's letters and divulge his secret conversations with Trotsky, in which case the danger arises of being outside the Party; or to cast off all fear and remain in the Party.

That is how the question stands now, comrades: one thing or another.

It is said that the opposition intend to present to the Congress some kind of a statement to the effect that they, the opposition, submit and will in future submit to all the Party decisions (*a voice*: "In the same way as they did in October 1926?"), dissolve their faction (*a voice*: "We have heard that twice.") and defend their views, which they do not renounce (*voices*: "Oh!" "No, we had better dissolve it ourselves!") within the limits of the Party Rules. (*Voices*: "With reservations." "Our limits are not elastic.")

I think, comrades, that nothing will come of this. (*Voices*: "Quite right!" *Prolonged applause.*) We too, comrades, have some experience of statements (*applause*), some experience of two statements (*voices*: "Quite right!"), of October 16, 1926, and of August 8, 1927. What did this experience lead to? Although I do not intend to write a pamphlet *Two Parties*, I dare say that this experience led to the most negative results (*voices*: "Quite right!") to the deception of the Party on two occasions, to the slackening of Party discipline. What grounds have the opposition now to demand that we, the Congress of a great Party, the Congress of Lenin's Party, should take their word after such an experience? (*Voices*: "It would be foolish." "Whoever does so will get done in.")

It is said that they are also raising the question of the reinstatement in the Party of those who have been expelled. (*Voices*: "That won't come off." "Let them go into the Menshevik marsh.") I think, comrades, that this too will not come off. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Why did the Party expel Trotsky and Zinoviev? Because they are the organizers of the entire anti-Party opposition (*voices*: "Quite right!"), because they set themselves the aim of breaking the laws of the Party, because they thought that nobody would dare to touch them, because they wanted to create for themselves the privileged position of nobles in the Party.

But do we want to have a privileged nobility and an unprivileged peasantry in the Party? Shall we Bolsheviks, who uprooted the nobility, restore them in our Party? (*Applause.*)

You ask: why did we expel Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Party? Because we do not want a nobility in the Party. Because there is one law in our Party, and all members of the Party have equal rights. (*Voices: "Quite right!" Prolonged applause.*)

If the opposition want to be in the Party let them submit to the will of the Party, to its laws, to its instructions, without reservations, without equivocation. If they refuse to do that, let them go wherever they please. (*Voices: "Quite right!" Applause.*) We do not want new laws providing privileges for the opposition, and we will not create them. (*Applause.*)

The question is raised about terms. We have only one set of terms: the opposition must disarm wholly and entirely, in ideological and organizational respects. (*Voices: "Quite right!" Prolonged applause.*)

They must renounce their anti-Bolshevik views openly and honestly, before the whole world. (*Voices: "Quite right!" Prolonged applause.*)

They must denounce the mistakes they have committed, mistakes which have grown into crimes against the Party, openly and honestly, before the whole world.

They must surrender their nuclei to us in order that the Party may be able to dissolve them without leaving a trace. (*Voices: "Quite right!" Prolonged applause.*)

Either that or else, let them leave the Party. If they don't go out, we'll throw them out. (*Voices: "Quite right!" Prolonged applause.*)

That is how the matter stands with the opposition, comrades.

IV. GENERAL SUMMARY

I will now conclude, comrades.

What is the general summary for the period under review? It is as follows:

1) *We have maintained peace with the surrounding states, in spite of enormous difficulties, in spite of the provocative attacks of the bourgeoisie of the "great powers";*

2) *we have strengthened the link between the working class of the U. S. S. R. and the workers in the imperialist countries and in the colonies, in spite of a multitude of obstacles, in spite of the ocean of slander poured out against us by the corrupt, hundred-mouthed bourgeois press;*

3) *we have raised the prestige of the dictatorship of the proletariat among the vast toiling masses in all parts of the world;*

4) *we, as a party, have helped the Comintern and its sections to increase their influence in all countries in the world;*

5) *we have done everything one party can do to develop and accelerate the world revolutionary movement;*

6) *we have raised our socialist industry, setting for it a record rate of development and establishing its predominance in the whole of our national economy;*

7) *we have established a link between socialist industry and peasant farming;*

8) *we have strengthened the alliance between the working class and the middle peasants, while relying on the peasant poor;*

9) *we have strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country in spite of the hostile international encirclement, and have shown the workers of all countries that the proletariat is able not only to destroy capitalism, but also to build Socialism;*

10) *we have strengthened the Party, upheld Leninism and utterly routed the opposition.*

Such is the general summary.

What is the conclusion? Only one conclusion can be drawn: we are on the right road; our Party's policy is correct. (Voices: "Quite right!" *Applause.*)

And from this it follows that, continuing along this road, we will certainly achieve the victory of Socialism in our country, the victory of Socialism in all countries. (*Prolonged applause.*)

But this does not mean that we will not encounter difficulties on our road. There will be difficulties. But difficulties do not daunt us, for we Bolsheviks have been steeled in the furnace of revolution.

There will be difficulties. But we will surmount them, as we have surmounted difficulties up till now, for we are Bolsheviks, who have been wrought by Lenin's iron Party in order to combat difficulties and surmount them, and not to snivel and whine.

And precisely because we are Bolsheviks we will certainly be victorious.

Comrades! To the victory of Communism in our country, to the victory of Communism all over the world—forward! (*Loud and prolonged applause. All rise and give Comrade Stalin an ovation. The "Internationale" is sung.*)

REPLY TO DÉBATE ON THE POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, DECEMBER 7, 1927

Comrades, after the speeches delivered by a number of delegates, there is little left for me to say. Concerning the speeches delivered by Yevdokimov and Muralov I cannot say anything in substance, for they provide no material for it. Only one thing could be said about them: Allah, forgive them their trespasses, for they know not what they are talking about. (*Laughter, applause.*) I would like to deal with the speeches delivered by Rakovsky and, particularly, Kamenev, whose speech was the most pharisaical and hypocritical of all the speeches of the opposition. (Voices: "Quite right!")

I. CONCERNING RAKOVSKY'S SPEECH

a) *Concerning foreign policy.* I think that Rakovsky should not have touched upon the question of war and foreign policy here. Everybody knows that at the Moscow conference Rakovsky made a fool of himself on the question of war. Evidently, he came here and took the floor in order to rectify that blunder, but he made a bigger fool of himself. (*Laughter.*) I think it would have been better for Rakovsky had he kept quiet about foreign policy.

b) *Concerning Left and Right.* Rakovsky asserts that the opposition are the Left sector of our Party. This is enough to make a cat laugh, comrades. Evidently, such statements are made for the self-consolation of political bankrupts. It has been proved that the opposition are the Menshevik wing of our Party, that the opposition have slipped into Menshevism, that, objectively, the opposition have become a tool of the bourgeois elements. All this has been proved over and over again. How can there be any talk here about the opposition's Leftism? How can a Menshevik group which, objectively, has become a tool of the "third force," of the bourgeois elements, how can such a group be more Left than the Bolsheviks? Is it not obvious that the opposition are the Right, the Menshevik wing of the C. P. S. U. (B.)?

Evidently, Rakovsky has got himself entirely mixed up and has confused the right with the left. Do you remember Gogol's Seliphan? — "Oh you, dirty legs. . . . You don't know right from left!"

c) *Concerning the opposition's assistance.* Rakovsky says that the opposition are willing to support the Party if the imperialists attack us. How generous, to be sure! They, a tiny group, representing scarcely half of one per cent of our Party, graciously promise to assist us if the imperialists attack our country. We don't believe in your assistance, and we don't need it! We ask only one thing of you: Do not hinder us, stop hindering us! All the rest we will do ourselves, you can be sure about that. (Voices: "Quite right!" Applause.)

d) *Concerning "signalmen."* Rakovsky says further that the opposition signalled to us the dangers, the difficulties, the "doom" that face our country. Fine "signalmen," indeed, who want to save the Party when they themselves are rushing to their doom and need saving! They can barely keep on their feet themselves and yet want to save others! Isn't it ridiculous, comrades? (Laughter.)

Picture to yourselves a tiny boat at sea, barely able to keep afloat, ready to founder at any moment, and picture to yourselves a magnificent steamship powerfully cutting the waves and confidently making headway. What would you say if this tiny boat rushed to save the huge steamship? (Laughter.) It would be more than ridiculous, would it not? This is exactly the position the "signalmen" of our opposition are in now. They are signalling to us dangers, difficulties, "doom," and what not, but they themselves are sinking, do not realize that they have already gone to the bottom.

Speaking of themselves as "signalmen," the opposition thereby claim the leadership of the Party, of the working class, of the country. The question is—on what grounds? Have the opposition given any practical proof that they are capable of leading anything, let alone the Party, the class, the country? Is it not a fact that the opposition, headed by men like Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev, have been leading their group for two years already and, leading their group, the leaders of the opposition have brought it to utter bankruptcy? Is it not a fact that during these two years the opposition led their group from defeat to defeat? What does this show if not that the leaders of the opposition are bankrupt, that their leadership has proved to be leadership to defeat, not to victory? Since the leaders of the opposition failed in a small thing, what grounds are there for thinking that they will be successful in a big one? Is it not obvious that people who went bankrupt in leading a small group cannot

possibly be entrusted with the leadership of such a big thing as the Party, the working class, the country?

That is what our "signalmen" refuse to understand.

II. CONCERNING KAMENEV'S SPEECH

I will pass to Kamenev's speech. That speech was the most hypocritical, most pharisaical, most mendacious and most rascally speech of all the opposition speeches delivered here, in this rostrum. (Voices: "Quite right!" Applause.)

a) *Two faces in one.* The first thing Kamenev tried to do in his speech was to wipe out the traces. The representatives of the Party spoke here about our Party's achievements, about our successes in construction, about the improvement in our work, etc. Further, they spoke about the Menshevik sins the opposition have fallen into, about their having slipped into Menshevism by denying the possibility of successfully building Socialism in our country, denying the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R., denying the expediency of the policy of alliance between the working class and the middle peasants, spreading slander about Thermidor, etc. Lastly, they said that these views of the opposition are incompatible with membership of our Party, that the opposition must abandon these Menshevik views if they want to be in the Party.

Well? Kamenev could think of nothing better than evade these questions, to wipe out the traces and pass on. He is asked about vital questions concerning our program, our policy, about our work of construction; but he evades them, as if they did not concern him. Can this behaviour of Kamenev's be called a serious attitude towards the matter? How is this behaviour of the opposition to be explained? It can be explained only by one thing: the desire to deceive the Party, to lull its vigilance, to fool the Party once again.

The opposition have two faces: a pharisaically smiling one, and a Menshevik anti-revolutionary one. They show the Party their pharisaical smiling face when the Party puts pressure on them and demands that they should abandon their factionalism, their splitting policy. They show their Menshevik anti-revolutionary face when they set out to appeal to the nonproletarian forces, when they set out to appeal to the "street" against the Party, against the Soviet regime. Just now, as you see, they have turned their pharisaically smiling face to us in the endeavour to deceive the Party once again. That is why Kamenev tried to wipe out the traces by evading the vital questions on which we disagree. Can this duplicity, this two-facedness, be tolerated any longer?

One of two things: either the opposition want to talk seriously to the Party, in which case they must throw off their mask; or they think of retaining two faces, in which case they will find themselves outside the Party. (Voices: "Quite right!")

b) *Concerning the traditions of Bolshevism.* Kamenev asserts that there is nothing in the traditions of our Party, in the traditions of Bolshevism, that justifies the demand that a member of the Party should give up certain views that are incompatible with our Party's ideology, with our program. Is that true? Of course not. Nay more, it is a lie, comrades!

Is it not a fact that all of us, including Kamenev, expelled Myasnikov and the Myasnikovites from the Party? Why did we expel them?

Because their Menshevik views were incompatible with the Party's views.

Is it not a fact that all of us, including Kamenev, expelled a section of the "workers' opposition" from the Party? Why did we expel it? Because its Menshevik views were incompatible with our Party's views.

Why were Ossovsky and Dashkovsky expelled from the Party? Why were Maslov, Ruth Fischer, Katz, and others expelled from the Comintern? Because their views were incompatible with the ideology of the Comintern, with the ideology of the C. P. S. U. (B.).

Our Party would not be a Leninist Party if it permitted the existence of anti-Leninist elements within our organizations. If this were permitted, why, then, not bring the Mensheviks into our Party? What is to be done with such people who, while in the ranks of our Party, have slipped into Menshevism and conduct propaganda in favour of their anti-Leninist views? What can there be in common between the Leninist Party and such people? Kamenev calumniate our Party, breaks away from the traditions of our Party, breaks away from the traditions of Bolshevism in asserting that we can tolerate within our Party people who profess and preach Menshevik views. And it is precisely because Kamenev, and the entire opposition with him, trample upon the revolutionary traditions of our Party, precisely because of this, the Party demands that the opposition should abandon their anti-Leninist views.

c) *The opposition's sham devotion to principles.* Kamenev asserts that it is difficult for him and the rest of the opposition to abandon their views because they are accustomed, in the Bolshevik manner, to defend their views. He says that it would be unprincipled on the part of the opposition to abandon their views. It appears, then, that the leaders of the opposition are men of high principle. Is that true, comrades? Do the leaders of the opposition really cherish their principles, their views, their convictions so highly? It doesn't seem like it, comrades. It doesn't seem like it, bearing in mind the history of the formation of the opposition bloc. (*Laughter.*) The very opposite is the case. History shows, facts show, that nobody has jumped so easily from one set of principles to another, nobody has changed his views so easily and freely as the leaders of our opposition have done. Why, then, should they not abandon their views now, since the interests of the Party demand it?

Here are a few examples from the history of trotskyism.

It is known that Lenin, mustering the Party, convened a conference of Bolsheviks in Prague in 1912. It is known that this conference was of vital importance in the history of our Party, for it drew a dividing line between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks and united the Bolshevik organizations all over the country into a single Bolshevik Party.

It is known that in that same year, 1912, a Menshevik conference of the August bloc, headed by Trotsky, was held. Further, it is known that this conference proclaimed war on the Bolshevik conference and called upon the workers' organizations to liquidate Lenin's Party. What did the conference of Trotsky's August bloc accuse the Prague Bolshevik conference of at that time? Of all mortal sins. It accused it of usurpation, of sectarianism, of organizing a "coup d'état" in the Party, and the devil knows what else.

This is what the conference of the August bloc said at that time about the Bolshevik conference in Prague in its statement to the Second International:

"This conference declares that the conference" (the Bolshevik conference in Prague in 1912—*J. St.*) "is an open attempt of a group of persons who have quite deliberately led the Party to a split, to usurp the Party's flag, and it expresses its profound regret that several party organizations and comrades have fallen victims to this deception and have thereby facilitated the splitting and usurpatory policy of *Lenin's sect*. This conference expresses the conviction that all the party organizations in Russia and abroad will protest against the coup d'etat that has been brought about, will refuse to recognize the central bodies elected at that conference, and will by every means help to restore the unity of the Party by the convocation of a genuine all-party conference." (From the statement of the August bloc to the Second International, published in *Vorwärts*, March 26, 1912.)

As you see, everything is here: Lenin's sect, usurpation, and a "coup d'etat" in the Party.

Well? A few years passed—and Trotsky abandoned these views of his concerning the Bolshevik Party. He not only abandoned his views, but crawled on his belly to the Bolshevik Party, joining it as one of its active members. (*Laughter.*)

What grounds are there for assuming, after all this, that Trotsky and the trotskyites will not be able once again to abandon their views about the Thermidor trends in our Party, about usurpation, etc.?

Another example from the same sphere.

It is known that at the end of 1924, Trotsky published a pamphlet entitled "*The Lessons of October.*" It is known that in this pamphlet Trotsky qualified Kamenev and Zinoviev as the Right, semi-Menshevik wing of our Party. It is known that Trotsky's pamphlet served as the cause of a whole discussion in our Party. Well? Only about a year passed—and Trotsky abandoned his views and proclaimed that Zinoviev and Kamenev represented not the Right but the Left, the revolutionary wing of our Party.

Another example, this time from the history of the Zinoviev group. It is known that Zinoviev and Kamenev have written a whole pile of pamphlets against trotskyism. It is known that as far back as 1925, Zinoviev and Kamenev declared, together with the whole Party, that trotskyism is incompatible with Leninism. It is known that Zinoviev and Kamenev, together with the whole Party, carried resolutions at the congresses of our Party and at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, concerning the petty-bourgeois deviation of trotskyism. Well? Less than a year had passed after that when they renounced their views and proclaimed that Trotsky's group is a genuine Leninist and revolutionary group within our Party. (*A voice: "Mutual amnesty!"*)

Such, comrades, are the facts, the number of which could be increased if so desired.

Is it not obvious from this that the high principledness of the leaders of the opposition that Kamenev tells us about here is a fairy tale that has nothing in common with reality?

Is it not obvious that nobody in our Party has been able to renounce his principles as easily and freely as Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Kamenev? (*Laughter.*)

The question is: what grounds are there for assuming that the leaders of the opposition, who have abandoned their principles, their

views, several times already, will not be able to abandon them once again?

Is it not obvious that our demand that the opposition should abandon their Menshevik views is not as harsh for the leaders of the opposition as Kamenev tries to make out? (*Laughter.*) This is not the first time they have had occasion to abandon their views, so why should they not abandon them just once again? (*Laughter.*)

d) *Either the Party, or the opposition.* Kamenev asserts that it is wrong to call upon the opposition to abandon some of their views which have become incompatible with the Party's ideology and program. I have already shown how utterly foolish this assertion is, bearing in mind the opposition bloc's past and present. But let us assume for a moment that Kamenev is right. What will the position be then? Can the Party, our Party, abandon its views, convictions, principles? Can we demand that our Party should abandon its views, its principles? The Party has arrived at the definite conviction that the opposition must abandon their anti-Leninist views, that if they do not do so they will have to fly out of the Party. If it is wrong to demand that the opposition should abandon their convictions, why is it right to demand that the Party should abandon its views and convictions about the opposition? According to Kamenev, however, the opposition cannot abandon their anti-Leninist views, but the Party must abandon its view that the opposition cannot be allowed to remain in our Party unless the opposition abandon their anti-Leninist views. Where's the logic? (*Laughter, applause.*)

Kamenev asserts that the opposition are brave men who stand up for their convictions to the last. I have little faith in the bravery and devotion to principle of the leaders of the opposition. I have exceptionally little faith in the bravery, for example, of Zinoviev or Kamenev (*laughter*), who abuse Trotsky one day and embrace him the next. A voice: "They are accustomed to playing leap-frog." But let us assume for a moment that the leaders of the opposition have retained a particle of bravery and devotion to principle. What grounds are there for assuming that the Party is less brave and devoted to principle than, say, Zinoviev, Kamenev or Trotsky? What grounds are there for assuming that it is easier for the Party to abandon its convictions about the opposition, the conviction that their Menshevik views are incompatible with the Party's ideology and program, than it is for the leaders of the opposition to abandon their views, which every now and again they change like gloves? (*Laughter.*)

Is it not obvious from this that Kamenev is demanding that the Party should abandon its views about the opposition and their Menshevik mistakes? Is not Kamenev going too far? Will he not agree that it is dangerous to go so far?

The question stands like this: either the Party, or the opposition. Either the opposition abandon their anti-Leninist views; or they do not do so—in which case not even the memory of them will be left in the Party. (*Voices: "Quite right!" Applause.*)

e) *The opposition have broken away from the traditions of Bolshevism.* Kamenev asserts that there is nothing in Bolshevik traditions to justify the demand that members of the Party should abandon their views. Speakers here have fully proved that this is wrong. Facts confirm that Kamenev is telling a downright untruth.

But the question is: is there anything in Bolshevik traditions to justify what the opposition has taken, and continues to take, the liberty to do? The opposition organized a faction and converted it into a party within our Bolshevik Party. But who has ever heard that Bolshevik traditions permitted anybody to do such an outrageous thing? How can one talk about the Bolshevik traditions and at the same time cause a split in the Party and form within it a new, anti-Bolshevik party?

Further. The opposition organized an underground printing plant, entering into a bloc with bourgeois intellectuals, who, in their turn, found to be in a bloc with avowed Whiteguards. The question is: how can one talk about the traditions of Bolshevism after committing such an outrageous deed, which borders on downright treachery to the Party and the Soviet regime?

Lastly, the opposition organized an anti-Party, anti-Soviet demonstration, appealing to the "street," appealing to the nonproletarian elements. But how can one talk about Bolshevik traditions after appealing to the "street" against your own Party, against your own Soviet regime? Who has ever heard that Bolshevik traditions permitted such an outrageous deed, which borders on downright counter-revolution?

Is it not obvious that Kamenev talks about the traditions of Bolshevism in order to screen his rupture with these traditions in the interests of his anti-Bolshevik group?

The opposition gained nothing from their appeal to the "street" because they turned out to be an insignificant coterie. That was not their fault, it was their misfortune. But supposing the opposition had had a little more strength behind it. Is it not obvious that their appeal to the "street" would have grown into an open putsch against the Soviet regime? Is it difficult to understand that, in essence, this attempt of the opposition's differed in no way from the well-known attempt of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries in 1918? (*Voices: "Quite right!"*) By rights, for these attempts we ought to have arrested all the active members of the opposition on November 7. (*Voices: "Quite right!" Prolonged applause.*) We did not do so only because we pitied them, we displayed magnanimity and wanted to give them an opportunity to come to their senses. And they interpreted our magnanimity as weakness.

Is it not obvious that Kamenev's talk about Bolshevik traditions is empty and hypocritical chatter intended for the purpose of screening the opposition's rupture with the traditions of Bolshevism?

f) *Concerning sham unity and genuine unity.* Kamenev, here, sang to us about unity. He simply warbled, begging the Party to come to the rescue and establish unity "at all costs." They, the leaders of the opposition, don't you see, are opposed to the two-party policy. They, don't you see, are in favour of party unity "at all costs." And yet, we know for certain that at the very moment that Kamenev was singing about unity here, his like-minded friends were passing resolutions at their secret meetings to the effect that the opposition's statement about unity was a manoeuvre for the purpose of preserving their forces and of continuing their splitting policy. On the one hand, the opposition sing about unity at the Congress of the Leninist Party. On the other hand, the opposition work underground to split the Party, to organize a second party, to disrupt party unity. This is

what they call unity "at all costs." Is it not time to drop this criminal, rascally game?

Kamenev talked about unity. Unity with whom? Unity with the Party or with Shcherbakov? Is it not time to understand that Leninists and gentlemen of the Shcherbakov ilk cannot be united in one Party?

Kamenev talked about unity. Unity with whom? With Maslov and Souvarine, or with the Comintern and the C. P. S. U. (B.)? Is it not time to understand that one cannot speak of unity with the C. P. S. U. (B.) and the Comintern while remaining united with the Maslovs and Souvarines? Is it not time to understand that it is impossible to unite the Leninist views with the opposition's Menshevik views?

Unite Lenin with Abramovich? No, thanks, comrades! It is time to drop this rascally game.

That is why I think that Kamenev's talk about unity "at all costs" is a pharisaical game for the purpose of deceiving the Party.

We need genuine unity and not mock unity. Have we genuine, Leninist unity in our Party? Yes, we have. When 99 percent of our Party vote for the Party and against the opposition, that is real, genuine, proletarian unity such as there has not been in our Party before. Here is this Party Congress, at which there is not a single opposition delegate. (*Applause.*) What is this if not the unity of our Leninist Party? It is what we call the Leninist unity of the Bolshevik Party.

g) "*The lid on the opposition!*" The Party has done all that possibly could be done to put the opposition on the Leninist road. The Party has displayed the utmost leniency and magnanimity to enable the opposition to come to their senses and rectify their mistakes. The Party has called upon the opposition openly and honestly, before the whole Party, to abandon their anti-Leninist views. The Party has called upon the opposition to admit their mistakes and denounce them in order to free themselves of them once and for all. The Party has called upon the opposition completely to disarm in ideological and organizational respects.

What is the Party's object in doing so? Its object is to finish with the opposition and pass on to positive work. Its object is to liquidate the opposition at last and obtain the opportunity to get right down to our great work of construction.

Lenin said at the Tenth Congress: "We don't want an opposition now . . . the opposition is finished now, the lid is on it, we have had enough of oppositions now!"

The Party wants this slogan of Lenin's to be put into effect at last in the ranks of our Party. (*Prolonged applause.*)

If the opposition disarms—well and good. If they refuse to disarm—we will disarm them. (*Voices: "Quite right!" Applause.*)

III. SUMMARY

From Kamenev's speech it is evident that the opposition do not intend to disarm completely. The opposition's statement of December 3 indicates the same thing. Evidently, the opposition prefer to be outside the Party. Well, let them be outside the Party. There is nothing terrible, nor exceptional, nor surprising in the fact that they

prefer to be outside the Party, that they have cut themselves off from the Party. If you study the history of our Party you will find that always, at certain serious turns taken by our Party, a certain section of the old leaders fell out of the cart of the Bolshevik Party and made room for new men. A turn is a serious thing, comrades. A turn is dangerous for those who do not sit firmly in the Party cart. Not everybody can keep his balance when a turn is made. You turn the cart—and when you look around you find that somebody has fallen out. (*Applause.*)

Let us take 1903, the period of the Second Congress of our Party. That was the period of the Party's turn from agreement with the Liberals to a mortal struggle against the liberal bourgeoisie, from preparing for the struggle against tsarism to open struggle for the utter rout of tsarism and feudalism. At that time the Party was headed by the six: Plekhanov, Zassulich, Martov, Lenin, Axelrod and Potressov. The turn proved fatal for five out of the six. They fell out of the cart. Lenin alone remained. (*Applause.*) It turned out that the old leaders of the Party, the founders of the Party (Plekhanov, Zassulich and Axelrod) plus two young ones (Martov and Potressov) were against one, also a young one, Lenin. If only you knew how much howling, weeping and wailing there was then that the Party was doomed, that the Party would not hold out, that nothing could be done without the old leaders. The howling and wailing passed away, however, but the facts remained. And the facts were that precisely because the five left, the Party got on to the right road. It is now obvious to every Bolshevik that if Lenin had not waged a resolute struggle against the five, if the five had not been pushed aside, our Party could not have rallied as a Bolshevik Party capable of leading the proletarians to the revolution against the bourgeoisie. (*Voices: "That's true!"*)

Let us take the next period, the period 1907–1908. That was the period of our Party's turn from open revolutionary struggle against tsarism to flanking methods of struggle, the utilization of all and sundry legal possibilities—from insurance funds to the rostrum of the Duma. It was the period of retreat after we had been defeated in the 1905 Revolution. This turn made it necessary for us to learn new methods of struggle in order, after mustering our forces, to resume the open revolutionary struggle against tsarism. But this turn proved fatal for a number of old Bolsheviks. Alexinsky fell out of the cart. At one time he was not at all a bad Bolshevik. Bogdanov fell out. He was one of the most serious leaders of our Party. Rozhkov—a former member of the Central Committee of our Party—fell out. And so forth. Of howling and wailing that the Party would perish there was, perhaps, no less than in 1903. The howling, however, passed away, but the facts remained. And the facts showed that the Party would not have been able to get out on to the road under the new conditions of struggle had it not purged itself of the people who had wavered and were hindering the cause of the revolution. What was Lenin's object at that time? He had only one object: to rid the Party of the unstable and whining elements as quickly as possible, so that they should not be getting in our way. (*Applause.*)

That is how our Party grew, comrades.

Our Party is a living organism. As is the case with every organism, it goes through the process of metabolism: the old and obsolete passes away (*applause*), the new and growing lives and develops. (*Applause*.) Some pass away, at the top and at the bottom. New ones grow, at the top and at the bottom, and lead the cause forward. That is how our Party grew. That is how it will continue to grow.

The same must be said about the present period of our revolution. We are in the period of a turn from the restoration of industry and agriculture to the reconstruction of the entire national economy, to its reconstruction on a new technical basis, when the building of Socialism is no longer merely in prospect, but a living, practical matter, which calls for the surmounting of extremely great difficulties of an internal and external character.

You know that this turn has proved fatal for the leaders of our opposition, who were scared by the difficulties and intended to turn the Party in the direction of surrender. And if some of the leaders who do not want to sit firmly in the cart now fall out of the cart, there is nothing surprising in this. It will only rid the Party of people who are getting in its way and hindering its progress. Evidently, they seriously want to free themselves from our Party cart. Well, if some of the old leaders who have turned into trash intend to fall out of the cart—a good riddance! (*Loud and prolonged applause. The whole Congress rises and gives Comrade Stalin an ovation.*)

[*Pravda*, Nos. 279 and 282, December 6 and 9, 1927.]

The following translations from official Soviet publications are reprinted from a work written by Reverend Doctor Emhardt, who was at the time secretary of ecclesiastical relations of the National Council of the Episcopal Church.¹ An interesting feature of Emhardt's first exhibit is its condemnation of Russian nationalist tendencies. Eight years later, patriotism was firmly established as the correct Bolshevik line and Bukharin was on the way to liquidation. The report on the Association of the Godless appeared toward the end of a comparative letup in the harassment of the churches. A second major wave of persecution of religion coincided with the destruction of the New Economic Policy and the inauguration of the second Socialist offensive in 1929.²

EXHIBIT No. 29

[Leningrad, *Red Gazette*, May 7, 1928]

LET US PIN OUR COLORS TO OUR YOUTH

N. I. Bukharin in his report before the Congress of the V. L. K. S. M. (All-Russian Leninist Comsomol) of the whole U. S. S. R. spoke of the education of our youth.

• • • In the midst of our country the Church members, the sectarians, and the ideological Nepmen all put out their feelers toward our youth, trying to educate it according to the ideal of the bourgeoisie, that is, in its own image. It would be stupid to think that the contemporary Church has remained the same as it was in the last century.

¹ William Chauncey Emhardt, *Religion in Soviet Russia*, Milwaukee, Morehouse, 1929, pp. 36-42. Rev. Dr. Emhardt's work is especially valuable for its reproduction in English of many official documents which dealt with the repression of religious activities in the U. S. S. R.

² Curtiss, *Russian Church*, pp. 208-247. Timasheff, *Religion in Soviet Russia*, pp. 38-45. William Henry Chamberlin, *Soviet Russia: A Living Record and a History*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1931, Chapter XIII: The Struggle for the Russian Soul. Chamberlin describes the 1928-29 persecution of the Baptist organizations in Soviet Russia.

The Churches have become intensely modern. For instance, the Mohammedan mosques can be entered by women; lectures on morality are being read there. The clergy organize schools of sewing; sermons on international situations are given in church, wall newspapers are printed; in short, both the Church members and the sectarians are quite up to date in their propaganda methods. Therefore, the struggle against religion demands a great effort and much attention on our part. Who is at the head of all these societies of total abstinensers, teetotallers, Christian Associations, etc.? In many cases it is our class foes, the reactionaries. . . .

Other hostile ideological tendencies are also putting out their feelers toward our youth; for instance, nationalism. Antisemitism, this "socialism of fools," is also one of the antiproletarian influences among the growing generation.

We are entering a period when the central figure among our laboring youth is a man who has not yet met his class foe in open battle. That layer of the Comsomol which took part in civil war is growing ever thinner and thinner. Therefore, it is quite natural that the younger elements will understand the general tendency of our upbuilding much less clearly, but on the other hand will feel all our sores and sickness much more acutely. Therefore, it is particularly imperative that we should preach to our youth the necessity of carrying on our upbuilding in a reasonable manner along the whole front.

* * * * *

THE ASSOCIATION OF THE GODLESS

The Association of the Godless is a voluntary society, which unites all the workers who have decided to struggle against religion.

At present the Association numbers about 250,000 members. Of course, this figure is not considerable if we compare it with the actual number of godless living in the U. S. S. R.: One million party men, two million Comsomoltzy, etc. But still it is quite an appreciable figure and is constantly growing. In some of the organizations the growth of the membership within the last years has attained 200-300%. It is in the largest centers that the number of the godless is comparatively small. For instance, the Leningrad Association of the Godless numbers no more than 13,000 men, and that of Moscow 7,000 men. In Ivanovo-Voznesensk there is only one city group of the Association. The present aim of the Association is to make it reach the masses, so that many million members should voluntarily take part in it.

What new layers of society ought to flow into this Association?

At present the Association of the Godless gives us approximately the following picture: 50% are party men or Comsomoltzy; 50% are nonparty men; 80% are men; 20% are women; 60% belong to the cities; 40% to the villages.

This state of affairs is not quite satisfactory; the greatest number of the Godless do not belong to the part of the population which we most desire to attract. The aim of the Association is to attract the peasants, the women, and the nonparty men.

The weak point in the Association is the work in the local groups. The total number of groups is only 6,000 and the work among them is

not strongly developed; the general meetings are very often not assembled at all, the subscription fees not paid; the so-called International copeck, *i. e.*, the one copeck a year which is collected for the benefit of the International Proletarian Freethinkers, is also very inexactly paid in; the inspection committees do not work; the whole activity of the groups limits itself in most cases to one or two lectures and to the meetings of the groups. That is why the masses are indifferent to the work of the groups of the Association; that is why many of the groups are crumbling away.

But in this respect, too, the last year has brought a great change. The work of the leading organs of the Association has been specially directed to the activity of the groups. The Central Soviet of the Association has published two antireligious textbooks: one for the workmen antireligious groups, and one for those of the peasants; it has also opened a competition for the best group of the Godless; the provincial soviets give instruction and revise the work of the city and village groups. Their reports are read during the meetings of the Central Soviet; the needs of the groups are discussed during the conferences, meetings, etc.

All these measures have greatly improved the work of the groups, have brought more life into them, and attracted the attention of wide social masses to the activity of the Godless. This year the work of the groups and of the "corners" has not been badly done. The anti-Christmas and anti-Easter campaigns have been interestingly carried out. The collection for the airplane, *The Godless*, is going on well.

An interesting kind of work of the Association has been going on in the villages. Here the Godless have decided to make their work more actively practical. For the money which had been collected at an anti-religious lecture, the group of the village Donzovka (Voroneje) organized a "hut-reading room," made an excursion to a model field, mended some bridges, farmed a model farm. In the village Novy (Vladimir) the group of the Godless induced the village to adopt a more advanced form of farming, to close the church, to establish a school in the former rooms of the priest, and to organize a cooperative store and other useful institutions.

Some villages, for instance the village Tulutchevo, Voroneje Province, have become well known as model godless villages, thanks to group work. In Tulutchevo nearly all the work has been carried on by practical measures. A club has been established in the former church; in the house of the priest, a school. Formerly the school was crowded in the lodge of the church warden and contained only 30 children; at present there are 200, who attend by turn; the third turn is taken by adult illiterates. A tractor has been purchased and an improvement for the threshing machine. A new order of life is being established in the village; drunkenness and ikons are no more to be found. Instead of the religious ceremonies we now see the so-called "Red Weddings," the "October Festivals."

Dozen of such examples could be quoted. The aim of the Association's activity is to spread this successful form of work in all the groups; also to enlarge the network of groups in all the factories, clubs, other institutions, in the "hut-reading rooms," in the "red corners," in the "home cooperatives," etc.

We must speak with special attention of an important branch of activity undertaken by the association, namely the preparation of

active leaders. In all the provinces and in many districts and other centers a widespread network of seminaries, courses, groups, etc., has been organized this year. . . . In Ivanovo-Voznesensk 30 qualified propaganda agents were set free from all their work for two months so as to be able to give all their time to anti-religious instruction; and after this term was over every district had several anti-religious lecturers and organizers. In a series of cities—Nijny, Moscow, Tashkent—special courses for the preparation of anti-religious organizers were held in autumn.

The Associations of the Godless take part in all kinds of preparatory courses: that of party leaders, of the comsomoltzy, of the women's section, of political and educational leaders, of the military, club, and school leaders, of the directors of the "hut-reading rooms," etc.

About 10 percent (*i. e.* 25,000) of the total number belonging to the Association are active. Many of the active godless propaganda agents are pushed forward and elected for a wider professional and soviet scope of activity; they are elected as club leaders, as instructors, etc.

This year for the first time central anti-religious courses were organized in Moscow. Thirty members of the provincial active leaders took part in them. Such courses will be repeated each year.

Particular attention must be given to methods and the scientific part of the Association's activity. In many provinces we find experimental cabinets of the godless. In twenty provinces there exist anti-religious museums. Here we find not only posters, publications, but also a rich collection of exposed material: local "miracle working ikons," relics of saints, all kinds of amulets, statues of saints, etc. In some towns there are even more special anti-religious clubs. These have libraries and reading rooms; lectures are being given in them. "Godless corners" are organized, newspapers are posted on the walls.

Recently good use has also been made of the radio. The Central Soviet of the Godless broadcasts from the station of the Comintern about four or five reports a month. Many of them are then repeatedly broadcast by the provincial transmission centers. The radio reports are of two kinds: They either transmit current political and social events—so-called episodic communications—or they are cyclic, thus forming a kind of anti-religious radio self-education. Besides this, and with the aim of discouraging the masses from going to church every Sunday morning, a particular kind of anti-religious newspaper is being broadcast—short stories, current events, short articles. All this is intermingled with anti-religious popular songs, scenes, etc. The radio is used well in the provinces of Samara, Penza, and others. In Samara, it is already two years since lectures, newspapers, etc., began to be transmitted in this manner.

Among the artistic forms of anti-religious work we must name the so-called "living Newspaper." There are about 7 or 8 of them in Samara, in Moscow, in Leningrad, in the Tchernomorie, in Novgorod, etc. The Moscow living newspaper spreads its news to over 50,000 persons during its journey.

The publishing activity of the Association occupies an especially important place. The Central Soviet publishes three periodicals: The newspaper *Biezbojnik*, the journal *Biezbojnik*, and the journal the *Antireligioznik*. Besides this the Association has something

of a monopoly for the publication of (anti-religious) text-books, manuals, and other school equipment.

National anti-religious work has also taken wider proportions. In the Ukraine we have the monthly journal the *Biezvirnik*; the Tartar section "Dagrilar," has a fortnightly journal, *Fen-Em-Din*. Soon journals will be published in Kazan, in Bashkeria, and in some other places.

Even the provincial Associations develop some activity in the direction of publications. We can name the Briansk Association which has published a series of 24 letters on the question of anti-religious education. The Tver Association has published a large methodical collection. Some work in this line has been also done by the Voroneje, the Kuban, and the Kostroma provinces.

Some provinces, for instance those of Samara, Penza, Voroneje, and others, make use of the party and soviet press for their anti-religious propaganda. The other provinces are gradually following suit.

The last section of the work which we wish to mention is the foreign section. The Association of the Godless is a member of the International Proletarian Freethinkers which have a membership of 2,000,000, mostly social democrats. The aim of the Godless is to inculcate to the West European movement the liberty loving viewpoint of Lenin in the question of anti-religious struggle; i. e., in the connection which exists between anti-religious propaganda and the current problem of class strife.

To further this aim the Association furnishes the West European press with articles, supplies it with information, takes part in the meetings of the Executive Committee and in the Congresses, etc. In the course of a short time two delegations of freethinkers have visited the U. S. S. R., being invited to do so by the Association of the Godless. Since their return to their countries they have published some booklets describing their impressions, and are now leading an active propaganda against the war which is being prepared for and for one undivided front with the laboring masses of the U. S. S. R.

During the last congress of the I. P. F. (January 1st) a communistic majority was attained in the newly elected Executive Committee. All this opens wide perspectives before the Association of the Godless in the realm of international anti-religious work. Along general lines, such is the activity of the Association of the Godless.

If we cast even a cursory glance at the immense task which has been set before anti-religious propaganda as a result of the educational revolution, we shall immediately see how very insignificant the work of the Association still is.

Even yet the religious organizations, though they have been very much demolished by the October Revolution, are still mightier than the Association of the Godless. There are 200,000 preachers, priests, and missionaries; there are a great number of prayer houses for meetings, a very considerable yearly budget for the spreading of the work; about 30 publications; a series of religious schools for the preparation of propaganda agents, etc.

The Association of the Godless will be able to play an important part in anti-religious propaganda only—the work will be carried on not by one but by all of the party-soviet, professional, and social organizations.

This has unfortunately not been the case till now.

It has been the great merit of the Association of the Godless—and it was no easy matter for it to achieve it—to insist on a decisive change of action and the issuing of positive instructions from all the organizations in the matter of more energetic anti-religious struggle.

At present we see a complete change of view in this realm. All organizations—the P. U. R. (Red Army Educational Clubs), the V. Z. S. P. S. (All-Russian Central Trade Unions), and the Narcompros (Peoples Commissariat of Education), and the Z. L. V. L. K. S. M. (All-Russian Leninist Comsomol)—all give considerable attention to anti-religious propaganda and to the work of the Association of the Godless.

The resolution carried by the Fifteenth Congress has awakened the attention of the party and of social opinion still more to the anti-religious question. There is no doubt that thanks to this the Association will have greater possibilities for spreading its work, for strengthening its ranks, for transforming the union into one of many million volunteer workers.

To achieve this is the present aim of the Association of the Godless.

F. OLESCHUK.

Among other reasons, the next exhibit is interesting because in 1928 it got its author, Vyacheslav Polonsky, into serious trouble for the very things that might have made him a Soviet hero in the latter part of 1934.¹ Polonsky died in 1932. Here he outlines Lenin's attitude toward art and literature and, above all, toward the Russian classics. Like Lenin, Stalin was an anti-Marxist "petty bourgeois" in his artistic tastes. There was a difference, however. While Lenin preferred the classics, Stalin's interests inclined toward folk music and lighter things.² Lenin, moreover, had international sympathies. Stalin only asked that art be Russian and easy to understand.

The following translation is reprinted from Max Eastman, *Artists in Uniform*, pp. 217–229. Eastman's book contains an interesting account of the unhappy life of the Soviet critic, Polonsky, as well as of other aspects of Soviet culture down to 1934.

EXHIBIT No. 30.

[Moscow, State Publishing House, 1928. Vyacheslav Polonsky, *Outline of the Literary Movement of the Revolutionary Epoch*]

LENIN'S VIEWS OF ART AND CULTURE

By Vyacheslav Polonsky

(The author of this essay was founder and editor, in Lenin's day, of the important Bolshevik journal *Press and Revolution*; he was also Curator of the Moscow Museum of Fine Arts. He is the man Louis Fischer described as "the most talented and cultured of soviet critics" (see page 159) and whose death in the seventh year of Stalin's decade of devastation Mr. Fischer attributes to persecution by RAPP. The *At-Your-Postites*, mentioned herein, were the group who with Stalin's backing dominated RAPP, and may be regarded in the present connection as identical with it. This article contains the substance of the views which Polonsky opposed to those of RAPP and for which, he was "hounded"—according to Louis Fischer—to death. I have translated it, with slight abbreviation, from Polonsky's *Outline of the Literary Movement of the Revolutionary Epoch*, Moscow, 1928.—Max Eastman).

¹ Max Eastman, *Artists in Uniform*, New York, Knopf, 1934, pp. 156–159.

² Timasheff, *Great Retreat*, pp. 271–272. See pp. 260–284 for a general outline of the various paths taken by Soviet art and literature from 1917 to 1945. A long, personal account written by a former Soviet citizen who held high rank in Moscow theatrical and musical circles can be read in Juri Jelagin, *Taming of the Arts*, translated from Russian by Nicholas Wreden, New York, Dutton, 1951. See also Andrey Olkhovsky, *Music Under the Soviets: The Agony of an Art*, New York, Praeger, 1955.

1. It is not easy to expound correctly Lenin's opinions about art, literature and culture. Lenin rarely expressed himself circumstantially upon these questions. They stood in the fringes of his attention, although as we shall see he was not indifferent either to literature or art. In our enormous literary heritage from Lenin only four small articles about L. N. Tolstoy are directly devoted to creative literature. Literature is touched upon obliquely in a note on Herten, and the article *Party Organization and Party Literature*. Even in his vast correspondence isolated remarks about art and literature are extremely scant. Lenin's consciousness was so occupied with the fundamental problems of the struggle that there remained neither time nor interest for these realms. This is not surprising, if you bear in mind the might with which Lenin's will was concentrated upon the basic problems of the revolution.

We know little of the man Lenin. The gigantic figure of the leader has hidden and obscured in our minds his human, intimate self. His personal life somehow does not exist for us. No one has yet made us feel the whole Lenin, thinker, fighter, man. Certain recollections in our possession nevertheless portray him as a man to whom nothing human was alien. He loved to laugh and sing and have a good time. He moved music—was so strongly worked upon by the exciting influence of sounds that he avoided it. Maxim Gorky in a few brief lines has thrown an amazing light upon the personality of Lenin. Once in Moscow after hearing Beethoven rendered by a great master at the house of some friends, Lenin said:

I know nothing better than the Appassionata. I could listen to it every day. Amazing, superhuman music. I always think with pride, perhaps a naive childish pride: Look what miracles human beings can perform!

Miracles! And what would Bogdanov say from his "universal organization" point of view? He would answer, I suppose, that this same Appassionata does not in the least degree organize the minds of men in the direction of the collective-labor view-point.

Lenin would shrug his shoulders—"What nonsense!" and continue to listen to the passionate music of a composer whom you could not by any stretch of imagination call proletarian.

"But I can't listen to music very often," Lenin said to Gorky. "It acts on my nerves, makes me want to talk amiable stupidities and stroke the heads of these beings who, living in a filthy hell, can create such beauty. But today you can't stroke anybody on the head—they'll bite off your hand. You've got to pound them on the head, and pound them ruthlessly, although in the ideal we are against every act of violence."*

We find another surprising trait of Lenin in the memoirs of M. Lyadov. Once in 1904 in Geneva, Lyadov relates, he was at the theatre with Lenin and Krupskaja. The play was *The Lady of the*

* A. A. Bogdanov was an old opponent of Lenin in theoretical questions, Lenin's book *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* having been principally directed against him. Nevertheless he became after the October revolution the founder and first president of an "Institute of Proletarian Culture." His view of the whole problem of culture conflicted with that of Lenin, and he was subsequently removed. His successor was V. Plénev, also mentioned herein. Bogdanov advanced long before the revolution the idea that art's function is to "organize, not only the ideas of men, their thought and knowledge, but also their feelings and moods." Proletarian art, he defined as art which organizes men's minds in the direction of collective labor, solidarity, and brotherhood in struggle. He declared—without smiling—that most poetry written by proletarians is not proletarian poetry—is in fact neither proletarian nor poetry. This theory of art set the stage for the attempt of RAPP and the At-Your-Postites, to convert Russian intellectual arts and letters into a narrow propaganda controlled from a central office. Bogdanov, however, wanted his "culture" office independent of the political party. For them "collective labor, solidarity, and brotherhood in struggle" meant for the most part loyal obedience to the political machine.

* Vladimir Lenin by Maxim Gorky.

Camellias, a sentimental bourgeois melodrama. But the actress was Sarah Bernhardt—one whose genius even Auerbach would not call proletarian. "Ilych sat in the dark corner of the box," says Lyadov. "When I glanced at him he was furtively wiping his eyes."

Weeping Lenin! What an unusual spectacle! But from this spectacle you must not conclude: Well, here is this iron man, this steely fighter, able to be sentimental and "pour out tears" over a mere fancy, etc. The point is that the actress drew those tears—that is, the artist—and through the medium of art.

From these accidental traits alone, as preserved to us by Lenin's friends, we could draw some inferences about his attitude to art. He loved art and considered it a mighty power. One of the most important elements of imaginative art Lenin described with the word "beautiful." This dubious term of the old æsthetics is now under a shadow. We attribute to it no essential content. But Lenin never set himself the aim to polish accurately and with full adequacy his attitude to art. He took a "current" word which happened to be at hand, and once remarked:

"We are excessive iconoclasts in the matter of painting. We must preserve the beautiful, take it as a model, make it our starting point even though it is 'old.' "*"

Also a remark of unusual importance. In Lenin's opinion the old art possesses elements which compel us to preserve it, treasure it, make it the *starting point* for a further development. Only when we draw such inferences from these remarks do we see that behind the accidental words thrown out in passing, there existed in Lenin's mind a concealed system of opinions about art, even though he himself never thought of giving it a symmetrical and logical formulation.

Recognizing the gigantic power of art, Lenin thought that it ought to be an art not for a few, but for all. The enjoyment which he derived from art only again convinced him of the necessity of struggle. The enjoyment experienced by him personally must be made accessible to all humanity till now deprived of these high experiences.

Is this revolutionary conclusion to be found in the system of æsthetics propounded by A. A. Bogdanov? No, it is not. But nevertheless in the psychology of a genuine revolutionist, æsthetic and other similar experiences are the very things that have kindled a feeling of struggle, of protest, of revolutionary determination. Our schematizer from the viewpoint of the "universal organizational science" affirms that bourgeois art organizes the mind toward the individualistic standpoint—that is, in a direction opposing the interests and aims of the proletariat. But genuine revolutionists coming in contact with genuine and lofty art have in practice experienced the opposite thing: bourgeois art has organized their minds in the very direction of the aims and tasks of the proletariat. We have then the contrary picture to that presented us by Bogdanov. The reason is obvious: he forgot *the perceptive medium*. He knew that in art it is possible to find the reflection of a class psychology, but he forgot that the medium perceiving this art is also a class medium, and the perception, in consequence, can play a critical role. Bogdanov's æsthetics is bad, from the point of view of Marxism, in that it fails to reckon on the class character of the perceptive medium. This circumstance has simply not been noticed by Bogdanov; it has not been noticed, either, by his

* *Memories of Lenin* by Clara Zetkin.

involuntary successors, the *At-Your-Post* group. But surely from the standpoint of a materialistic æsthetics resting upon the basis, "existence determines consciousness," not only what the artistic agent wants to give is important, but also what the spectator takes from art. Not only in the creation is a class psychology reflected, but also in the contemplation of artistic productions.

2. "Art belongs to the people," said Lenin. "It ought to extend with deep roots into the very thick of the broad toiling masses. It ought to be intelligible to these masses and loved by them. And it ought to unify the feeling, thought and will of these masses, elevate them. It ought to arouse and develop artists among them." Such is the role and problem of art. This is the category of the "ought." But Lenin, the great realist, always combined the category of the "ought" with the category of the "existent."

"In order that art may draw near to the people and the people to art, we must in the first place raise the existing level of culture and education." At first glance this might seem a thought in no way unusual. However in this thought is contained, as a plant in the seed, the attitude of Lenin to proletarian culture, and all artistic questions. The problems of art are problems of education. This means: If you want to advance the cause of art, educate yourselves and teach. You want art to be of the whole people—raise the level of elementary knowledge. You want to please humanity with the wonderful creations of art—understand then that so long as humanity in its overwhelming majority is illiterate, lousy, lives the devil knows in what conditions, does not know how to brush its hair or cut its nails, sleeps on the floor, and lacks the means to alter its mode of life, so long your wonderful creations will remain creations for a minority, for a small circle. In other words, your art will not fulfill a millionth part of its destiny. This does not mean, of course, that we must cease to occupy ourselves with art. It means only that we must not occupy ourselves with blabbing about an art of the whole people, about its democratization, and about building a culture, instead of actually elevating the culture we have—that is, teaching arithmetic and writing, trades, sciences, increasing the elementary economic prosperity.

Lenin's adverse attitude to the talk about proletarian culture stood in close relation to his very deep realism which had seen the vanity and futility and sometimes even danger in empty blab and babble.

Lenin also objected when certain philanthropists of art once offered to the broad masses of the toilers a "pageant." That is nothing, Lenin objected, a pageant is a mere diversion. The toiling masses deserve "something bigger than a pageant. They have acquired the right to a genuinely great art." And for Lenin the realistic practical conclusion flowed directly from this proposition: "For that reason we have placed at the head of our list the broadest possible enlightenment and education. That will lay the foundation for a culture—on condition, of course, that the question of bread is solved. On that foundation there ought to grow up a genuinely new great communist art which will create a form corresponding to its content."*

Lenin attributed so great a significance to art that once when a discussion arose as to what should replace religion, destined as it is to vanish from the consciousness of the toiling masses, he remarked

* *Recollections of Lenin* by Clara Zetkin.

that except for the theatre—that is, for art—there is no institution, “not one organ with which we might replace religion.” This was related by M. I. Kalinin in his speech at the 5th All-Union Congress of Art Workers on May 25, 1925.

Lenin considered the Great Theatre a relic of the “landlord culture,” and once in a terrible time of hunger even raised the question of closing it. But this did not prevent Lenin from giving a correct appraisal even of this relic of the landlord culture. When in the winter of the “bare year 1919” Comrade Galkin raised in the Council of People’s Commissars the question of closing the Great Theatre, defending his motion from just that point of view of the uselessness for the proletariat of this “relic of a landlord culture,” which was presenting the same old “bourgeois operas” and “nothing for the workers, nothing for the red soldiers,” it was Lenin who saved the Great Theatre from being closed.

Just before the voting he tossed out as though in passing a few apparently insignificant phrases, which decided the fate of the art of opera in our country: “It only seems to me,” Lenin let fall, “that Comrade Galkin has a somewhat naïve idea of the role and significance of theatres. A theatre is necessary, not so much for propaganda, as to rest hard workers after their daily work. And it is still early to file away in the archives our heritage from bourgeois art. . . .”

The Great Theatre survived.

Here again if we uncover the meaning of his remark, we find threads uniting it with the other opinions of Lenin about art. Art is not *only* propaganda and not *only* agitation. “Rest”—that means withdrawing a man from certain impressions and transferring him to qualitatively different impressions. The rest which is given by art is, so to speak, condensed, active, distracting the consciousness in a wholly new direction, into another world. It is a form of rest in which the consciousness is refreshed, enlarged and illumined. How often this function of art—one of the most import—is forgotten in our theoretical arguments and our practice! Is not this the reason why our workers’ clubs are so rarely visited—because the winged horse of art is here harnessed to the wagon of badly comprehended agitationism? Lenin loved to observe how the workers rest and enjoy themselves. Krupskaja tells about his wanderings among theatrical productions in the workers’ clubs of Paris before the war. The popular revolutionary singer, Montague, was then enjoying a great success among the workers. Art was here in contact with the toiling masses. That attracted Lenin. He who could admire a Sonata of Beethoven, and weep tears over the acting of Sarah Bernhardt, listened with admiration to the melodies and words of the simple songs of a street singer. How much more powerful would Beethoven have been, or Sarah Bernhardt, if they in place of Montague had moved and stirred the hearts of the majority of mankind.

3. Lenin’s literary tastes are closely bound up with his opinions upon the universal popularity and intelligibility of art. For instance, he did not like the futurists. He did not like the so-called “new” art. He very often spoke with vicious irony of Maiakovsky and other “ists.” He considered Maiakovsky’s book *150,000,000* “affected and tricky.” Why? Lenin himself gave a clear answer: “I did try several times to read Maiakovsky and couldn’t get beyond three lines, kept falling asleep.”

"Three lines"—that is said for the word's sake, for what does a "line" of Maiakovsky amount to!* But the thought was this: Maiakovsky is hard for the understanding when you read him. "Pushkin I understand and enjoy," Lenin said. "Nekrassov I acknowledge, but Maiakovsky—excuse me, I can't understand him."

How shall we interpret this? Why did Lenin acknowledge Pushkin and not Maiakovsky? It is because Pushkin was of the whole people. With all the loftiness of his supreme art Pushkin is clear, simple, easy to apprehend, alluring, a poet for the majority. But Maiakovsky is the leader of a narrow school, a poet for the few, hard to apprehend, unable to overcome in himself his small-group origin. Hence Maiakovsky's failure to broaden the circle of his readers. When the poet himself appears before an audience, with his imposing presence, his mighty voice and personal charm, the crowds can listen with interest to his concise and unique declamations. In such moments Maiakovsky really can consider himself a people's poet, accessible to the general understanding. But as soon as the rank-and-file reader finds himself tête-à-tête with Maiakovsky's books, with their broken lines, their peculiar rhythm, with all the latest laboratory conquests in verbal instrumentalization, he begins to feel bored. The art of Maiakovsky travels the road of hindered apprehension. That gives away the origin of his poetry among the intelligentsia, its destination for the few. Maiakovsky lacks just the genius to surmount these peculiarities of his art. It was this thought that Lenin expressed. And he expressed it because he had the *audacity* to do so. You couldn't frighten Lenin with the words "left art." The word "left" means good; if you don't like what is "left," that means you are retrograde, reactionary; it means that you don't know anything about art. Certain gentlemen have made clever use of this word "left." Its whole power derives from the fact that in the struggle for the revolution the left flank was always considered more revolutionary. No wonder, therefore, that people try to use this honorific term in order to insure themselves against criticism in general. "Touch us not, we are Lefts!"—although in reality these "lefts" have often been the most genuine rights. A "fetishization" of leftism exists among us, especially among the young.

It takes audacity to smash through this fetishization. Lenin knew no fear and he openly declared: Maiakovsky is hard for the understanding. The banner of "newness" in itself did not bribe him in the least.

"Why must we bow down to the new," said Lenin to Clara Zetkin, "as though to a god whom we must obey simply because he is new?" "That's nonsense, crass nonsense! There is a lot of artistic hypocrisy here, and of course an unconscious respect for artistic modes prevailing in the west. We are good revolutionists, but nevertheless we feel obliged for some reason to prove that we also stand 'at the height of contemporary culture.' I however make bold to declare myself a 'barbarian.' I am unable to consider the productions of expressionism, futurism, Cubism, and other isms, the highest manifestations of artistic genius. I do not understand them. I experience no joy from them."

*Maiakovsky's lines consisted so often of one or two syllables, *Trans.*

The broad and attractive intelligibility of the old literature also explains Lenin's partiality for the classics. Almost everybody who has published recollections of Lenin and his relation to literature has emphasized his love for the classics. When going abroad Lenin took with him, besides books on economics, the poems of Nekrassov and Goethe's *Faust* (recollections of Meshcheriakov). Kamenev lists the Russian classics especially loved by Lenin: Tolstoy, Pushkin, Nekrassov, Chekhov, Lepeshinsky adds to this list Shakespeare, Schiller, Byron. Lenin even had a look at Boratynsky and Tiuchev, and moreover Tiuchev who, as Bogdanov has demonstrated, so finely "organized" the psychology of the reader in a direction opposed to the goals and aspirations of the proletariat, enjoyed, according to Lepeshinsky, "his highest favor." Krupskaya speaks of Lermontov, Pushkin and Nekrassov, whom Lenin read in moments of extreme weariness. According to Krupskaya, Lenin not only read the classics, but re-read Turgenev, Tolstoy and Chernishevsky's "What Is To Be Done?" Krupskaya remembers that it was Lenin who after the creation of the State Publishing House set them the task of issuing a cheap edition of the Russian classics. We meet the same names in the Recollections of Kryzhanovsky, Lebedev-Poliansky and Sosnovsky.

Thus there stands before us a figure of Lenin far from resembling the shut-in economist, pushing out of his way the questions of art and creative literature. It seems that Lenin was not so far away from literature and art. And this means that the remarks of this man of genius upon the questions now disturbing us have a first-class importance.

While the following speech deals with all kinds of deviations, it concentrates its fire upon those on the right. Stalin had already taken care of all left deviators. Now he decided that the time was ripe to utilize the radical policies of those leftists whom he had already expelled from the party against his rightists adversaries.¹ Increasing opposition of peasants under the NEP played into his hands. Rightists like Bukharin and Tomsy (head of the so-called Soviet Labor Unions) had counselled moderation in undertaking the second socialist offensive. Because of their "bourgeois" deviations, Bukharin, Tomsy, and many others were soon to meet a fate similar to what had been previously meted out to the leftists.

EXHIBIT No. 31

[*Inprecorr*, November 2 and 9, 1928. Pp. 1439-1441, 1489-1490]

SPEECH BY COMRADE STALIN AT THE PLENUM OF THE MOSCOW COMMITTEE AND MOSCOW CONTROL COMMISSION OF THE C. P. S. U. HELD ON OCTOBER 19TH, 1928

I believe, Comrades, that we must in the first place set aside all petty and personal considerations if we are to be enabled to solve the question before us, viz, that of the deviations to the Right. Are we faced in the Party with a Right opportunist danger; are there objective circumstances which favour this danger; and how is this danger to be met? Those are the questions before us. We shall, however, not be able to solve these questions if we do not first purge them of all petty elements which have been introduced into them from without and which hinder us from understanding the nature of the matter in hand.

¹ Labin, *Stalin's Russia*, pp. 102-103.

Comrade Zapolski is wrong if he believes the question of the Right deviations to be a matter of chance. He declares that it is not a question of deviations to the Right but of quarrels and personal intrigues. Let us assume for a moment that quarrels and personal grievances play a part here as is the case in every fight. But to explain everything as the outcome of quarrels and to fail because of such quarrels to see the nature of the actual question, means a deviation from the proper Marxian principles. It cannot be that such a great old united organisation as the organisation of Moscow undoubtedly is, should be brought into ferment from top to bottom merely through the endeavours of certain squealers and intriguers. No, Comrades, such miracles do not happen. To say nothing of the fact that it would be impossible to underestimate the strength of the Moscow organisation so grossly. It is obvious that deeper-rooted reasons were here at work, reasons which had nothing to do with quarrels and intrigues.

Comrade Fruntov, too, is wrong if, though recognising the existence of a Right danger, he is yet of opinion that it is not worthy of the attention of serious people engaged in more important work. In his opinion the question of deviations to the Right is of interest only to squealers, but not to people who are seriously occupied. I can very well understand Comrade Fruntov; he is so deeply engrossed in practical work that he has no time to think about the perspectives of our development. This does not mean, however, that the limited practical sense of certain among our Party workers is to become the dogma of our reconstruction. A healthy energy to work is a good thing but if it involves the forfeiture of our working perspectives and if the work in question is not subjected to the fundamental principles of the Party, it turns into a deficiency. It is, however, not difficult to understand that the question of deviations to the Right is the fundamental question of our Party, the question as to whether the perspectives of our development, as laid down by the XV. Party Congress are right or wrong.

Nor are those comrades right who in judging of the problem of deviations to the Right limit the question to the individuals who represent the said deviation. Show us the men of the Right, say these comrades, show us the compromisers, so that we may settle with them. This is a mistaken way of putting the question. These individuals naturally play a certain rôle. But the matter itself lies not in the persons but in the circumstances and conditions which entail the Right danger. The persons may be removed, but that will not mean that the roots of the Right movement have been eradicated from the Party. The personal question does not settle the whole matter, although it is doubtless of interest. In this connection I must call to mind an episode at Odessa at the close of 1919 and beginning of 1920, when our troops were driving the army of Denikin out of Ukraine and caught up with the last stragglers of that army at Odessa. Some of the Red Guards sought furiously in all Odessa for the Entente, being convinced that if only they could catch the Entente the whole war would be at an end. (Laughter.) It is difficult to imagine that the Red soldiers could have found any representatives of the Entente at Odessa, but if they had done so the trouble with the Entente would not have therefore been at an end, since the roots of the Entente are not to be found at Odessa, although that city was

the last foothold of the Denikin army and of the international capitalists in Russia. The same thing may be said in regard to some of our comrades, who narrow down the question of the Right deviations to a mere question of persons representing the deviations in question, thus forgetting the conditions which brought the said deviations about.

We must therefore in the first place clear up the question of the circumstances under which both the Right and the Left (Trotzky) deviations from the principles of Lenin first arose.

Under capitalist rule, the Right deviations in the Communist Party consist in the tendency and inclination, albeit unexpressed and undeveloped, on the part of some of the Communists, to depart from the revolutionary directives of Marx in the direction of the Social Democrats. If certain circles among the Communists deny the practicability of the principle of "class against class" in the electioneering struggle (as is the case in France) or oppose an independent candidature of the Communist Party (as in England), or prove unwilling to accentuate the fight against the "Left" Social Democrats (as in Germany), this means that within the Communist Party there are people who are anxious to adapt Communism to Social Democracy. A victory of the Right deviations in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries would entail the ideological breakdown of the Communist Party and an enormous increase in the ranks of the Social Democrats. And what is meant by an enormous increase in the strength of the Social Democrats? It is a strengthening and consolidation of capitalism, seeing that the Social Democrats are the main prop of capitalism among the working classes. Consequently a Right victory in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries would lead to the development of conditions such as are requisite for the maintenance of capitalism.

The Right deviations in Communism under Soviet rule, in a country where capitalism is already overthrown but where the roots of capitalism have not yet been wholly extirpated, consist in a tendency and inclination, albeit unexpressed and undeveloped, on the part of some of the Communists, to depart from the principles of our Party in the direction of bourgeois ideology. If certain circles among the Communists desire to keep the Party back from realising the resolutions of the XV. Party Congress, by denying the necessity of an assault on the kulak elements in the rural districts, or else demand an arrest of our industrial development because they consider the present rate of advance fatal to the country, or if again they consider the Government subsidies for Soviet farms and collective farms to be impracticable and are of opinion that the money in question is being wasted in this way, or if they deny the advisability of a fight against bureaucracy on the basis of self-criticism, affirming that self-criticism is liable to undermine our apparatus, or if they demand the loosening of our foreign-trade monopoly and so on, this means that in the ranks of our Party there are such as are anxious, perhaps without knowing it themselves, to adapt the cause of our Socialist construction to the tastes and requirements of the Soviet bourgeoisie. A victory of the Right deviations within our Party would entail an enormous consolidation of the capitalist elements in our country. And what would such a consolidation mean? It would mean a weakening of the proletarian dictatorship and a strengthening of the chances of a restoration

of capitalism. Consequently a victory of the Right deviations in our Party would lead to the development of conditions which are requisite for the restoration of capitalism in this country.

Are there conditions in this country which might render possible the re-establishment of capitalism? There decidedly are. This may seem strange, but I can assure you, comrades, that it is a fact. We have overthrown capitalism. We have set up the dictatorship of the proletariat, and we are rapidly developing our Socialist industry and connecting it with peasant economy. But we have not yet extirpated the roots of capitalism. Where are these roots to be found? They are to be found in the production of goods, in the small production of the towns and in particular in small peasant economy. The power of capitalism lies, as Lenin points out,

in the strength of small production, for such small production has unfortunately continued to exist on a very large scale and daily and hourly to create the elements of capitalism and bourgeoisie.

It is obvious that inasmuch as small production is a mass-phenomenon in this country and is even predominant, and inasmuch as it produces capitalism and bourgeoisie—quite particularly during the N. E. P. period—there are conditions in this country which render possible the re-establishment of capitalism.

Are there ways and means in this Soviet country of ours to destroy the possibility of a re-establishment of capitalism? There certainly are. It is just on this fact that Lenin based his thesis of the possibility of a complete Socialist form of society in the Soviet Union. For this purpose we need the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship, the strengthening of the alliance between working class and peasantry, the development of our commanding positions from the standpoint of an industrialisation of the country, a rapid rate of development of industry, the electrification of the country, the re-adjustment of the entire economy on a new technical basis, the co-operative development of great masses of peasants and the increase of the productivity of their undertakings, the gradual combination of the individual peasant undertakings in the form of collective estates, the development of the Soviet undertakings, the ousting and suppressing of the capitalist elements in town and country, and so on.

Lenin speaks as follows on this point:

As long as we live in a petty-bourgeois country, capitalism has in Russia a stronger economic basis than Communism. We must bear this in mind. Every one who attentively observes life in the rural districts in comparison with life in the cities, knows that we have not yet eradicated capitalism altogether and that we have not yet deprived our internal enemies of their foundation. They still depend on the small peasant undertakings, and to remove this prop there is but one means, that of readjusting rural economy, including agriculture, on a new technical basis, that of the great industries of the present age. Such a basis is electricity. Communism means Soviet authority plus the electrification of the entire country. Otherwise the country will remain a petty-peasant country and this must be fully recognized. We are weaker than the capitalists, not only in the world in general but also within our own country. That is known to all. We have recognized this fact and we shall succeed in turning the economic basis of the country out of a petty-peasant into a great industrial basis. Only then, when the country is electrified and when industry, agriculture, and transports are completely on the basis of the great industries of the present age, only then shall we have gained a definite victory.

It follows firstly, that as long as we live in a petty-peasant country, as long as we have not extirpated the roots of a capitalism, the latter

will continue to have a firmer economic basis than Communism. There are cases in which a tree has been felled but omitted to exterminate the roots. The available forces did not suffice. There follows the possibility of a restoration of capitalism in our country.

It follows secondly that besides the possibility of a reestablishment of capitalism there is also the possibility of a victory of Socialism in this country, for we may succeed in destroying the possibility of a re-establishment of capitalism, we can exterminate the roots of capitalism and carry off the final victory over capitalism, if we develop a strenuous activity towards the electrification of the country and if we procure for industry, agriculture, and transports, the technical basis of our up-to-date industries. Hence there follows the possibility of a victory of Socialism in this country.

It follows, finally, that it is impossible merely to develop Socialism in industry and to leave agriculture to the arbitrary volition of an elementary development by starting from the assumption that the rural districts will approach the cities of their own accord. The existence of a Socialist industry in the towns is the main factor of the Socialist readjustment of the rural districts. That does not mean, however, that this factor alone suffices to enable the Socialist towns to lead the peasant villages in their wake, it is necessary, as Lenin points out, "to place the economy of the rural districts, including agriculture, on a new technical basis, that of the great industries of the present age."

Does not this quotation from Lenin seem to contradict other of Lenin's dictums to the effect that "the N. E. P. completely guarantees us the possibility for a development of the basis of Socialist economy?" No, there is no contradiction at all. On the contrary, the two assertions completely concur. Lenin does not assert that the N. E. P. can provide us with a perfect state of Socialism. He only says that the N. E. P. guarantees us the possibility of developing the foundations of Socialist economy. Between the possibility of a development of Socialism and its actual development there is a material difference. We must not confound the possibility with the reality. For it is just for the purpose of turning this possibility into reality that Lenin suggests the electrification of the country and the readjustment of the technical basis of industry, agriculture, and transports on the lines of our modern big industries as presumptions for the final victory of Socialism.

But in one or two years the presumptions for the realisation of Socialism cannot be attained. It is not possible to industrialise the country in a year or two, nor to build up a powerful industry, to combine millions of peasants in co-operatives, to give agriculture a new technical basis, to unite the individual peasant undertakings in big collective ones, to develop Soviet farming, to oust and overcome the capitalist elements in town and country. For such a task years and years of strenuous construction of the proletarian dictatorship are requisite. As long as this is not done, and it cannot be done all at once, we must remain a petty-peasant country, in which small production is constantly creating capitalism and bourgeoisie and the danger of a re-establishment of capitalism continues to exist. And as the proletariat is not living in a hermetically closed room but in reality and in actual life with all its variety,

the bourgeois elements created on the basis of small production envelop the proletariat on all sides with their petty-bourgeois anarchy, permeating and destroying it thereby and constantly calling forth within the proletariat a reversion to petty-bourgeois lack of character, disharmony, individualism, and the alternation of exaggeration and depression.

In this way they cause certain vacillations in the proletariat and in its Party.

Such are the roots of all sorts of vacillations and deviations from the Leninist directives in our Party. Therefore the question of the Right and Left deviations in our Party cannot possibly be considered as a trifling matter.

What are the characteristics of the openly opportunist Right deviations in our Party? They consist in the fact that they underestimate the strength of our enemies, the capitalists, refuse to see the danger of a re-establishment of capitalism, fail to understand the dynamics of the class struggle under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship, and therefore easily agree to make concessions to capitalism, by demanding the slowing-down of our rate of industrial development and facilities for the capitalist elements in town and country, thrust the question of collective and Soviet undertakings into the background, demand a restriction of the foreign-trade monopoly, and so on. The victory of a Right deviation in our Party would doubtless combine the forces of capitalism, shatter the revolutionary positions of the proletariat, and enhance the chances of a re-establishment of capitalism in our country.

And in what does the Left, Trotzkyist, deviation in our country consist? It lies in the fact that the representatives of this deviation over-estimate the forces of our enemies and the strength of capitalism, that they are blind to all save the possibility of a restoration of capitalism, especially blind to the possibility of Socialist construction on its own merits, and prone to comfort themselves with a lot of twaddle about the Thermidor of our Party. From Lenin's statement that,

as long as we live in a petty-peasant country, there is in Russia a firmer economic basis for capitalism than for Communism,

the Left deviators draw the mistaken conclusion that in the Soviet Union in general it is impossible to construct Socialism, that nothing can be attained from co-operation with the peasantry, that the idea of an alliance between working class and peasantry has been superseded, that if we receive no help from a victorious revolution in the West, the dictatorship of the proletariat must necessarily come to grief, and that, if the fantastic plan of over-industrialisation, even if executed at the cost of a rupture with the peasantry, is not accepted, the cause of Socialism in the Soviet Union must be considered lost. Hence the adventurous character of the Left deviation and the tremendous leaps noticeable in its policy. There can be no doubt but that a victory of the Left deviation in our Party would have led to the isolation of the working class from its peasant basis, to a separation of the vanguard of the working class from the mass of workers, and to more favourable prospects for the restoration of capitalism.

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As you see, Comrades, both these dangers, the Right and the Left, danger and both these deviations, to the Right and to the Left respectively, though starting from different points, lead to the same result.

And if you ask me which of these two dangers is the more serious, I cannot but answer that they are both equally so. From the standpoint of their successful combating, the difference between these two deviations consists in the fact that the deviation to the Left is more tangible to the Party than is that to the Right. The circumstance that we have already for some years past been waging an energetic fight against the Left deviation, could naturally not be without influence on the Party. Obviously the Party must have learnt much in the long struggle against the Left (Trotzkyist) deviation, and that it is therefore no easy matter now to employ phrases such as the Left wing was fond of using. As regards the Right danger, which also existed in former times and which has now taken a more tangible form in the shape of an aggravation of the petty-bourgeois chaos in connection with the grain-provisioning crisis of last year, it is, I believe, not clearly known to certain sections of our Party. Therefore it is our duty, without of course diminishing our vigilance in regard to the Left (Trotzkyist) danger by one jot, to lay the most stress on the fight against the Right danger and to bring all efforts to bear on making this danger as apparent to the Party as the Trotzkyist danger now is.

The question of the deviation to the Right would not be so vitally important as it is, were it not connected with the general difficulties of our development. But the great evil lies in the fact that these Right deviations increase the difficulties of our development and make them more difficult to overcome. And it is for this reason that we must concentrate on the problem of eliminating the danger in question.

A word as to the character of our difficulties. It must not be forgotten that our difficulties are not difficulties of a standstill or decline. When economy is at a standstill or on the decline, difficulties likewise occur; then all efforts must be directed towards making the standstill less disadvantageous or the decline less pernicious. Our difficulties, however, are of quite a different sort. The characteristic thing about them is that they are difficulties born of progress and advance. If we speak of difficulties, it is mostly a question as to the percentage increase in industry, the percentage augmentation of the area under cultivation or of the yield per hectare. And just because our difficulties are such as arise in progress and not the outcome of regress or stagnation, the Party need not consider them particularly serious. But difficulties they are and remain. And seeing that all efforts must be directed towards their elimination and that perseverance and fortitude are requisite to this end, qualities which not all of us possess in a sufficient degree—either owing to tiredness and exhaustion or else because of a preference to live quietly, without trouble or unpleasant incidents—it is just here that vacillation and hesitation set in, a tendency towards adopting the line of least resistance, towards playing with the idea of a slowing-down in the rate of development of industry, towards contemplating facilities for the capitalist elements, towards opposing the foundation of Soviet and collective farms and everything else that surpasses the limits of ordinary, every-day work. But we cannot move towards without overcoming the difficulties before us. And to this end we must in the first place attack the Right danger and overcome the Right deviations, which are hindering us in our task of overcoming the difficulties and attempting to undermine our volition in this direction. In this connection,

moreover, the fight must be a real fight and not only a fight on paper, a campaign of words. There are people in our Party who are not disinclined to preach against the Right deviations for the sake of relieving their consciences, much in the style of parsons shouting "Alleluiah", but who fail to do even the very slightest practical thing for the purpose of starting a fight against the Right deviations in the necessary way and of effectively overcoming them. This tendency may be called a conciliatory tendency in relation to the Right, openly opportunist, deviations. It is not difficult to understand that the fight against such conciliatory tendencies must form an essential part of the general fight against these deviations themselves and the danger they represent, for it is impossible to overcome the Right opportunist deviation without a systematic fight against the conciliatory elements which take the opportunists under their wings.

The question as to the representatives of this Right deviation is undoubtedly of interest, though not decisive. In the lower organisations of our Party we encountered such representatives during the grain-provisioning crisis, when a whole number of Communists in the sub-districts and villages opposed the policy of the Party and contemplated a fraternisation with kulak elements. You will remember that such members were expelled from our ranks last winter, as was expressly pointed out in the well-known document of the C. C. of our Party in February. It would, however, be wrong to assert that no such elements had remained in our Party. If we search higher up in the regional and governmental organisations of the Party and subject the Soviet and co-operative apparatus to a strict investigation, it will not cost us much trouble to find representatives of the Right deviation and of the policy of conciliation in relation to this danger. The "letters," "declarations," and other documents of a number of functionaries of our Party and Soviet apparatus, in which the tendency towards deviations to the Right is reflected beyond the shadow of a doubt, are well known, and it will be remembered that mention was made of them in the stenographic protocol of the July plenum of the C. C. If we continue the search yet higher up and consider the C. C., we must admit that even among the members of that body there are some, albeit altogether insignificant, elements who entertain conciliatory sentiments towards the representatives of the Right deviation. The stenographic protocol of the July Plenum of the C. C. is the best proof of this fact. As to the Political Bureau, there are deviations neither to the Right nor to the Left, a fact I should wish particularly to underline. It is high time that an end was put to the rumours, spread abroad by oppositionists and by such as are anything but friendly to our Party, to the effect that there is a deviation to the Right or a conciliatory attitude towards such a deviation to be found even within the Political Bureau of our C. C.

As regards the Moscow organisation and the Moscow Committee, it would be foolish to attempt to deny that vacillation and uncertainty actually obtained in that quarter. The open-hearted speech of Comrade Penkov is a direct proof of the fact. Comrade Penkov is not the least of the members of the Moscow organisation and of the M. C. As you have heard, he admitted quite openly the mistakes he had made in a number of most important questions of our Party policy. That naturally does not mean that the entire M. C. was subject to

vacillations. That is by no means implied. Such a document as the appeal of the M. C. to the members of the Moscow organisation in September last shows quite plainly that the M. C. has succeeded in overcoming the vacillations of all its members. I do not doubt that the guiding spirits of the M. C. will succeed in clearing the whole situation satisfactorily.

Some members are displeased with the fact that the district organisations should have interfered in this matter by raising the question of a liquidation of the mistakes and vacillations of certain leaders of the Moscow organisation. I do not know how such "displeasure" is to be justified. If certain Party-workers of various districts of the Moscow organisation raise their voices in favour of a liquidation of mistakes and vacillations, what is there bad about that? Do we not carry on our work on the basis of self-criticism from below? Is it not a fact that self-criticism enhances the activity of the broad Party membership and of the proletarian masses in general? What is there bad or dangerous about it, if the Party-members of the district proved for the occasion?

Was the procedure of the C. C. right, when it intervened in this matter? I believe the C. C. was altogether right. Comrade Bersin considers that the C. C. did not act rightly when it approached the question of the dismissal of one of the leading Party-members of a district, to whom the Party-workers of the district in question objected. That is altogether wrong. I might remind Comrade Bersin of certain episodes of the years 1919 and 1920, when certain members of the C. C., who had been guilty of certain, I believe not very weighty, mistakes in connection with Party directives, were punished with exemplary severity at the suggestion of Lenin, one of them being sent to Turkestan and another being all but excluded from the C. C. Was it right of Lenin to act thus? I believe it was altogether right. The position in the C. C. was not then what it is now. At that time half the C. C. supported Trotzky and the attitude of the C. C. was anything but stable. At present the C. C. proceeds far more cautiously. Can it be that we desire to be kinder than Lenin was? No, that is not the nucleus of the matter. The reason is rather that the situation within the C. C., is far more stable to day than it was then and that the C. C. has now the possibility of proceeding more cautiously. Comrade Sacharov, too, was wrong in asserting that the C. C. intervened too late, obviously because he did not know that the intervention of the C. C. commenced as early as February last. Comrade Sacharov may convince himself of the fact if he is so inclined. It is a fact that the intervention of the C. C. did not at once engender positive results, but it would be strange if the C. C. were to be blamed therefor.

We are led to the following inferences: 1. The Right danger within our Party is a serious danger, being rooted in the social-economic conditions of the country. 2. The danger of a Right deviation is enhanced by the presence of difficulties which cannot be overcome without a victory over the Right deviation itself and over the conciliatory attitude observed towards it. 3. In the Moscow organisation there were signs of uncertainty and vacillation and elements of instability. 4. With the aid of the C. C. and the Party workers of the districts, the nucleus of the M. C. has adopted all possible measures towards the liquidation of these vacillations. 5. There can be no

doubt but that the Moscow Committee will succeed in overcoming the mistakes apparent in its midst. 6. Our task lies in the liquidation of internal strife, in the uniform consolidation of the Moscow organization, and in a successful execution of the new election of nuclei committees on the basis of an increased self-criticism. (Applause.)

In 1929, Albert Pinkevitch was president of the Second State University of Moscow. Although he had received his professional training in prerevolutionary Russia, he had also learned to conform to Bolshevik ideology. The present work presents his evaluations of certain American and European educational techniques which intrigued Soviet authorities during the period of greatest Socialist experimentation with the school system (1923-32).

From 1918 to 1923, Soviet educational policy was directed principally toward the destruction of "bourgeois" elements in Czarist schools (this section, exhibit No. 9). The education decree of October 16, 1918, abolished homework, examinations, marks by teachers, and other "capitalistic remnants."¹ So far as there was anything positive about Soviet education at this time, it consisted in emphasis upon "correct social consciousness." In 1923, after living conditions had somewhat improved under the stimulus of the New Economic Policy, greater attention was paid to this positive aspect of labor awareness.² Soviet educators began to make a careful survey of various advanced methods which enjoyed considerable popularity in the United States and in Europe.

As Pinkevitch clearly states in his Introduction, the present work outlines what most Soviet educators wanted to accomplish. Systematic instruction in the fundamentals of reading, writing and arithmetic was rejected as being treacherously "bourgeois." So also, specific courses in mathematics, history, and geography. "Projects" or "complexes" became the fashion. They were supposed to integrate all knowledge worth having about the correct Bolshevik consciousness of labor situations. A few educators with as much expert training as Pinkevitch might have achieved satisfactory results through "projects," "complexes," and "themes." But the overwhelming majority of uneducated rank-and-file Soviet teachers could hope to accomplish next to nothing. Shrewd maintenance men (more highly respected than teachers because of their more genuinely proletarian background) often knew exactly how to conduct a "work laboratory." While the pupils took care of such chores as cleaning the school premises, the maintenance men sat quietly by and supervised the children's "collective" efforts. In the classroom itself, bedlam became the rule.³ Teachers who were distrusted precisely because their normal position would have given them authority simply turned the other way when the "children's collectives" decided to play games or make roughhouse as proof of the correct Bolshevik orientation of their social personalities.

With the introduction of the first Five Year Plan in 1929, industrial commissars began to lodge serious complaints against the Soviet school system.⁴ How could they ever hope to fulfill their production quotas with workers who could not read, write, or add? Somehow, machinery did not run well on Marxist ideology. On September 3, 1931, the Central Committee of the CPSU(B) condemned excessive experimentation with bourgeois educational techniques. At the same time, it warned against any return to prerevolutionary methods. The net result was little improvement in the Soviet system of education.

In 1929, Pinkevitch wrote that, after the United States, Germany had provided the greatest inspiration to Soviet educators. It was the threat of Nazi aggression, however, that fully opened the eyes of the Bolshevik leaders.⁵ By the middle of 1934, Soviet theories about correct educational practice had gone into complete reverse. In 1935, Pinkevitch declared that projects were no longer regarded as socially useful. Specific courses in reading and writing, prepared lectures, text-

¹ Timasheff, *Great Retreat*, p. 204. Dr. Timasheff's work includes a complete outline of Soviet educational practice from 1917 to 1945 (pp. 203-225, 391-392). The conservative trend introduced in 1934 has continued down to the present day.

² Gordon, *Workers Before and After Lenin*, Chapter LXV: Education in the Soviet Union.

³ William Henry Chamberlin, *Russia's Iron Age*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1934, p. 289. See also his *Soviet Russia*, Chapter XII: The Revolution in Education and Culture.

⁴ Gordon, *op. cit.*, Chapter LXVI: Experimental Education Reversed.

⁵ Maurice J. Shore, *Soviet Education: Its Psychology and Philosophy*, New York, Philosophical Library, 1947, pp. 203ff. Because of its sympathetic analysis of the Soviet educational system, Shore's work is offered for sale in American Communist bookstores.

books, and discipline returned to favor. The Dalton plan was rejected as having been an unprofitable infatuation.⁶

EXHIBIT No. 32

[New York, John Day, 1929. Albert P. Pinkevitch, *The New Education in the Soviet Republic*. Translated under the Auspices of the International Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University, by Mucia Perlmutter, Research Assistant in the International Institute. Edited by George S. Counts, Associate Director of the International Institute and Professor of Education in Teachers College. Pp. v, vi, ix, x, 23-24, 29-31, 103, 163, 173-177, 198-203, 207, 214-216, 280-288, 301-304.]

AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE AMERICAN EDITION

When Professor Counts suggested that I prepare an American edition of my work on pedagogy I gladly consented to do so. Even though foreign students of education may not accept our fundamental positions, they cannot fail to be interested in the unique character and original quality of our soviet education. I was consequently very happy to coöperate in acquainting American readers with what we are doing. In consenting to the translation of this book, however, I am fully aware of its limitations. Our efforts to develop a scientific system of education are of very recent origin. In fact our work in this direction is not more than seven or eight years old. Any presentation of our system of education therefore must of necessity be incomplete. The reader should also bear in mind that the present work was designed primarily as a source book for university students and is the product of a course of lectures which for a number of years I have given at the Second Moscow University. In preparing it for translation I have found it necessary, on the one hand, to add certain materials which do not appear in the Russian edition and, on the other hand, to reduce the book in those parts which are without special interest to the American student of pedagogy. An effort has been made to include only those materials which are characteristic of the soviet system of pedagogy. I wish to make it perfectly clear, however, that the system expounded in the present book is not the generally accepted system, nor is it the official system. Although the basic principles upon which soviet educators are striving to build a system of Marxian pedagogy are everywhere the same, there may be wide differences in details and in the handling of individual questions. Moreover, the development of a uniform theory of education is neither possible nor desirable. In the present case it is sufficient to note that my position on fundamental issues is *typical* of the great majority of soviet educators.

I should like to express my sincere appreciation to Professor Counts for his assistance in making provision for the translation and publication of the present work. It is particularly gratifying to have my book appear in the country which together with Germany was responsible for the development of the science of education in Russia. Separated from America first by the War and later by the blockade we, and particularly the author, were unfortunately unable to keep abreast of many of the more recent developments in education in the United States. However, the mere enumeration of the names

⁶ A. Pinkevitch, *Science and Education in the U. S. S. R.* (New Soviet Library No. 12), New York, Putnam's, 1935, pp. 35, 38-44, 83-86.

of Hall, Dewey, Russell, Monroe, Judd, Thorndike, Kilpatrick, and many others, known to every educator in our country, is a sufficient reminder of the tremendous influence which American education has exerted upon us. In spite of the undoubted differences in ideology which divide soviet from western educational leaders, mutual understanding and recognition of scientific attainments are indispensable. Even in order to condemn one must understand. We have found in the works of American pedagogues and pedologists a rich source of materials. Let us but recall the Dalton Plan, the project method, standard tests, and measurements. All of these innovations have been introduced into our country, even though in their fundamental assumptions they may not be acceptable to us. We, however, do not resort to wholesale condemnation. On the contrary, we study carefully and transplant upon our soil whatever of value we may find elsewhere. And to-day, I wish to repeat, the most valuable source of such materials is found in the writings of American scientists.

The translation itself has been well done. For this I wish to thank Miss Perlmutter. I have read the English manuscript and find that throughout she has faithfully and clearly conveyed to the American reader both the thought and the spirit of the original Russian edition.

I trust that this book will serve as a means of promoting a better understanding between the educational workers of the United States and the Soviet Union.

A. P. PINKEVITCH.

Moscow, Second State University, May, 1929.

INTRODUCTION

Every American student of education knows that in 1917 there occurred in Russia one of the great revolutions of history; he also knows that this revolution, like all revolutions in the more advanced societies, was followed by important changes in educational theory and practice. Beyond these simple and self-evident propositions he is commonly either uninformed or confused in his thinking. This is due in part to the radical nature of the revolution and the violence of the conflicting emotions which it aroused throughout the world. Because of this emotional upset few of us have been able to view with unclouded vision what has been going on in Russia. We have either been so alarmed or so hopeful with regard to the revolution that we have been unable to adopt the scientific attitude of mind.

A second reason for the prevailing absence of accurate knowledge concerning education in Russia is found in the rupture of political, economic and cultural relations following the revolution. To be sure, this rupture is slowly healing, but even to-day, twelve years after the overthrow of the old order, the relations are far from normal. Moreover, the language difficulty is not the least of the many obstacles to understanding. Very few Americans indeed have any knowledge of the Russian language. The direct contacts between the two people are consequently utterly inadequate to insure an adequate exchange of ideas. There have, of course, been numerous newspaper dispatches and some magazine articles of a fairly substantial character dealing with education in the Soviet Union. There have also appeared several brief accounts in book form of the educational program

of revolutionary Russia. Practically all of these reports, however, introduce us to soviet education at second hand. For the most part they have been written by propagandists or by foreign observers who were strangers to the country lying beyond the Vistula. Moreover, most of these outsiders spent but a few weeks or a few months in Russia. As a consequence the accounts of soviet education available for the American reader are on the whole impressionistic in tone, fragmentary in scope, biased in emphasis, and untrustworthy in content.

Because of these facts, which no informed person would care to challenge, the International Institute felt that it would render a genuine service to the cause of education in particular and the cause of international understanding in general by permitting the new Russia to speak for herself through the medium of one of her leading educators. With this end in view the present volume was selected for translation. The reader should bear in mind, however, that it was not written in the first instance for an American audience. It was written for use in Russian universities in the training of teachers. It is consequently in some ways a more illuminating document than a volume written solely for foreign consumption. In a genuine sense it takes one into the very heart of the Russian experiment—into the ideals, purposes, and strategy of the revolution.

While this volume, as the author says in his own preface, is not official in any formal sense and while there are various schools of educational thought in Russia, as in other countries, it is true to the spirit of the revolution and is in essential harmony with the social and political forces which are shaping the policies of the Soviet Union. Doctor Pinkevitch himself, a student of education under the old régime, has been identified with the revolutionary movement for twenty-five years and is now president of the Second State University of Moscow, which contains the largest pedagogical faculty or school of education in Russia. He is also the author of numerous works on education and has been a real factor in the construction of the educational program of Soviet Russia. His book, therefore, while reflecting the personality of the author, may be accepted as a comprehensive, balanced, and trustworthy account of the theory and practice of Russian education.

* * * * *

The State, the Church, and Education

The state and the church, two institutions which have usually worked in close harmony, have always recognized the enormous power of education and have sought to use it in promoting their own interests. And in so far as we have to do with bourgeois states, the governments of which express the class interests of the bourgeoisie, the influence of the state and of the church is exerted in the interests of these ruling classes. A sober analysis of existing societies organized on a class basis reveals everywhere a union between the bourgeoisie and religion; and this union up to the February (March) Revolution was particularly well defined in Russia where the head of the state and the head of the church were the same person.

Every state naturally strives to dominate completely the education of the young. The contemporary state as an organization of

class interests constantly struggles for supremacy, that is, for the supremacy of the class which for the time is in power. Public education aiming, as it does, to mold the future citizen is a mighty instrument which the government cannot pass on to others. In other words, regardless of the clamor which bourgeois educators may raise regarding the matter, the school and the other educational institutions cannot be outside of politics. The slogan "down with politics in the school" is an hypocrisy, for its realization is possible to a certain extent only in the socialistic society of the future. If we cast the eye back over the history of public education, we shall see that at no time and at no place has the school been outside of politics.

* * * * *

Education During the Period of Proletarian Dictatorship

In speaking of the relationship between the state and public education, we have already touched in part upon the contemporary situation in Russia. It is our deep conviction that with certain differences corresponding to the stage of economic development attained by a given state, the experience of Russia today will come sooner or later to every country. In many instances the period of proletarian dictatorship may be a prolonged one, as in the present instance. But in any case all the institutions of bourgeois society will be destroyed and new forms suited to proletarian dictatorship will be created. The institutions of public education of capitalistic states must of course be reorganized and placed on new foundations. And those general aims of education which we have formulated will be concretely realized.

What is the problem of authority during the period of dictatorship? Obviously, it is to destroy the remnant of the capitalistic order, to create new organs of proletarian dictatorship, and to destroy the old and construct a new ideology in all fields of thought. Undoubtedly during this period the school and the other educational institutions will attract the liveliest interest of the proletarian power. The aim of all workers in the sphere of public education will be to instill into the growing generation socialistic (communistic) ideas and thereby to increase the ranks of those who are fighting for the establishment of the socialistic (communistic) state. The aim is, so to speak, the indoctrination of the youth in the proletarian philosophy. And this does not in any wise concern the proletarian children only. In the words of the accepted program, "the school must be not only a vehicle of the principles of communism in general, but also an instrument through which the proletariat may affect the proletarian and non-proletarian strata of the laboring masses with a view to training up a generation capable of finally establishing communism."

By what methods can this be accomplished? In the first place, by placing the control of education in the republic in the hands of communists and socialists sympathizing with the proletarian upheaval; in the second place, by a wide dissemination of communistic ideas through the press and children's literature; and, finally, through a corresponding organization of all of the institutions of public education. Of these three methods only the last will be made the subject of our discussion and in the future we shall have occasion to refer to it not infrequently. Let us point out at once that the

principal foundation of state institutions of public education must be their proletarianization or, in other words, their socialization. To this end schools of all types should be made to approximate as closely as possible the chief forms of labor activity, the entire program of education should be saturated with the ideas of collectivism, and physical work should be made the basis of the psychological training of the child. During the period of transition to socialism these principles apply not only to schools, but also to all of the educational institutions of the proletarian republic.

Education in a Socialistic State

We have no intention here of painting a Utopia. We merely wish to point to certain possibilities which follow as a result of the overthrow of monarchy and the establishment of the world-wide socialistic commune.

First of all, under a socialistic régime, that is, under a condition of perfect economic equality, everybody will receive the opportunity of a complete education which now even in the epoch of proletarian dictatorship is limited to the few; in a socialistic order the only deciding factor will be the ability of the individual. Moreover, education in itself will be different. Certain subjects which are essential now will be dropped. Thus, for example, political economy in its existing form will be just as superfluous then as the former "social sciences" are now in the middle schools or certain departments of jurisprudence in the higher schools in the present soviet state. Natural science and the technical subjects, on the other hand, will acquire a yet larger significance, because everybody, or almost everybody, will have to take part in the productive process and therefore will have to possess at least an elementary technical knowledge. The rôle physical labor which will be equally distributed in the future society, will of course be very large in the school which prepares for life. In this respect all educational institutions will become institutions of labor. And it goes without saying that in every school preparation for socialistic life will rank very high and all that trains a truly socialistic morality will occupy first place. The integration of two great ideas of the pre-socialistic period of social development, the idea of the development of human personality and the idea of individual service to society, will thus become possible. In the new order the ancient antinomy will disappear and be replaced by a natural synthesis.

Heinrich Schultz has thus described the socialistic system of education:

The primitive activity of little children which resembles play is little by little transformed into the organized and useful labor of older children. And in doing the work itself each individual child becomes acquainted at the same time with the social virtues and learns to demonstrate them. The dependence of the rest of life upon labor teaches him to value and respect work itself in all of its details; and the aristocratic contempt toward any kind of occupation is therefore unknown to the child . . . In the course of group work one depends upon another; and from this experience the feeling of solidarity is awakened early and kept alive in the children. . . . The training in labor of the socialistic future will develop in every child all of his good qualities and in such a way as will subordinate everything to the good of the child himself as well as society as a whole.

At this point the words of Marx with regard to the same question may well be quoted:

As we can learn in detail from a study of the life work of Robert Owen, the germs of the education of the future are to be found in the factory system. This will be an education which, in the case of every child over a certain age, will combine productive labor with instruction and physical culture, not only as a means for increasing social production, but as the only way of producing fully developed human beings.¹

CHAPTER IV. MENTAL GROWTH—INTELLECTUAL AND VOLITIONAL

In our system there is of course no place for "religious" or "national" education. These concepts belong to bourgeois pedagogy and are viewed by us as an evil heritage from the past. But here, as elsewhere, a sound program of prophylactics must be organized. Our practice convinces us that a child left to himself in questions of religion and removed from the presence of bad examples grows up free from prejudice. At the same time it is of course important that the surrounding environment, from the behavior of the teacher to the cleanliness of the room where the child works or sleeps, should develop in him through suggestion and imitation desirable social habits and should provide him with materials which will turn thought and phantasy in the desired direction.

CHAPTER VIII. THE SOCIALISTIC LABOR SCHOOL

A more correct view of labor is that held by the great American philosopher, John Dewey, who ranks among the bourgeois forerunners of the true labor school. In his opinion, the foundation of the school should be practical activity and not work in general, that is, it should be the useful overcoming of obstacles. In his volume entitled *School and Society* he writes as follows:

The great thing to keep in mind, then, regarding the introduction into the school of various forms of active occupation, is that through them the entire spirit of the school is renewed. It has a chance to affiliate itself with life, to become the child's habitat, where he learns through directed living, instead of being only a place to learn lessons having an abstract and remote reference to some possible living to be done in the future. It gets a chance to be a miniature community, an embryonic society. . . . These occupations in school shall not be mere practical devices or modes of routine employment, the gaining of better technical skill as cooks, seamstresses, or carpenters, but active centers of scientific insight into natural materials and processes, points of departure whence children shall be led out into a realization of the historic development of man.

As can be readily seen from a perusal of Marx's definition of labor and the formulation of the problems of the labor school as expressed by our Commissariat of Education, Dewey comes infinitely closer to Marx and the Russian communists than any of the theorists mentioned.

Bourgeois Supporters of the Labor School. Dewey

In his writings Kershensteiner not infrequently cites with approval the views of the American educational philosopher, John Dewey. On the surface this seems peculiar. In the pedagogical sense of the word Dewey is far more progressive than the educator from Munich. In their ideology, however, the two are very similar. Both stand on the ground of the existing régime; both strive to adapt the school to the needs of their respective countries, the one to the needs of a democracy and the other to the needs of the Hohenzollern Empire. And in voicing the interests of the great industrial bourgeoisie, they are both concerned primarily with the *reconciliation* of classes. In serving this end, however, Dewey employs a much wiser method. As a matter of fact he reflects the dominant spirit of America, where at the beginning of the twentieth century the bourgeoisie were unquestionably more progressive than in Germany. We have already presented certain opinions of Kershensteiner with regard to the social order. Let us examine Dewey in the same field. In his *Schools of Tomorrow* he says:

It is fatal for a democracy to permit the formation of fixed classes. Differences of wealth, the existence of large masses of unskilled laborers, contempt for work with the hands, inability to secure the training which enables one to forge ahead in life, all operate to produce classes, and to widen the gulf between them. Statesmen and legislation can do something to combat these evil forces. Wise philanthropy can do something. But the only fundamental agency for good is the public school system. Every American is proud of what has been accomplished in the past in fostering among very diverse elements of population a spirit of unity and of brotherhood so that the sense of common interests and aims has prevailed over the strong forces working to divide our people into classes.

The reconciliation of the workers with their condition of exploitation seems to be the fundamental thought of *democrats* such as Dewey and Kershensteiner. It is to just such *democrats* or *socialists* that Marx and Engels refer in the *Communist Manifesto* in 1847: "This socialism in reality demands merely that the worker while continuing to live in a bourgeois society should cease to hate it." Nevertheless, in spite of his bourgeois bias Dewey advances many valuable ideas and describes many instructive experiments. In order therefore that we may profit from his thinking we deem it highly desirable to examine his writings.

One of Dewey's most fundamental contentions is that the organization of the school in most countries does not correspond to the organization of society and the needs of the time. The contemporary school came into existence in an epoch altogether different from the present. At that time the rôle of industry was insignificant. The tie between science and production which is so characteristic today was absent then. The changes in all spheres of life ushered in by the industrial revolution has, according to Dewey, made the relation of education to industry one of the most significant problems of public education in America. "Practically all the conceptions associated with culture and cultural education," he says, "were created at a time when the immense superiority of a leisure class over all working classes was taken as a matter of course." Hence the intellectualism of the American school even at the primary level. In the day of handicrafts the family provided the child with much opportunity for physical labor, but after the coming of mass production children ceased to

share in daily useful activity and remained outside the influence of the practical and moral discipline of everyday life. There has consequently arisen the acute problem of reconstructing education in the light of the industrial development so that it may meet present life conditions. Dewey sums up the various details of his point of view in the following three principles:

First, never before was it as important as it is now that each individual should be capable of self-respecting, self-supporting, intelligent work—that each should make a living for himself and those dependent upon his efforts, and should make it with an intelligent recognition of what he is doing and an intelligent interest in doing his work well.

Secondly, never before did the work of one individual affect the welfare of others on such a wide scale as at present.

In the third place, industrial methods and processes depend today upon knowledge of facts and laws of natural and social science in a much greater degree than ever before. Our railways and steamboats, factories and farms, even our ordinary household appliances, depend for their existence upon intricate mathematical, physical, chemical, and biological insight. They depend for their best ultimate use upon an understanding of the facts and relationships of social life. Unless the mass of workers are to be blind cogs and pinions in the apparatus they employ, they must have some understanding of the physical and social facts behind and ahead of the material and appliances with which they are dealing.¹

The pedagogical inference to be drawn from this statement is clear. The pupil must learn to connect knowledge with life *activities* and, vice versa, to connect these activities with the scientific principles upon which their successful performance depends. Moreover, the aim of education is not to prepare the child definitely for some vocation, but rather to develop in him a lively interest toward and an understanding of the social and scientific significance of a selected occupation. People should conduct their household duties, care for their children, and work on their farms and in their shops with understanding. They should also consciously participate in the political affairs of the democracy which has been erected on the basis of industrialism. And if in a given community a certain form of productive enterprise predominates, the children should receive their education through the materials offered by that enterprise. But this by no means should be preparation for some special trade.

Thus Dewey brings himself to the problem of industrial education. And how should this problem be attacked? The answer is found in his volume on *Schools of Tomorrow* as well as in a number of other works. In the first book he describes at length several industrial schools and particularly the Gary system. In the latter the first three grades of the eight-year elementary school engage in manual work and drawing for one hour daily, whereas the five older grades give twice as much time to the same type of activities. Little children work in school shops, such as printing, carpentry, engine room, electricity, and so forth, only as helpers to their elders or merely as observers. In the sixth grade children begin doing actual work and become real workers. Dewey describes the Gary school as follows:

Distributing school supplies, keeping the school records and taking care of the grounds are done by the pupils under the direction of the school office or the botanical laboratory, and constitute a course in shopwork just as much as does painting or repairing the electric lights. The school heat and power plant is also a laboratory for the pupils, in which they learn the principles of heating and lighting in a thoroughly practical way because they do much of the work connected with keeping the plant running.

¹ Dewey, John, and Dewey, Evelyn, *Schools of Tomorrow*.

The shop and science courses of the schools last only a third of the year, and there is a shorter probation course of five weeks. The pupils choose with the advice of their teachers what shop course they will take; if at the end of five weeks they do not like it they may change. They must change twice during the year. In this way the work cannot lose its educational character and become simply a method of making juvenile factory hands to do the school repairs. Taking three shop courses in one school year results in giving the pupil merely a superficial knowledge of the theory and processes of any one kind of work. But this is as it should be, for the pupils are not taking the courses to become carpenters, or electricians, or dressmakers, but, to find out how the work of the world is done.¹

In the last two grades of this school the pupils are responsible workers in all the shops. They can now begin to specialize in printing, bookkeeping, or sewing, and pursue a line of training which is almost vocational. Such a program actually leads to a condition in which "all work done is productive. All the shops are manufacturing plants for the Gary schools."

It is interesting to contrast this picture with the description of Dewey's own school of brief duration. According to his theory the school should make industry and productive labor, which is not of a strictly vocational character, the basis of its program. But this labor must be socially organized and its social import must be made clear to the child. As Dewey himself says: "We must conceive of work in wood and metal, of weaving, sewing, and cooking, as methods of living and learning, not as distinct studies. We must conceive of them in their social significance as types of the processes by which society keeps itself going, as agencies for bringing home to the child some of the primal necessities of community life, and as ways in which these needs have been met by the growing insight and ingenuity of man; in short, as instrumentalities through which the school itself shall be made a genuine form of active community life, instead of a place set apart in which to learn lessons."²

The value of productive work in the school lies also in the fact that it is not imposed from without and in the further fact that the child is clearly aware of its purpose. By giving him first-hand experience and by putting him in direct contact with reality, productive labor affords to the child a genuine motive for action. This point Dewey stresses again and again. According to his contention all that is mechanical and dead in teaching is the result of lack of motivation. When the child is offered ready-made materials for mere memorizing he feels no need, no urge, no desire to study any phenomenon. On the other hand, when he is provided with a motive, he puts forth all his efforts and completely loses himself in his work.

As we have seen, Dewey advances many valuable considerations in favor of productive work in school; and, on the whole, he realizes the educational significance of this work. Every contemporary student of education should study his writings. However, we should not lose sight of the fact that we have before us a representative of the bourgeoisie, albeit a talented one and one who has a superior grasp of contemporary industry, and therefore in his ideology a stranger to us. Consequently the rôle of labor in his school is not the same as it is in a truly socialistic school.

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¹ Dewey, John, and Dewey, Evelyn, *Schools of Tomorrow*.

² Dewey, John, *School and Society*.

The Labor School as Understood by the Russian Communists

The foregoing outline has prepared the reader in considerable measure for the exposition of the views of the communists regarding the labor school. At any rate the most important aspects of our theory have already been presented. Among those who have set forth the communistic conception of education in Russia are Lenin Krupskaja, Lunacharsky, Blonsky, Kalashnikov, Shoolgin, and Pestrak. At present, particularly in the light of the new programs for the unified labor school, the views of the communists are given very definite formulation. We shall attempt an analysis of the views of the communist theorists such as Lenin, Krupskaja, Lunacharsky, Shoolgin, Pestrak, and of the accompanying non-communists represented by Kalashnikov and Blonsky. For a more detailed characterization of the communistic labor school we shall make use of the writings of all of these educators.

In its program the All-Russian Communist Party thus defines the aims of the school in the present epoch: "During the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, during the period of the preparation of those conditions which will make possible the complete realization of communism, the school must be not only a conductor of the principles of communism in general, but also a conductor of an organized educational influence of the proletariat on the semi-proletarian and proletarian strata of the laboring masses. The basic purpose of this influence is to train up a generation capable ultimately of establishing communism." The complete realization of the principles of the unified labor school requires the establishment of a school "which is secular, i. e., free from any kind of religious teaching; which is coeducational; which conducts its teaching in the native tongue of the pupils; which emphasizes the ultimate relation between education and socially productive labor; and which thus prepares well-rounded members of the communistic society."

In his volume entitled *Fundamental Questions of Social Education* Shoolgin has given an excellent exposition of the demands of the party. He presents the communist conception of the rôle of labor in education and the rôle of the labor school in society as follows:

To our mind labor is the best method of so introducing young children to the laboring class and of so merging them with the class-builder that they may not only understand the proletarian ideology, but may actually begin to live, to strive, and to build according to that ideology. But this is not all. Labor to us is a means of inducting children into the working world family in order that they may participate in and understand the struggle of the masses, follow the history of human society, acquire working, organizing, and collective habits, and come into possession of the discipline of work. To us labor, because of its superior integrating power, is the best method of teaching children how to live the contemporary life. The factory is the first and most sensitive place of modern society. Since labor, self-government, and contemporary life merge into an inseparable union, the march of economic events calls for schools which will train the warrior and builder of life.

And if we are asked to define the labor school, we shall not answer as does Sharrelmann; we shall not enumerate fifteen characteristics; we shall not conclude our definition with the phrase "and others of the same kind"; we shall not wrangle with contradictions as does Dewey. No, we shall say definitely and clearly: "You ask about the labor school? Excellent. It is a school which trains warriors for the ideals of the working class, builders of a communistic society. It is throughout, from top to bottom, saturated therefore with contemporary life; it is organized by children with the aid of leaders on a labor basis; it is called to life by the advance of economic development. It is a work school; it

is an evidence of the fact that bourgeois society is dying, that in his turn the class builder is coming, that his aims are the aims of the school, and that he will realize those aims through the school."

This statement by Shoolgin in reality suggests the most characteristic feature of the contemporary labor school. That feature, first advanced in Russia by Krupskaja, is the polytechnical nature of the labor school. "This does not mean," she writes, "a school in which one studies several trades, but rather a school where children learn to understand the essence of the laboring processes, the substance of the labor activity of the people, and the conditions of success in work. It is a school where children learn to know the extent of their powers."

Thus the chief characteristics of the communistic school during the period of transition are the study of labor activity and its organization, the approach to labor from the point of view of builder of a communistic social order in the epoch of proletarian dictatorship, and the class proletarian analysis of contemporary life. And to these we might add the creation of a true labor environment for the school work, the establishment of the most intimate relations with production in both theory and practice, and the maintenance of close contact with the laboring classes.

What are the fundamental differences between a school of this type and the schools of Dewey, Oestreich, Faris, and Robin? First, there is a difference in aim. Our school is dominated by the class aim in the sense described above. Second, there is a difference in the rôle assigned to labor in the school. In our school the center of all activity is not manual work as in the school of Robin—it is not merely active and socially useful work, but production as a whole. This is the basic characteristic which distinguishes our school from that of Oestreich or Dewey. We are not uncritical enthusiasts of hand work regardless of shape or form. As a matter of fact emphasis on manual dexterity is a vestige from the past. Handicraft has yielded to industrial production; and if we wish to understand and *live in* the contemporary culture, if we wish to understand and *begin to live* the mode of life and ideology of the proletariat, we must imbibe the culture of machine production. In a word our school must become an industrial school. This thought is well expressed in the works of Kalashnikov who, though not a communist, approaches closer to reality than any other writer in his treatment of the question of the labor school. "Pedagogical manualism," he says, "is admissible only as an introduction to what must constitute the chief content of the school, namely, an understanding of the most modern forms of social labor. But since these forms are given to us in the shape of the industrial organization of production, the school also must be organized so as to turn out pupils who will be thoroughly acquainted with this fundamental tendency in the development of production." Or as Shoolgin says in his interesting work, *Thoughts on Communistic Education*, our urgent problem is "to teach the growing generation to adapt all forms of its life to the actual demands of the growth of productive forces." Of course the *demands* and *growth* are to be viewed from a class proletarian point of view.

With this we conclude our general review of the various conceptions of the labor school. In our further exposition we shall attempt

to present in detail the ideas of the Russian communists and in particular our own personal views regarding this institution. Consequently, since a more extended discussion here would merely anticipate the content of subsequent chapters, we shall not pause longer over the general outline.

CHAPTER IX. THE CHILDREN'S COLLECTIVE

General Remarks

In every school a distinction may be drawn between the teaching of the materials of instruction and the teaching of behavior. In our schools the latter could more properly be called the organization of the children's collective or the organization of behavior. The term behavior is used here in the sense in which it is employed by the psychologist.

At the beginning of our discussion of the question of the organization of conduct we wish to emphasize one guiding principle of soviet pedagogy. We assign to the teacher the rôle of organizer, assistant, instructor, and older comrade, but not the rôle of superior officer. In the old school the teacher was a dictator. In the liberal bourgeois school he is at best a leader. With us he is primarily an organizer.

The School as a Collective

Every school is a unique collective or children's commune with its own rules and laws, social work, and enterprises in which both children and adults participate. The mere existence of a collective raises, of course, the question of organization. However, we speak of the organization of the children's collective life not only because the existence of the school community is an unavoidable fact, but also because the organizing process is itself an educational instrument of tremendous significance and power. In our opinion the children should organize their own social life in school in order to develop those collectivistic traits which are indispensable for the creation of new forms of social life. Naturally they should not be left entirely to themselves. In order to make full pedagogical use of the efforts of children at self-organization the teacher should place certain limitations on their social activity. While he should by no means force their collective will he should realize fully that the self-organization of children does not mean anarchy, even the anarchy of children.

The purpose of the present chapter is to examine the methods of self-organization of children, to determine the rôle of the teacher in the process, and to touch upon the question of discipline.

Pupil Self-government

The most important form of children's self-organization is that of self-government. As yet, however, this term has not been fully defined and is commonly interpreted either too broadly or too narrowly. When used in its broader sense it embraces self-organization or participation in the management of the school. Viewed more narrowly it means the actual *government* by the children

of certain aspects of school activity. While subscribing to the more narrow interpretation, we would suggest that the term *self-government* be applied only to those forms of self-organization which concern the collective as a whole and which have to do with rules of conduct imposed by the children themselves. If we accept this definition we must exclude those forms of self-organization, such as various out-of-school occupations, which do not express the life of the entire collective. We must also exclude participation in the council where the final decision does not rest with the children alone. Of course any organ of children's self-government may and should aid in the selection of representatives to the school council. It should also organize various forms of out-of-school activity, but this work is not an integral part of the program of self-government. The election of pupils to the school council and the organization of circles by the children themselves can readily be imagined in schools where there is no semblance of self-government.

Some well-known educators refuse to employ the term *self-government* because in their opinion the children and teachers should be jointly responsible not only for the government, but also for the management of the entire school. Such a position is hardly defensible, for in the last analysis the teachers and above all the principal are really responsible for what goes on in the school. And to them is entrusted, among other responsibilities, the "proper introduction of pupil self-government."

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Another Swiss educator, Hepp, began the preparation of his pupils for self-government with exercises in self-control. Parenthetically let us quote his following characteristic remark: "I resorted to self-government as a method of education more in response to external need than because of personal desire." The preparatory exercises, the *gymnastics of the will*, were carried out on such trivialities as the following: "No one should respond to a knock on the classroom door"; and "No one should turn around when the door is opened." Exercises, pertaining to the neatness of notebooks and similar matters, were also introduced into the system and related to the problem. Hepp then proceeded to draw up *laws* and to create proper organs for their enforcement. The following *Laws of the Class* will best characterize the narrow sweep of the self-government upon which Hepp wasted so many good words:

- (1) The classroom is a place for work. It should not be transformed into a place for play and loitering.
- (2) Every respectable boy maintains order and good behavior in the classroom.
- (3) Shouting, making a racket, and playing pranks with rulers are forbidden.
- (4) Until the bell rings marking the hour of study any one may leave this seat to look at a map or to talk with a neighbor.
- (5) Every boy must always so behave, whether in the corridor or in the yard, that he will not lower the honor of the class.
- (6) Boys must not go into the yard adjoining the school because little girls play there during recess and the boys have their own yard.
- (7) Every decent boy must come to school washed and combed.

The limited scope of Hepp's conception of self-government is also revealed in the following list of officers provided by his system:

- (1) A guardian of order. (2) Three collectors of notebooks. (3) A blackboard cleaner. (4) A server of the teacher's desk. (5) A window opener. (6) Exemplary gymnasts. (7) A keeper of the flowers.

After examining various forms of Swiss self-government one can only agree with the characterization of Krupskaja: "Absence of freedom in the Swiss school leaves its imprint also on the experiments in self-government. The latter, though possessing a certain measure of educational value, is pedantic in its character."

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We want self-government not in order that children may carry into life rules already established by their elders. Children should not just play at self-government, they should actually build their own life. Care must therefore be taken lest self-government degenerate into mere play with parliamentary forms. Self-government of this type cannot be of long duration; children will soon tire of it. Neither the execution of teachers' orders nor play in parliament can make self-government a genuine possession of the children. Difficulties will no doubt attend the inauguration of such an order of things as we propose. Children will make mistakes. Thus the resolution in favor of a one-hour recitation period passed by the meeting in Vikersdorf is unsound from both pedagogical and hygienic points of view. But let the children arrive at this conclusion as a result of their own experiment; they will then be convinced themselves and will not be simply carrying out the prescriptions of somebody else. In time they will realize their error, and in this process of discovering the truth they will learn much.

The most fundamental characteristic, however, which distinguishes our theory of self-government from that obtained in other countries is its communistic coloring, or at least its communistic foundation. We need organizers and builders of a new society, we need warriors for a new way of life. Self-government is our most effective educational instrument for producing such organizers, builders, and warriors.

The Role of the Teachers in Children's Self-government

A very important question pertaining to the organization of pupil self-government is the role of the teacher. We have already said that the latter does not impose his ideas upon the children, but rather works with them in the formulation of laws and regulations. His task is to call their attention to the problems before them, to help them to understand and determine the method of attacking these problems, and finally together with them to introduce their decisions into life. The teacher is the elder, the more experienced, the better informed, and the stronger comrade, but he is neither the commander nor the *administrator*. There may be instances when the teacher will be compelled to repudiate the decisions of the pupils, if those decisions are not in harmony with the purposes of the school at the time. But such extreme measures should be resorted to only on very rare and urgent occasions.

It goes without saying that in the early stages of its introduction self-government may encounter certain difficulties. Children are not always prepared for it, and frequently they have already been corrupted by life in schools and dormitories of the old type. Such children, simply because they do not trust their leaders, are inclined to regard the mere idea of self-government with suspicion. In an

interesting description of a *Children's City* near Odessa we find a significant reference to the presence of this sort of suspicion in a children's home. "All the children are deeply convinced," according to the statement, "that the teachers exist only to cheat them of bread."

Either to place all the affairs of the school entirely in the hands of the children or, on the contrary, to extend an equally complete monopoly of privilege to adults would hardly be judicious. We find an example of such an artificial division of function in the description of a certain self-governing school community. The teachers "reserved for themselves the work of teaching and the supervision of health and turned everything else over to the self-governing commune. . . . When on duty the teacher assumed the role of attentive observer and counselor in difficult cases." Now as a matter of fact children may contribute much to the improvement of teaching and the guarding of health, and it is of vital importance that they participate in the organization of the entire life of the school or of the children's home. Moreover, the reverse, the participation of the teachers in all of the children's organizations, is equally necessary. Whether the adult members of the community are to have a deciding or consulting vote is not important; since they will always be outnumbered by the pupils, their influence will not be determined by their votes.

We regard as indispensable the participation of representatives from children in the deliberations of the school soviet which is the official and to some degree the public organ of the school. Here, however, they are not supposed to behave as the guardians of a special caste of pupils. They should rather regard themselves as co-workers of equal rights with the teachers who, "as the objects and conductors of the educational ideas developed by the school soviet, possess special knowledge and qualities."

Labor and Self-government

As already stated, self-government imposed from above is unstable; to be enduring it should come in response to school needs. The success of experiments in self-government based on the real needs of the school confirms us in this opinion. The performance of socially necessary work, moreover, is the natural integrating factor in every children's organization and provides the most desirable basis for the development of self-government. The much talked of *self-service* which has often been introduced into schools in the most absurd forms assumes an entirely changed appearance when linked with self-government. Thus Vasiliev maintains that "in most cases well-organized self-service follows well-organized self-government." And the leaders of a school commune in Moscow write: "Self-service in an extreme form was carried out by the children. When we emphatically forbade heavy work, such as the scrubbing of floors of huge buildings, they argued the point with us. Not content with self-service they vigorously insisted on participation in some form of socially useful work. In the field of labor activity they felt a particular self-assurance and independence, and their discipline was more reserved."

CHAPTER X. THE FOUNDATIONS OF METHOD

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The Dalton Plan

In passing on to an analysis of the measures which govern the relation between teacher and pupil in the process of instruction, we shall say nothing about the *lesson*, the *conversation*, or the *lecture*. These methods have already received sufficient attention. We shall discuss here only the contract and the project. Since they represent two different systems of teaching, we shall discuss each of them in its more general setting.

The Dalton Plan, which might be called a *cabinet* system of teaching, was recently developed by Helen Parkhurst, an American teacher, in Tacoma, Washington, Dalton, Massachusetts, and New York City. According to her own statement she conceived the idea underlying the method many years ago while teaching forty children and eight grades in a rural school. Finding it difficult to conduct the school along traditional lines, she hit upon the thought of transforming the classroom into a sort of library. She divided the work of all eight grades into subjects and assigned each subject to a particular corner to which she brought all equipment relating to that branch of study. This experiment dates back to 1904. But her method was not fully developed until fourteen years later. In June of 1919 it was applied to schools in London, and at present there are many schools in England organized according to the plan. The fundamental thought of her system Miss Parkhurst has expressed as follows: "The old type of school may be said to stand for culture, while the modern type of school stands for experience. The Dalton Laboratory Plan is primarily a way whereby both these aims can be reconciled and achieved."¹

In its practical application the scheme calls for the organization of the school into a number of laboratories. Thus the more formal school subjects, such as mathematics, natural science, geography, native language, and foreign language, as well as those subjects which may be studied independently and without constant guidance and instruction like music, manual training, and the arts, all have their separate laboratories. The program which must be covered during the year in a given subject is divided into weekly and monthly assignments. As the pupil goes to work he is given detailed instructions to guide him in his study. In the outline which accompanies the assignment are various questions which the pupil is required to answer in a written form. Every morning at nine o'clock the pupil comes to school and remains until twelve in the *laboratory* of his choice. He is free in this selection; the only limitation placed upon him for the day is the physical limitation of lack of space in the laboratory chosen. During the period of study the instructor is present and offers instructions and explanations to all who desire guidance. In addition daily talks by the teacher are given to the whole class, and special conferences are also arranged. The work is checked by means of cards on which the pupil himself sets down measures of his own work. Thus the budgeting of the time of the

¹ Parkhurst, Helen, *Education on the Dalton Plan*.

pupil, the habituation to independent planning of work, and the use of cards in recording progress are all characteristic of the Dalton Plan.

The first of the cards is designed for the teacher. On it the success of each pupil's work is recorded. It consequently makes possible a comparison of the achievements of various members of the class. Then each pupil has his own card on which he keeps an account of his daily work. Finally there is a card which reports the march of the whole class or grade.

The Dalton Plan permits the individualization of instruction. Easy assignments are given to the weak and difficult assignments to the strong pupils. Moreover, the same pupil may select the more difficult assignment in one subject and the easier in another. Throughout the program the materials of instruction are adjusted to the inclinations and the abilities of the children.

All forms of equipment which facilitate the study of a particular subject, such as books, apparatus, maps, and references, are brought together in the laboratory. The pupil experiments, conducts investigations, and reads books from the bibliographies given to him. He is made acquainted with the purpose of the work, he uses his time as he pleases, and he engages in each subject according to his inclination. Toward the end of the month, however, the units of work in all subjects for the period must be completed; otherwise the *contract* between pupil and teacher is canceled.

Let us now examine the Dalton Plan from the point of view of the socialistic labor school. We admit at once of course its indisputable merits. In the first place, it abolishes the passive *classes* with the silent students and the loquacious teacher. The latter is now in the background: he has ceased to be a schoolmaster and has become a leader. We should point out perhaps that long ago many of our Russian schools strove toward this cabinet system with considerable success. In the second place, Parkhurst emphasizes the very important principle that each pupil should understand the aim of his work. Ordinarily from the first year of the primary school to the last year of the university the pupil never views his work as a whole. In the third place, the Dalton Plan permits each child to follow his own inclinations and aptitudes. This in our opinion is extremely desirable. In the fourth place, it repudiates the principle of compulsion which has been sanctified by ages of practice in the passive school. Under the Dalton Plan the pupil feels himself free. In the fifth place it unquestionably makes the work more flexible and gives to the entire school an active dynamic quality. In the sixth place, it brings about certain relationships of a mutual and coöperative nature between teacher and pupil and among the pupils which are new and in many respects entirely praiseworthy. All these features of the system represent genuine advances, but from our point of view it is not without its defects.

First of all there is the difficulty of introducing the plan into our school. To create studio laboratories of the type proposed with our poverty is almost impossible. And yet if these laboratories are not equipped as they should be, the whole scheme will degenerate into a process of cramming for the passing of tests. Pupils will then ask quite naturally the old question: "Why go to school?" Perhaps the funds which children spend on books would be more than sufficient to organize and equip the laboratories; but actually these funds

are not at the disposal of the educational authorities. Furthermore, the school is not able to supply the pupils individually with the necessary materials for experimental work in the natural sciences. If the teacher has but a single set of materials with which to experiment he can demonstrate and present a heuristic interpretation before the entire class. Under the Dalton Plan such meager provisions would be practically without value. Thus the first condition essential to this system of teaching is adequate school equipment. If this is lacking the results secured may be much less satisfactory than under the worst type of passive school.

But let us assume that the material limitation is surmounted. Is the Dalton Plan as developed by Parkhurst acceptable to us? Our answer must be in the negative. Without certain substantial changes it is out of harmony with our theory of education. We do not refer here to such unimportant changes as, let us say, the abolition of the *contract* between teacher and pupil. Modifications of a much more serious character are imperative.

It is impossible for us to carry on our entire educational program in *laboratories* for the reason that in spite of the best equipment dogmatic text-books will be used in a number of school subjects. In the latter there will be no *exploration*, no *interpretation*, no *investigation*. Thus in the social studies, in place of a live study of reality, of *contemporary life*, we will get the memorizing of books. Under the Dalton Plan even in physics generalizations which should be derived inductively may be dogmatically memorized. The same is true of natural history and geography. A true school resorts to the text at the end and not at the beginning of the study and exploration of a given field. As a matter of fact there is not a single school subject in which the introduction of the Dalton Plan consistently would not lead on the whole to dogmatism. A review of the "assignments" outlined by Miss Parkhurst in her book furnishes convincing proof that she has completely overlooked this side of the question. At any rate dogmatism seems to permeate her practical work. Lest we be accused of talking in generalities, let us pass to the examination of a concrete instance.

In the weekly assignment in physics for children from twelve to thirteen years of age these instructions may be found: "Therefore in starting our work for the month we shall begin with motion and force. Newton's Three Laws of Motion and Their Effects. You will find it helpful to learn these three laws first and then proceed with the following experiments." (Newton's laws then follow.)¹ Thus, first dogmatic memorizing, and then the working over of the abstractions memorized. And of what does this working over process consist? First the reading of the text, and then the checking up of what has been read by means of simple little tests. Obviously even an ordinary lesson conducted experimentally, objectively, and heuristically would be more profitable than the memorizing of the book and the laws copied in the pupils' "assignments."

But perhaps all of this is due to faulty assignments; perhaps the latter should be prepared differently. As a matter of fact this is the organic vice of the whole system. Miss Parkhurst is interested in equipping the future American citizen with all the knowledge necessary to make of him a good business man. But for the pupil to secure

¹ Parkhurst, Helen, *Education on the Dalton Plan*.

this knowledge independently through the experimental method is impossible. Even though the best equipment and books be provided he cannot possibly rediscover everything. Moreover, under the Dalton Plan this method of experimentation and discovery cannot be employed in a very large part of the program. Yet innumerable questions in subjects like physics and chemistry require such refined treatment that they cannot possibly be forced into the narrow frames of the Dalton assignments. The conclusion is consequently apparent that alongside the Dalton assignment work there should be recitations of the *laboratory* type described above. But there are other arguments which point in the same direction. Work of the Dalton type uninterrupted by live, joyful, experimental lessons or excursions, about which Parkhurst says nothing, will inevitably be monotonous and uninteresting. A well-conducted heuristic laboratory lesson has an emotional tone that is particularly desirable for children of school age. This tone is almost completely lacking under the Dalton system.

Let us now consider one final defect of the plan. In spite of the insistent statements of Miss Parkhurst regarding its significance for social education, we cannot but express the fear that it will be instrumental in developing individualistic tendencies in children. Under the Dalton scheme every pupil is busy with himself, with his own assignment, and with the completion of his own work. Since each is absorbed in a different matter, what one's neighbors are doing is unfamiliar and foreign. In laboratory recitations and in practical studies of the *frontal* type¹ there is always some work in common. In the studios of Miss Parkhurst there is almost no collective effort of any kind.

The training of an able and intelligent business man who performs his work quickly and accurately, who is not distracted by any interest in *philosophy*, or *discovery*, or *revolution*, a bourgeois who conducts his affairs efficiently—such is the objective result of the Dalton Plan. Time is money, and money is time: this watchword of the American business man constantly rings in your ears as you read Miss Parkhurst's eulogies of liberty, democracy, and the like. Not a revolutionary, not a *discoverer of new lands*, but at best an intelligent soviet clerk will be the product of this method in its pure orthodox application.

Because of its limitations, however, we must not overlook the positive merits of the method. We must utilize everything of value that it has to offer. Thus we must organize more work in the libraries and less in the classrooms, more assignments for independent undertakings and less domination by the teacher. At the same time we must make certain that the element of investigation permeates all work and that the emphasis be placed on the study not of books but of nature and contemporary social life. This final estimate of the Dalton Plan, which was formulated in 1923, is supported now by five years of experience.

The Project Method

The chief characteristics of the project method as developed in America have been clearly set forth by Collings. In an interesting volume he states that he was guided in his researches by the desire

¹ This means that all the children execute one and the same piece of work. In other words, they are all on the same front.

to throw some light upon the following questions: "Can the country school curriculum be selected directly from the purposes of boys and girls in real life? If so, to what extent, with what effect, and under what conditions?"¹

These questions suggest the entire system; they give the essence of the method. The first of them also suggests the answer: "The school program should be composed of purposeful assignments, solved by the children in actual life." Such assignments or child projects Collings classifies under the four heads of Play, Excursion, Story, and Hand. These projects, he says, were "experimentally determined on the basis of affording boys and girls opportunity to realize their own purposes during the operation of the Experimental School. Play projects represent those experiences in which the purpose is to engage in such group activities as games, folk dancing, dramatization, or social parties. Excursion projects involve purposeful study of problems connected with environments and activities of people. Story projects include purposes to enjoy the story in its various forms—oral, song, picture, phonograph, or piano. Hand projects represent purposes to express ideas in concrete form—to make a rabbit trap, to prepare cocoa for the school luncheon, or to grow cantaloups."²

Let us give examples of each type of project for the three age groups existing in Collings' school. The first group included children six, seven, and eight years old; the second group, children nine, ten, and eleven years old; and the third group, children twelve, thirteen, and in some instances fourteen years old. Sample projects for these different age groups are as follows:

A. Play Projects

Group I. Participation in games. Celebration of holidays.

Group II. Same. More complex games and holiday celebrations. Dramatization.

Group III. Same. Still more complex.

B. Excursion Projects

Group I. How Mr. Guinn grows such pretty yard flowers. How Mr. Chase shears his sheep. Watching the turtle cross the branch. Fishing on Indian Creek.

Group II. What are the causes of typhoid in Mr. Smith's home? Finding out how Mr. Moser culls his fine hens. How Mr. Brock plans his vegetable garden. What we will see at the big circus at Neosho.

Group III. How our taxes are collected in Pineville. What our taxes are used for at Pineville. How the Neosho Creamery makes butter. How Armistice Day will be celebrated at Pineville.

C. Story Projects

In all three groups of various difficulty the stories of the children themselves, selected and told by them. Singing. Music.

D. Hand Projects

Group I. Making an ironing board. Making a school apron. Making a snow sled. Making dolls. Project of cultivation of corn, potatoes, etc. (Done at home.)

Group II. Work in vegetable garden. Cleaning the school yard. Brushing the teeth after lunch. Culture of potatoes, cantaloups. Gathering of hay on the school meadow.

¹ Collings, Ellsworth, *An Experiment with a Project Curriculum*.

² *Ibid.*

Group III. Organization of the school exhibit. Preparation of various dishes for school lunches. Making handkerchiefs. Taking out of spots on dresses. Pasteurization of milk.

These examples show with sufficient clearness that in their content the projects of the American school differ sharply from what we call socially useful work. Our aim is to take the project method and put our own content into it. All forms of our community purposeful undertakings are as a matter of fact "projects" in the sense in which Collings uses the term. Their content, however, is altogether different from the content of the activities which he proposes. The project system raises the very important question as to whether teaching in our schools should be built on the basis of children's own planning. It also makes the study of life itself rather than the study by means of the laboratory of the scientific bases of life the aim of organized education. The bourgeois American school fails to give to the method that community quality which is characteristic of our socialistic school. There is no doubt, however, that of all the contemporary attempts to reform the school, such as the Dalton Plan, the Platoon Plan, the Winnetka Plan, the Jena Plan, the Decroly method, and many others, the project system with appropriate changes is best adapted to the nature and purposes of the soviet school. It affords the children greater freedom of activity, encourages them to engage in practical work, demands of them independent planning, and trains them in the methods of investigation. We are certain, moreover, that, even if we had been unfamiliar with the experiments of Collings and with the other attempts in America to develop the project system, our school would unavoidably have assumed approximately its present character. Our community purposeful work arose quite independently, and acquaintance with the "project method" has merely helped to give it a more definite form.

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CHAPTER XI. THE CURRICULUM

Principles Underlying the Preparation of the Programs of the State Scientific Council

The fundamental principles underlying the entire educational program of the labor school were proclaimed as early as 1918 and in the main have preserved their significance down to the present time (1928). The courses of study, giving these principles concrete expression, however, were not developed until 1923. The programs which prior to this date had appeared first in Leningrad and later in Moscow were merely improvements upon what had formerly existed. No doubt this work contributed much to the evolution of method and technique which remains of value today; but the early programs were not organically related to labor and were not as yet suited to the labor school.

In 1923 there appeared programs for the elementary school, programs for the first year of the secondary school, and a plan for the program of the entire nine-year school. These programs which later came to be known as the Programs of the State Scientific Council represented a genuine creative effort and put our school on the road towards the proper solution of the question regarding the content of the work of the labor school.

The fundamental principle which the Council followed in preparing the new programs was that the center of all the work of the school should be human labor. Every school activity is consequently closely related to this central aim. But an understanding of labor requires a penetrating study of the productive forces which man utilizes as well as those social relations which grow out of the particular organization of labor in a given society. These considerations have led us to adopt as a fundamental scheme for organizing the curriculum of the labor school the threefold concept of nature, labor, and society, or, to put it another way, productive energies, productive relations, and superstructure. And all teaching is unified through one central synthetic theme of colossal importance—*human labor*. Obviously this scheme is distinctly Marxian. Moreover, it is the first truly Marxian educational plan; and, regardless of the extent to which the program itself may change, we are confident that the basic scheme of the soviet school will remain unshaken.

In complete harmony with the content of the new program are the methods of instruction which it suggests. First of all, it calls for a completely objective method of teaching, understanding the term in the light of our discussion above. This means that children are not to study verbal descriptions of phenomena and things but rather the phenomena and things themselves. In other words the program of the Council calls for direct contact with the surrounding nature, labor, and society in which the child lives. This environment is the starting point of all the work of the school.

In view of what we have said it is clear that both the scope and the content of the materials of instruction must be within the grasp of the pupil and in accord with the conditions of a given locality. Consequently those things which are nearest the child, such as labor in school or home and the related changes which take place in nature, are first to receive attention. Later the child passes on to a study of the corresponding activities and phenomena of a more remote environment, such as the village or the city block. Then follow naturally studies pertaining to the *volost*, the *ujezd*, the *gubernia*, the region, the republic, the Soviet Union, and finally the entire world. This gradual extension and penetration of the study of labor activity should take place on the basis of concrete materials derived from the direct observations of the children.

The programs of the State Scientific Council represent the first attempt to create a real curriculum for the soviet school. If we approach these problems from the point of view of the didactic principles upon which they are based, we shall encounter first of all what is termed complexity. In fact the fundamental principle of method involved is complexity understood in the soviet sense of the word; and complexity of course presupposes certain fundamental principles in the selection and organization of the materials of instruction.

Since problems pertaining to programs and fundamental principles are to a certain extent solved, we shall not discuss in general the various possible ways of organizing programs. Let us but mention that from the point of view of content and interpretation various approaches are possible. Thus we know that the Austrian educational theorist, Willman, whom we have already mentioned, favors the concentration of materials around the religious-moral principle.

In the chapter on "The Moral Concentration of Educative Material," in his *Didactic as Educational Theory*, he writes as follows: "If Hebart regards knowledge and participation as two parallel lines, we would the more readily present the conception of devotion, participation, and knowledge, together with education, as belts or circles which while growing encompass one central point. This point is the moral-religious aim; and the immediately surrounding ring is the field of educative materials which can and should warm the heart to devotion. These materials relate, on the one hand, to religion and, on the other, to country and fatherland." Thus the qualitative selection of materials can be made in the light of some central fundamental idea which is quite unrelated to either materialism or dialectic.

With regard to the methods of organizing materials, our soviet didactic has recognized as fundamental the principle of the organization of material by themes. We have overthrown completely the old division into separate subjects and are reconciled only to chords, cycles, and the like. A seeming contradiction is found in the curriculum of the secondary school. However, here also, according to our conception, subjects must be correlated by means of themes which are the deciding factors.

If some one should ask what there is of novelty from the point of view of method in our approach to the curriculum, we would say that it is the dialectic approach to content. Heretofore no system of teaching ever has, or ever could have, advanced this principle. Also, on the whole, our particular understanding of the complex is unquestionably something new in the history of didactics. And if the principle of organizing by themes is not new, certainly never before has the attempt been made to base the entire program upon the labor activity of man and at no time has the dialectico-materialistic principle been made the foundation for the development of the curriculum.

In the light of this discussion we support Blonsky in his proposal to replace the expression *complex method*, which in our opinion relates only to the organization of materials and in this sense is not always carried out in the new programs, by the expression *synthetic method*. The latter conception is broader and more comprehensive than the former. It embraces not only a certain theory regarding the organization of materials, but also a definite philosophy of teaching. In other words, it should be understood as the pedagogical expression of the dialectic method. This view is very forcibly set forth by Blonsky in the following passage:

The truth of the matter is that our school is unduly carried away by analysis. We analyze and analyze, but we lose sight of the fact that one must put together as well as take apart. The school must give not a number of separate knowledges. It must aim first of all to give a unified and complete outlook upon the world. It must turn out individuals with a definite ideology; otherwise a mass of unrelated and unintegrated knowledge will create confusion in the pupil's mind. The world is not composed of separate phenomena isolated from one another. Everything is most intimately related and interwoven. As a matter of fact the so-called complex method is nothing more than one form of the application of the dialectic method in pedagogy.

This statement, provided the word *complex* is replaced by *synthetic*, is entirely acceptable to us. The conception of complexity as implying a certain organization of materials is not new; it is

already more than a half-century old. We deem it unwise therefore to employ the term in a somewhat different sense when there is a better one at hand. The *synthetic method* refers not merely to the treatment of materials, and to their arrangement, but to a general philosophic theory underlying all the work of our school.

By the time the *Daily Worker* carried the following eulogy of the only true master of Bolshevik theory and practice, the great crisis of the CPUSA had ended (Part II: Communist Activities in the United States). Expulsions came in 1928 to the Trotskyites, who were led by James P. Cannon.¹ In 1929, a similar fate befell the Lovestoneites, who inclined toward the right or less violent approach to world communism.² Since 1929, no major factions have been permitted to weaken the organizational structure of the CPUSA. Through his directives sent "from the East," Stalin saw to it that unity prevailed as much in the CPUSA as it did in the Soviet Union.

EXHIBIT No. 33

[*Daily Worker*, January 18, 1930. Pp. 1, 7]

UNDER THE BANNER OF LENIN

(Leading Article in Pravda, Moscow, December 21, 1929)

Stalin's life and many years of work are indissolubly bound up with all the most important stages of the struggle of the working class in Russia and the Soviet Union during the past 13 years, and with the history of the Leninist Bolshevik Party, the history of that Party among whose leaders Comrade Stalin rose to the first place after the death of Lenin.

As early as the years before the revolution of 1905-06, and during the revolution itself, Stalin stood in the foremost ranks of the champions of Bolshevism in Transcaucasia. Here began his long years of inexorable struggles against Menshevism, whose stronghold was at that time Georgia. Here, in the atmosphere of inextricably confused national relations, and of acutest national struggle artificially stirred up by Tzarism and the bourgeoisie for the better suppression of the labor and revolutionary movement, Stalin succeeded Lenin as the greatest theoretician of the national question and of the national policy of the Party.

For the Party organization the victory of reaction signified a severe test. It had to be rebuilt in the midst of a situation characterized by the rule of unbridled reaction and led by the apathy of the masses. Menshevism had developed into open liquidation; it issued the slogan of renunciation of the revolutionary struggle and dissolution of the illegal revolutionary organizations. The ranks of the Bolshevik Party cadres thinned. Some abandoned the work altogether, others succumbed to the liquidatory and semi-liquidatory trends.

It was precisely during this period of unfettered Tsarist reaction, of life and death struggle between Bolshevism and the liquidators, of fierce struggle on two fronts (against the conciliators and Otsovisists) with Bolshevism itself, that Comrade Stalin became one of the closest and truest of Lenin's co-workers in the incomparably difficult work of restoring and more firmly establishing the old illegal organi-

¹ James P. Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism*, New York, Pioneer Publishers, 1944, p. 23.
James O'Neal and G. A. Werner, *American Communism*, New York, Dutton, 1947, pp. 239-240.

² Benjamin Gitlow, *I Confess*, New York, Dutton, 1940, pp. 507-509.

zation. After the first successful steps had been taken after the convocation of the Prague conference of 1912, dissolving the last organizational connection with the Mensheviks, at the commencement of revolutionary upsurge, Stalin became a member of the Central Committee of the Party, and became one of the first leaders of the legal Bolshevik "Pravda" and of the social democratic fraction in the fourth national Duma. Arrest, and several years of banishment to one of the remotest regions of Siberia, interrupted the vital and practical labors of Comrade Stalin just at the moment when the Party stood in urgent need of his capabilities, already remarkable at that time, as a distinguished politician and organizer from the Lenin school.

But when Lenin returned to Russia at the beginning of April, 1917, after the February revolution, and published his famous theses on the evolution of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist, and on the struggle for the Soviet Republic, he found in Comrade Stalin a staunch sharer of his convictions and a close collaborator.

In the company with Lenin, Comrade Stalin fought against the vacillating opportunist elements in the Party, both at the Petrograd and the national conferences in April 1917, and during the whole period preceding October.

Shoulder to shoulder with Lenin, or acting under his direct instructions, he unwearingly accomplished an enormous amount of daily work in the leading Party and Soviet organizations. And when, after the July days, the enraged imperialist pack, aided by the Mensheviks and social revolutionists, threw itself upon the Bolshevik Party, forcing Comrade Lenin to withdraw into temporary illegality, Comrade Stalin gave the political report at the VI. Party Congress, and therein setting up the milestones, so to speak, of the further revolutionary struggle for the conquest of power, in complete agreement with the line laid down by Comrade Lenin.

After the VI. Party Congress Comrade Stalin one of those who, as members of the Leninist Central Committee, and without deviating a hair's breadth from the path pointed out by Lenin, led the Party over hindrances and barriers, to the victory of October. Everyone knows the leading role played by Comrade Stalin in the immediate preparation and carrying out the October revolution.

The same determination and inflexibility characterized Comrade Stalin in October, when he fought side by side with Lenin against the semiliquidatory opportunist tendencies already giving up their weapons, and it was with this same steadfastness that he followed Lenin's example, during the difficult days at Brest, in combating those "left" elements with their inclinations to capitulation, and anxious to force upon the Party the adventurous tactics of a war against German imperialism, which would have inevitably ended with the collapse of the Soviet power.

A vast amount of labor was accomplished by Comrade Stalin after October, in closest collaboration with Lenin, for the organization of the Party in the light of the proletarian dictatorship, for the organization of the state apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship, and for the organization of one of its most important instruments—the Red workers' and peasants' army.

The part played by Comrade Stalin during these and the subsequent years, as the immediate leader of the national policy of the Party, must be especially emphasized, for this policy ensured for the Party

the warm sympathy and support of the nationalities oppressed by Tzarism, won the masses of the national minorities for the working class, and isolated these masses from the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie in the former border regions of Tzarist Russia, from the bourgeoisie which was attempting to organize the struggle against the proletarian revolution under the national flag.

The correct Leninist national policy of the Party, pursued under the immediate leadership of Comrade Stalin, formed one of the most important factors of the victory of the Soviet power in the civil war.

During this war Comrade Stalin was one of the leaders of the Red Army. Many of the illustrious pages in the history of the struggle of the Soviet Republic against the White Guard counterrevolution and the foreign intervention bear the name of Stalin (the defense of Zaritzin in 1918, the decisively victorious stage of the struggle against Denikin on the South front at the end of 1919, the struggle against white Guardist Poland, in the Ukraine in 1920).

As early as two years before Lenin relinquished the leadership of the Party and the Soviet power, a struggle against Trotzkyism developed in the Party, showing the pressure exercised by the petty bourgeois elements. Stalin, in closest contact with his teacher, fought for the Leninist line. Trotzkyism rejected by the overwhelming majority of the Party, ceased the struggle against the Party for the time being, after its defeat at the X. Party Congress.

At the end of 1923 the Party entered the second postwar period of an inexorable four years' struggle against Trotzkyism, a struggle which spread into other sections of the Comintern. All our enemies set their hopes for the overthrow of the Soviet power on the success of Trotzkyism. The Party, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, defended itself effectively against Trotzkyism, unmasked its ideology in the eyes of the Party masses as Menshevist and finally rejected Trotzkyism from its ranks.

Comrade Stalin, on the basis of the Leninist teachings, gave the Party the clear slogan of industrialization, and the complete building up of socialism in the Soviet Union.

Today not only the majority of the hangers-on of Trotzkyism, but a considerable part of the leading Trotzkyist cadre are compelled to break with their former leaders and acknowledge that the Party has been right, for the successes of socialist reconstruction in the Soviet Union speak for themselves.

After the defeat of Trotzkyism, the Party under Comrade Stalin's leadership dealt an annihilating blow against the Right opportunist deviation, which shrank from the difficulties of the reconstruction period and propagated a programme of complete capitulation to the nepman and kulak. The Party forced the leaders of the right deviation to acknowledge their errors publicly, and to turn their back on them.

In a relentless struggle against the violent resistance of the right and left representatives of capitulation, the Party continued after Lenin's death, under Stalin's leadership, with the realization of the Leninist general line. Not only has it proved capable of regaining the prewar level of industry, but has far exceeded it. Immediately after the 15th Party Congress, the Party on the initiative of Comrade Stalin, and in spite of the desperate resistance of the capitalist elements, took up the comprehensive socialist reconstruction of agri-

culture, the comprehensive collectivization, organization of vast Soviet farms. Today we witness the brilliant success of socialist reconstruction in the village, where till recently the small scattered peasant farms predominated, furnishing the soil upon which anti-socialist capitalist elements matured.

The Party sees in Comrade Stalin the most faithful and devoted pupil and co-worker of its great leader and organizer Lenin, the most distinguished theoretician of Leninism, not only in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but in the whole Comintern. Stalin's "Principles of Leninism" is today the textbook of every Leninist in the whole world today.

Since the events in Germany in 1923, and especially since the V. Congress of the Communist International, Comrade Stalin has been participating directly and systematically in the work of the Communist International. It was under Stalin's leadership that victorious struggles against Trotzkyism were carried on in the most important sections of the Comintern after the V. Congress. It was with the guiding cooperation of Comrade Stalin that the most important documents of the VI. Congress were drawn up, the main course directed to the struggle against the Right deviation and the conciliatory tendency in the whole Comintern.

The Party sees in Comrade Stalin a leader at once a politician and an organizer, necessary qualities in the leader of the working class striving for victory against many powerful enemies all over the world, and condemned to impotence without organization. This double capacity has become conspicuously apparent during the last few years, since Comrade Stalin has acted as General Secretary of the Central Committee after the XI Party Congress. In the creation of the mighty apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Party, a process involving the establishment of contact with the millions of the working masses and poor and middle peasantry by means of skillful contrivance (Soviets, trade unions), Comrade Stalin has played an important role, since the death of Lenin—a leading one.

And finally, not only our Party, but the whole Communist International, sees in Comrade Stalin the irreconcilable fighter for the unity of the Party, for the determined pursuance of the Bolshevik line against all opportunism and conciliation, against each and every deviation from Leninism.

The Party is convinced that, under the leadership of the Central Committee and its General Secretary, Comrade Stalin, it will win in the coming period the final and complete victory over the capitalist elements in the country of the proletarian dictatorship, and will thereby give a mighty impetus to the victory of the revolution on an international scale.

Arduous as were Gregory Grinko's efforts in developing the "optimal" first Five-Year Plan of "Socialist construction" in the U. S. S. R., they failed to save him from liquidation in 1938. After having been thoroughly brain-washed in NKVD interrogation chambers, he confessed to having conspired with Trotskyites, Fascists, and Ukrainian Chauvinists.¹ While ascent to the top of Soviet

¹ *Report of Proceedings in the Case of Anti-Soviet "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites,"* Moscow, People's Commissariat of Justice in the U. S. S. R., 1938, pp. 67-87, 713-721.

bureaucracy is laborious and slow, descent therefrom can occur with terrifying swiftness.²

EXHIBIT No. 34

[N. Y., International Publishers, 1930. G. T. Grinko, *The Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union: A Political Interpretation*. Pp. 6, 9-10, 27-30]

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

Gregory Theodore Grinko is one of the most prominent of the Soviet statesmen. His career has been largely in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, where he was for a number of years People's Commissar for Education, and later head of the State Planning Commission of the Ukraine and Vice Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.

In these positions he became known as one of the leaders of economic and industrial planning in the U. S. S. R. and he was transferred to the State Planning Commission of the U. S. S. R. (Gosplan), as Vice Chairman. Mr. Grinko took a leading part in the preparation of the Five-Year Plan for the industrial reconstruction of the Soviet Union, and was one of the authors of the four-volume report in which it was presented. Mr. Grinko is now forty-three years of age.

The present translation was made from the Russian manuscript. The rapid progress of development under the Plan, however, has made it necessary to add certain new and revised figures. These, included in editorial footnotes, have been prepared from the official reports as presented in Soviet newspapers and periodicals.

* * * * *

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The basic facts of the socialist construction now taking place in the Soviet Union are presented in this book with sufficient care and clarity to obviate their particular mention in this preface.

Our concern has been to present the Five-Year Plan, which has been justly called a plan of gigantic construction and of a broad offensive of socialism, for the consideration of our foreign readers; and to picture the variety and scope of the problems which must be solved by it, as well as the difficulties which face the victorious construction of socialism in the Soviet Union. We have attempted to show not only the goal set by the Plan, but the actual processes by which it is being accomplished. In this connection the actual experiences of the already completed first year and the second, now in progress, are used.

The facts quoted here radically destroy the bourgeois legend that the Five-Year Plan is only an empty dream, and the pessimistic prophecies of the Right opportunist elements within the Communist movement. It is now plain that these latter are based on an exaggeration of the difficulties of socialist construction and an underestimation of the creative power of the victorious proletarian revolution.

² For an evaluation of living conditions in the U. S. S. R. under four Five-Year Plans (begun in 1928, 1933, 1938 and 1946), see T. Zavalani, *How Strong Is Russia?*, New York, Praeger, 1952. An excellent brief summary appears in Hallowell, *Main Currents*, pp. 498-506.

The tremendous advance of socialist construction in the Soviet Union is surpassing all estimates under the Plan, and the most optimistic forecasts of its success. Already the experiences of the first year and a half under it have led to the abandonment of its minimal figures (the so-called initial or minimal variant). A second formulation has been adopted on the basis of the Plan's highest figures. The optimal or maximal variant is now the minimum Plan. The slogan: "Complete the Five-Year Plan in Four Years," is sounding more and more convincingly and energetically throughout the Soviet Union. It is becoming a concrete program which is mobilizing the creative urge and the will of the masses of the proletariat and the poor and middle peasantry.

The revolutionary zeal of the masses sweeping towards socialist construction breaks all resistance and pushes aside those who oppose its progress.

Many of the figures quoted in this book will be out of date when they reach foreign readers. Many problems have already been shifted onto an entirely new base.

The mighty rush of the process of socialist construction raises new tasks of gigantic proportions. It is a sufficient example to point to the decisive transformation of the policy of keeping down the kulaks into the present policy of liquidating them as a class through the complete collectivization of the small and middle peasant economies.

But this must not mislead us. The fact that the actual advance of socialist construction in the Soviet Union outdistances the project, only emphasizes the revolutionary power which is contained in the Five-Year Plan, and the tremendous work of socialist construction.

We are fully conscious of the faults and shortcomings of this book. The demands of intensive construction do not leave time for careful literary treatment which such an all-embracing subject demands. We will, therefore, gratefully accept all criticism that may come from the friends of the Soviet Union. We consider it necessary to note that the basis of this book is the first volume of *The Five-Year Plan*, in the compilation of which the author participated, together with his numerous associates of the State Planning Commission (Gosplan).

G. T. GRINKO.

MOSCOW, 1930.

CHAPTER I. PLANNED ECONOMY AND PERSPECTIVE PLANNING IN THE U. S. S. R.

Why, it may be asked, is the Five-Year Plan necessary at all? It is a matter of common knowledge that the preparatory work on the Plan went on for almost three years before it was considered possible to submit a draft to the XVI Conference of the Communist Party and the V All-Union Congress of Soviets. The need for planning over a long period of time grew ever more urgent as the end of the rehabilitation period drew nearer and the Soviet Union was ready to start on the road of the radical reconstruction of its national economy—toward new construction on an ever larger and more extensive scale. Huge projects of power plants, factories, mills, state and collective farms, demanding several years for their execution, the great radical transformation of the very foundations of the economic and cultural life

of the country, could not possibly be put within the limits of such a single year's plan as is supplied by the annual control figures. Before the U. S. S. R., now past its prewar level, arose in its full significance the question of the general course of its economic policy and its economic development. The interval between the XIV and the XV Congresses of the Communist Party, 1925 to 1927, was a period of intense ideological work and struggle, centered around the question of the general line of the economic development of the country. It was during this period that the idea of the socialist industrialization of the country as the general course of economic policy, found such a ready response. During the same period the work on the Five-Year Plan was started.

It might legitimately be asked, why just five years were chosen as the time basis for the planning of the economic development of the next period. Many were of the opinion that such a period does not answer the purpose and that it is necessary to start at once on the drafting of a general plan covering a period of, say, fifteen years of radical reconstruction and gigantic new construction in the field of economics and culture in the U. S. S. R. It cannot be denied that this claim has a certain amount of reason and logic to back it. A period of five years certainly does not provide a framework large enough for the elaboration and solution of tasks of such magnitude as those which the Soviet Union faces. Nevertheless, it was necessary to forego the idea of proceeding immediately to the compilation of such a general plan and to recognize that as a transition stage the planning work had to be limited to the drafting of the Five-Year Plan. The reasons for this decision will easily be appreciated.

It should be remembered that a profound transformation is taking place in the Soviet national economy. The rehabilitation period was only recently completed; the period of new construction has only just been started. The gigantic problems of this new period, its potentialities, as well as its immense difficulties, are only now beginning to be realized; they do not as yet appear with sufficient clarity. The years immediately ahead of us will be marked by the tasks and difficulties of the new construction period. Before sufficient experience has been accumulated, before there has been an opportunity to learn from practical experience the conditions and possibilities of the reconstruction period, before the size and character of the difficulties besetting it can possibly be gauged, or its potentialities fully realized, it would have been unwise, shortsighted and mistaken to attempt to present to the country and the world a general, a fifteen-year plan for the development of the national economy of the Soviet Union, a plan which could not possibly be anything else than a program for the building of a fully developed socialist society. For such a task the economic, social and political experience gained during the reconstruction period is needed. When the Five-Year Plan was drawn, the planning organization of the U. S. S. R. still depended practically entirely on the methodology developed during the rehabilitation period. It is for this reason that the Soviet Union adopted a plan of economic and cultural development as a program of socialist construction for the immediate five years, to serve as a great introduction to the general plan for building a socialist society in the U. S. S. R.

If the annual control figures acquired such great popularity and so important a part in the guiding of the economic system and in the social consciousness of the country during the last four years, the Five-Year Plan achieved the same distinction to an even much greater extent. And rightly so. The preparatory work of the Five-Year Plan lasted almost three years; several alternative drafts were drawn up and submitted to the test of scientific and public criticism; the XV Congress of the Communist Party, the highest political authority of the country, laid down carefully elaborated political principles to guide the work of drafting the Plan. All economic bodies and scientific institutions engaged in economics and industrial technique as well as all social organizations of the workers and peasants were mobilized for this work; and only then was the Five-Year Plan submitted to the V All-Union Congress of Soviets. In every factory and workshop the workers in their production conferences discussed the potentialities and prospects of their particular enterprises and the contribution they could make to the development of their own branch of industry in connection with the Five-Year Plan. Each of the numerous economic regions, each province, carefully considered its own potentialities, and in a spirit of keenest rivalry tried to sustain its position with regard to one or another phase of the Five-Year Plan before the central planning organization. There was not a single Congress of Soviets of the constituent republics or of the autonomous regions which did not have the Five-Year Plan under consideration prior to the V All-Union Congress of Soviets.

That is why it can be said without hesitation that the Five-Year Plan is, in the truest sense of the word, a plan of socialist construction developed by the people as a whole and embodying the class consciousness, the scientific thought, the great revolutionary experience and the unshakable determination of the manual workers, peasants and brain-workers of the Soviet Union to build a socialist society. The Five-Year Plan is a program for the further extension and consolidation of the great October Revolution. Nor should the great international significance of the Plan be underestimated. For the first time in history, a vast country, with inexhaustible natural resources and a population of 150 million free people, faces the world with an elaborate plan for upbuilding a socialist economy and culture—a socialist society. We fully share the view expressed in the editorial of the *Pravda* of August 29, 1929: "The Five-Year Plan is an important part of the offensive of the proletariat of the world against capitalism; it is a plan tending to undermine capitalist stabilization; it is a great plan of world revolution."

By the time Stalin rose to address the 16th Bolshevik Party Congress in June 1930, the second Socialist offensive was well underway. War communism (1917-21) had constituted the first Socialist offensive and NEP (1921-28) the first retreat from socialism in the U. S. S. R. In his comments, Stalin was able to bear down upon the alleged triumphs of the first 5-year plan which, after several revisions, had been finally ratified in April 1929.¹ While, according to Stalin, most peasants voluntarily preferred the collectivization of their holdings, the kulaks or "rich" peasants were being dealt with in the only way they could

¹ Gordon, *Workers*, pp. 143-150, 379-387, 395-399.

understand—i. e., by “crushing.”² Although he said the very opposite, the Nepmen were also being reeducated by “crushing.”³

When he spoke of party problems, Stalin declared that nobody must confuse the possibility of complete victory over deviators with the realization thereof. Purges must be intensified rather than mitigated. Now that the left deviators were effectively removed from power, greater attention must be paid to the right deviators who had helped Stalin to eliminate the left. Actually, the destruction of the right was already well advanced when the 16th Bolshevik Party Congress convened. Trade unions, universities, scientific academies, libraries, theaters, and other cultural institutions had been for some time subjected to a thorough purification process.⁴

On this occasion, Stalin severely criticized Great Russian chauvinism—i. e., the tendency of the Great Russians to dominate the Bolshevik Party to the disadvantage of other national groups in the U. S. S. R.⁵ Taken at their best, Stalin's tears for the one-hundred-and-forty-odd national groups in Soviet Russia were crocodile. Although he himself came from a minority group (Georgians), Stalin had long ago thrown in his lot with Bolsheviks from the largest nationality in the Soviet Union.⁶ The real purpose of Stalin's Aesopian doubletalk about Great Russian chauvinism was to lay the foundation for future purges. Many of those who were liquidated in the late thirties pleaded “guilty” to Ukrainian or other nationalist deviations.⁷ Others, of course, could be destroyed because they were Great Russian chauvinists. With the entire structure of the party and the secret police at his beck and call, Stalin could offer any explanation which happened to come to mind.

In his remarks about the international situation, Stalin proceeded along lines which he had established at earlier Bolshevik Party congresses. In addition, he glowed with satisfaction at the “final” collapse of American capitalism under the burden of the great depression. While the League of Nations was now declared to be a moribund institution, the U. S. S. R. did not find it inconvenient to join the League 4 years later.

EXHIBIT No. 35

[Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1951. J. Stalin, *Political Report of the Central Committee to the 16th Congress of the CPSU (B)*, June 27, 1930. Pp. 7-9, 31-41, 47, 63, 88-108, 136-143, 153-180.]

I. THE GROWING CRISIS OF WORLD CAPITALISM AND THE EXTERNAL SITUATION OF THE U. S. S. R.

Comrades! Since the Fifteenth Congress two and a half years have passed. Not a very long period one would think. Nevertheless, during this period most important changes have taken place in the life of peoples and states. To characterize the past period in two words it could be called the *turning point* period. It marked a turning point not only for us, for the U. S. S. R., but also for the capitalist countries all over the world. There is a fundamental difference between these two turning points, however. Whereas for the U. S. S. R. this turning point meant a turn in the direction of a new and bigger economic *upswing*, for the capitalist countries it meant a turn towards economic *decline*. Here, in the U. S. S. R., there is a *growing upswing* of socialist development both in industry and in

² Freda Utley, *The Dream We Lost: Soviet Russia Then and Now*, New York, Day, 1940, pp. 53-58. Freda Utley, *Last Illusion*, Philadelphia, Fireside Press, 1948, pp. 71-79. Formerly a British Communist who voluntarily went to work in the Soviet Union, Miss Utley describes many of the realities of life in the U. S. S. R. from 1930 to 1936. See also Massimo Salvadori (Smith and Bennington Colleges), *The Rise of Modern Communism*, New York, Holt, 1952, pp. 42-43.

³ Eugene Lyons, *Our Secret Allies: The Peoples of Russia*, New York, Duell, Sloane & Pearce, and Boston, Little, Brown, 1953, pp. 143-149. See also Lyons, *Assignment in Utopia*, passim.

⁴ Souvarine, *Stalin*, pp. 518-520.

⁵ Walter Kolarz, *Russia and Her Colonies*, New York, Praeger, 1953, pp. 7-19. Solomon Schwarz, *Jews in the Soviet Union*, Syracuse University Press, 1951, pp. 278-280. Deverall, *War*, pp. 239-242.

⁶ Homan Smal-Stocki, *The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union and Russian Communist Imperialism*, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1952, pp. 74-75. Pipes, *Formation of the Soviet Union*, p. 271.

⁷ Clarence A. Manning (Columbia University), *Ukraine Under the Soviets*, New York, Bookman, 1953, pp. 142-148.

agriculture. Among them, the capitalists, there is *growing economic crisis* both in industry and in agriculture.

Such is the picture of the present situation in a few words.

Recall the state of affairs in the capitalist countries two and a half years ago. Growth of industrial production and trade in nearly all the capitalist countries. Growth of production of raw materials and food in nearly all the agrarian countries. The halo around the United States as the land of the most full-blooded capitalism. Triumphant hymns of "prosperity." Grovelling to the dollar. Hymns in honour of the new technology, in honour of capitalist rationalization. Proclamation of an era of the "recovery" of capitalism and of the unshakable firmness of capitalist stabilization. "Universal" noise and clamour about the "inevitable doom" of the Land of Soviets, about the "inevitable collapse" of the U. S. S. R.

That was the state of affairs yesterday.

What is the picture today?

Today there is an economic crisis in nearly all the capitalist industrial countries. Today there is an agricultural crisis in all the agrarian countries. Instead of "prosperity" there is mass poverty and a colossal growth of unemployment. Instead of an upswing in agriculture there is the mass ruination of millions of peasants. The illusions about the omnipotence of capitalism in general and of North American capitalism in particular are collapsing. The triumphant hymns in honour of the dollar and of capitalist rationalization are sounding more and more faint. Pessimistic wailing about the "mistakes" of capitalism is growing louder and louder. And the "universal" clamour about the "inevitable doom" of the U. S. S. R. is giving way to "universal" venomous hissing about the necessity of punishing "that country" that dares to develop its economy when crisis is reigning all around.

Such is the picture today.

Things have turned out exactly as the Bolsheviks said they would two or three years ago.

The Bolsheviks said that in view of the restricted limits of the standard of living of the vast masses of the workers and peasants, the further development of technology in the capitalist countries, the growth of productive forces and of capitalist rationalization must, inevitably lead to a severe economic crisis. The bourgeois press jeered at the "queer prophecies" of the Bolsheviks. The Right deviators dissociated themselves from this Bolshevik forecast and for the Marxist analysis substituted liberal chatter about "organized capitalism." But how did things actually turn out? They turned out exactly as the Bolsheviks said they would.

Such are the facts.

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3. *The relations between the U. S. S. R. and the capitalist states*

a) I have spoken above about the contradictions of world capitalism. In addition to these, however, there is one other contradiction. I am speaking of the antagonism between the capitalist world and the U. S. S. R. True, this antagonism must not be regarded as being of the same order as *the internal contradictions of capitalism*. It is an antagonism between capitalism as a whole and the country that

is building Socialism. This, however, does not prevent it from corroding and shaking the very foundations of capitalism. More than that, it is exposing all the contradictions of capitalism to the roots, tying them in one knot and transforming them into a life and death question of the capitalist order itself. That is why, every time the contradictions of capitalism become acute, the bourgeoisie turns its gaze towards the U. S. S. R. and asks whether it would not be possible to solve this or that contradiction of capitalism, or all the contradictions together, at the expense of the U. S. S. R., of that Land of Soviets, that citadel of revolution which, by its very existence, is revolutionizing the working class and the colonies, which is hindering the organization of a new war, hindering a new division of the world, hindering the capitalists from lording it in its extensive home market which they need so much, especially now, in view of the economic crisis?

Hence the tendency towards adventurist attacks on the U. S. S. R. and towards intervention, a tendency which will certainly grow owing to the development of the economic crisis.

The most striking expression of this tendency at the present time is present-day bourgeois France, the birthplace of the philanthropic "Pan-Europe" scheme, the "cradle" of the Kellogg Pact, the most aggressive and militarist of all the aggressive and militarist countries in the world.

But intervention is a two-edged sword. The bourgeoisie knows this perfectly well. It will be all right, it thinks, if intervention goes off smoothly and ends in the defeat of the U. S. S. R. But what if it ends in the defeat of the capitalists? There has been intervention once and it ended in failure. If the first intervention, when the Bolsheviks were weak, ended in failure, what guarantee is there that the second will not end in failure? Everybody sees that the Bolsheviks are ever so much stronger now, economically, politically and as regards preparedness for the country's defence. And what about the workers in the capitalist countries, who will not permit intervention in the U. S. S. R., who will fight intervention and, if anything happens, may attack the capitalists in the rear? Would it not be better to proceed along the line of increasing commercial intercourse with the U. S. S. R., to which the Bolsheviks do not object?

Hence the tendency towards continuing peaceful relations with the U. S. S. R.

Thus, we have two series of facts, and two different tendencies operating in opposite directions:

1. The policy of disrupting economic intercourse between the U. S. S. R. and the capitalist countries; provocative attacks upon the U. S. S. R.; open and secret activities in preparation of intervention against the U. S. S. R. These are the factors that menace the U. S. S. R.'s international position. It is the operation of these factors that explain such facts as the rupture of relations with the U. S. S. R. by the British Conservative Cabinet; the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the Chinese militarists; the financial blockade of the U. S. S. R.; the clerical "crusade," headed by the Pope, against the U. S. S. R.; the organization by agents of foreign states of the wrecking activities of our specialists; the organization of explosions and incendiarism, such as were carried out by some of the employees of "Lena Goldfields" the attempt on the lives of

representatives of the U. S. S. R. (Poland); faultfinding with our exports (United States, Poland), and so forth.

2. Sympathy towards and support of the U. S. S. R. on the part of the workers in capitalist countries; growth of the economic and political might of the U. S. S. R.; increase in the U. S. S. R.'s power of defence; the peace policy undeviatingly pursued by the Soviet government. These are the factors that strengthen the U. S. S. R.'s international position. It is the operation of these factors that explains such facts as the successful settlement of the dispute over the Chinese Eastern Railway; the restoration of relations with Great Britain; growth of economic intercourse with capitalist countries, and so forth.

It is the conflict between these factors that determines the U. S. S. R.'s external situation.

b) It is said that the stumbling block to the improvement of economic relations between the U. S. S. R. and the bourgeois states is the question of the debts. I think that this is not an argument in favour of paying the debts, but a pretext advanced by the aggressive elements for interventionist propaganda. Our policy on this question is perfectly clear and sound. On the condition that we are granted credits, we are willing to pay a small part of the prewar debts, regarding them as additional interest on the credits. Without this condition we cannot and ought not pay. More is demanded of us? On what grounds? Is it not well known that these debts were contracted by the tsarist government that was overthrown by the Revolution, and for whose obligations the Soviet Government can take no responsibility? There is talk about international law, about international obligations. But on the grounds of what international law did Messieurs the "Allies" sever Bessarabia from the U. S. S. R. and hand her over to the Rumanian boyars to be enslaved by them? On the grounds of what international obligations did the capitalists and governments of France, Great Britain, America, and Japan attack the U. S. S. R., invade it, and for three whole years plunder it and ruin its inhabitants? If this is what is called international law and international obligations, then what will you call robbery? (*Laughter, applause.*) Is it not obvious that by committing these predatory acts Messieurs the "Allies" have deprived themselves of the right to appeal to international law, to international obligations?

It is also said that the establishment of "normal" relations is hindered by the propaganda conducted by the Russian Bolsheviks. With the object of averting the pernicious effects of propaganda, Messieurs the bourgeoisie, every now and again, fence themselves off with "cordons" and "barbed-wire fences" and graciously bestow the honour of guarding these "fences" upon Poland, Rumania, Finland, and others. It is said that Germany is burning with envy because she is not being permitted to guard the "cordons" and "barbed-wire fences." Does it need any proof that this chatter about propaganda is not an argument against establishing "normal relations," but a pretext for interventionist propaganda? How can people who do not want to appear ridiculous "fence themselves off" from the ideas of Bolshevism if the soil in their own country is propitious for these ideas? Tsarism in its time also "fenced itself off" from Bolshevism, but, as is well known, its "fence" proved to be useless. It proved to be useless because Bolshevism everywhere does not penetrate from outside, but grows within the country. There are no countries,

one would think, more "fenced-off" from the Russian Bolsheviks than China, India and Indo-China. But what do we find? Bolshevism is growing in those countries, and will continue to grow, in spite of all "cordons," because, evidently, there are conditions there that are favourable for Bolshevism. What has the propaganda of the Russian Bolsheviks to do with it? If Messieurs the capitalists could somehow "fence themselves off" from the economic crisis, from mass poverty, from unemployment, from low wages and from the exploitation of labour, it would be another matter; then there would be no Bolshevik movement in their countries. But the whole point is that every rascal tries to justify his weakness or impotence by pleading Russian Bolshevik propaganda.

It is also said that another stumbling block is our Soviet system, collectivization, the struggle against the kulaks, anti-religious propaganda, the struggle against wreckers and counterrevolutionaries among "men of science," the banishment of Besedovskys, Solomons, Dmitrievskys, and other lackeys of capital. But this is becoming quite amusing. It appears that they don't like the Soviet system. But we don't like the capitalist system. (*Laughter, applause.*) We don't like their system, under which tens of millions of unemployed are compelled to live in poverty and starvation, while a small group of capitalists own wealth amounting to billions. Since, however, we have agreed not to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries, is it not obvious that it is not worth while reverting to this question? Collectivization, struggle against the kulaks, struggle against wreckers, anti-religious propaganda, and so forth, are the inalienable right of the workers and peasants of the U. S. S. R., sealed by our Constitution. It is our duty to abide by the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. with the utmost consistency, and we will do so. It goes without saying, therefore, that whoever refuses to reckon with our Constitution can pass on, can go wherever they please. As for the Besedovskys, Solomons, Dmitrievskys and their ilk, we will in future, too, kick out such people like damaged goods that are useless and harmful for the revolution. Let them be made heroes of by those who have a special predilection for offal. (*Laughter.*) The millstones of our revolution grind exceedingly well. They take all that is useful and give it to the Soviets and cast aside the offal. It is said that in France, among the Parisian bourgeoisie, there is a big demand for damaged goods. Well, let them import them to their heart's content. True, this will overburden somewhat the import side of France's balance of trade, against which Messieurs the bourgeoisie always protest, but that is their business. Let us not intervene in the internal affairs of France. (*Laughter, applause.*)

That is how the matter stands with the "obstacles" that hinder the establishment of "normal" relations between the U. S. S. R. and other countries.

It turns out that these "obstacles" are fictitious "obstacles" raised as a pretext for anti-Soviet propaganda.

Our policy is a policy of peace and of increasing commercial intercourse with all countries. The result of this policy is an improvement in our relations with a number of countries and the conclusion of a number of agreements for trade, technical assistance, and so forth. Another result is the U. S. S. R.'s adherence to the Kellogg Pact, the signing of the well-known protocol along the lines of the Kellogg Pact

with Poland, Rumania, Lithuania, and other countries, the signing of the protocol on the prolongation of the treaty of friendship and neutrality with Turkey. And lastly, a result of this policy is the fact that we have succeeded in maintaining peace, in not allowing the enemy to draw us into conflicts, in spite of a number of provocative acts and adventurist attacks on the part of the war-mongers. We will continue to pursue this policy of peace with all our might and with all the means at our disposal. We do not want a single foot of foreign territory; but of our territory we will not surrender a single inch to anyone. (*Applause.*)

Such is our foreign policy.

The task is to continue this policy with all the perseverance that is characteristic of Bolsheviks.

H. THE INCREASING UPSWING OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN THE U. S. S. R.

Let us pass to the internal situation in the U. S. S. R.

In contrast to the capitalist countries, where an economic *crisis* and *growing unemployment* reign, the internal situation in our country presents a picture of the *increasing upswing* of the national economy and of the *progressive diminution* of unemployment. Large-scale industry has grown, and the rate of its development has increased. Heavy industry has become firmly established. The socialist sector of industry has made great headway. A new force has arisen in agriculture—the sovkhoses and kolkhoses. A year or two ago we had a crisis in grain production, and in our grain purchasing operations we had to depend mainly on individual farming; now, however, the centre of gravity has shifted to the kolkhoses and sovkhoses, and the grain crisis can be regarded as being, in the main, solved. The bulk of the peasant masses has definitely turned towards the kolkhoses. The resistance of the kulaks has been broken. The internal situation in the U. S. S. R. has been still further consolidated.

Such is the general picture of the internal situation in the U. S. S. R. at the present time.

Let us examine the concrete facts.

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3. The key position of socialist industry and its rate of growth

The keynote of the development of our national economy is industrialization. But we do not need any kind of industrialization. We need a kind of industrialization that will ensure the growing preponderance of the *socialist forms of industry* over the *small-commodity* and, still more, over the *capitalist* forms of industry. The characteristic feature of our industrialization is that it is *socialist* industrialization; which guarantees the victory of the *socialized* sector of industry over the *private* sector, the small-commodity and capitalist sector.

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5. *The turn of the peasantry towards socialism and the rate of sovkhos-kolkhoz development*

The turn of the peasantry towards collectivization did not begin all at once. This turn could not begin all at once. True, the Party proclaimed the slogan of collectivization already at the Fifteenth Congress; but the proclamation of a slogan is not enough to cause a mass turn of the peasantry towards Socialism. At least one more circumstance is needed for this, namely, that the masses of the peasantry themselves should be convinced that the proclaimed slogan is a correct one and that they should accept it as their own. Therefore; this turn was prepared gradually.

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7. *Difficulties of growth, the class struggle and the offensive of Socialism along the whole front*

I have spoken about our achievements in developing our national economy. I have spoken about our achievements in the sphere of industry, in the sphere of agriculture, in the sphere of reconstructing the whole of our national economy on socialist principles. Lastly, I have spoken about our achievements in improving the material conditions of the workers and peasants.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that we achieved all this "easily and quietly," in the process of drift, so to speak, without exceptional effort and exertion of will power, without struggle and turmoil. Such things are not achieved by drift. Actually, we achieved this in a resolute struggle against difficulties, in a serious and prolonged struggle to surmount difficulties.

Everybody among us talks about difficulties; but not everybody understands the character of these difficulties. And yet, the problem of difficulties is of serious importance for us.

What are the characteristic features of our difficulties, what hostile forces are hidden behind them, and how are we surmounting them?

a) When characterizing our difficulties we must bear in mind at least the following circumstances.

First of all we must take into account the circumstance that our present difficulties are difficulties of the *reconstruction* period. What does this mean? It means that they differ fundamentally from the difficulties of the *restoration* period of our economy. Whereas in the restoration period the problem was to keep the old factories running and to assist agriculture on its old basis, today the problem is fundamentally to rebuild, to reconstruct both industry and agriculture, to alter their technical basis by equipping them with modern technology. It means that we are faced with the task of reconstructing the entire technical basis of our national economy. And this calls for new and bigger investments in the national economy, for new and more experienced cadres, who will be capable of mastering the new technology and of developing it still further.

Secondly, we must bear in mind the circumstance that in our country the reconstruction of the national economy is not limited to rebuilding it on a new technical basis, but that, on the contrary, parallel with this, it calls for the reconstruction of social-economic relationships. Here I have in mind, mainly, agriculture. In industry, which is already united and socialized, technical reconstruction already has, in the main, a finished social-economic basis. Here,

the task of reconstruction is to accelerate the process of eliminating the capitalist elements from industry. The matter is not so simple in agriculture. The reconstruction of the technical basis of agriculture pursues the same aims, of course. The specific feature of agriculture in our country, however, is that small-peasant farming still predominates in it, that small farming is unable to master the new technology and that, in view of this, the reconstruction of the technical basis of agriculture is *impossible* unless the old social-economic order is at the same time reconstructed, unless the small, individual farms are united into big, collective farms, unless the roots of capitalism in agriculture are torn up.

Naturally, these circumstances cannot but complicate our difficulties, cannot but complicate our work in surmounting these difficulties.

Thirdly, we must bear in mind the circumstance that our work on the socialist reconstruction of our national economy, in breaking up the economic connections of capitalism and turning all the forces of the old world topsy-turvy, cannot but rouse the desperate resistance of these forces. This is what is happening, as you know. The malicious wrecking activities of the upper stratum of the *bourgeois intelligentsia* in all branches of our industry, the brutal struggle the *kulaks* are waging against the collective forms of farming in the rural districts, the sabotage of the Soviet government's measures by the *bureaucratic elements* in the state apparatus who are the agents of our class enemy—such, so far, are the chief forms of the resistance put up by the moribund classes in our country. Obviously, these circumstances cannot serve to facilitate our work of reconstructing our national economy.

Fourthly, we must bear in mind the circumstance that the resistance of the moribund classes in our country is not taking place isolatedly from the outside world; it is receiving the support of our capitalist encirclement. Capitalist encirclement must not be regarded simply as a geographical concept. Capitalist encirclement means that the U. S. S. R. is surrounded by hostile class forces which are ready to support our class enemies within the U. S. S. R. morally, materially, by means of a financial blockade and, if the opportunity offers, also by military intervention. It has been proved that the wrecking activities of our specialists, the anti-Soviet activities of the *kulaks*, and the incendiarism and explosions at our factories and installations are subsidized and inspired from outside. The imperialist world is not interested in the U. S. S. R. rising firmly on its feet and becoming able to overtake and outstrip the advanced capitalist countries. Hence, the assistance it renders the forces of the old world in the U. S. S. R. Naturally, this circumstance too cannot serve to facilitate our work of reconstruction.

The characterization of our difficulties will not be complete, however, if we fail to bear in mind one other circumstance. I mean the specific character of our difficulties. I mean that our difficulties are not difficulties due to *decline*, or difficulties due to *stagnation*, but difficulties of *growth*, difficulties of *ascent*, difficulties due to *progress*. This means that our difficulties differ fundamentally from the difficulties encountered by the capitalist countries. When difficulties are talked about in the United States they have in mind difficulties due to *decline*, for America is now going through a crisis, i. e., economic decline. When difficulties are talked about in Eng-

land they have in mind difficulties due to *stagnation*, for England, for a number of years already, has been in a state of stagnation, i. e., cessation of progress. When we speak about our difficulties, however, we have in mind not decline and not stagnation in development, but the *growth* of our forces, the *upswing* of our forces, our economic *progress*. How many points shall we *move further forward* by a given date? What per cent *more* goods shall we produce? How many million *more* hectares shall we sow? How many months *earlier* shall we erect a factory, a mill, a railway?—such are the questions that we have in mind when we speak of difficulties. Consequently, our difficulties, unlike those encountered by America, say, or England, are difficulties of *growth*, difficulties due to *progress*.

What does this signify? It signifies that our difficulties are such as *contain within themselves the possibility of surmounting them*. It signifies that the distinguishing feature of our difficulties is that *they themselves give us a basis for surmounting them*.

What follows from all this?

From this follows, first of all, that our difficulties are not difficulties due to minor and casual “derangements,” but difficulties arising from the class struggle.

From this follows, secondly, that behind our difficulties stand our class enemies, that these difficulties are complicated by the desperate resistance of the moribund classes in our country, by the support these classes receive from outside, by the presence of bureaucratic elements in our own institutions, by the lack of confidence and conservativeness among certain sections of our Party.

From this follows, thirdly, that to surmount these difficulties it is necessary, first of all, to repulse the attacks of the capitalist elements, to crush their resistance and thereby clear the road for rapid progress.

From this follows, lastly, that the very character of our difficulties, being difficulties of *growth*, creates for us the *possibilities* necessary for crushing our class enemies.

There is only one means, however, of taking advantage of these *possibilities* and of converting them into *reality*, of crushing the resistance of our class enemies and of surmounting the difficulties, and that is to organize an *offensive* against the capitalist elements along the *whole front* and to isolate the opportunist elements in our own ranks who are hindering the offensive, who are rushing in panic from one side to another and spreading in the Party doubt about the possibility of victory. (*Applause*.)

There are no other means.

Only people who have lost their heads can seek a way out in Bukharin's childish formula about the capitalist elements peacefully growing into Socialism. In our country development has not proceeded and is not proceeding according to Bukharin's formula. Development has proceeded, and is proceeding, according to Lenin's formula “who will win.” Either we vanquish and crush them, the exploiters, or they will vanquish and crush us, the workers and peasants of the U. S. S. R.—that is how the question stands, comrades.

Thus, *the organization of the offensive of Socialism along the whole front*—that is the task that arose before us in developing our work of reconstructing the *entire* national economy.

This is exactly how the Party interpreted its mission in organizing the offensive against the capitalist elements in our country.

b) But is an offensive, and an offensive along the whole front at that, at all conceivable under the conditions of NEP?

Some think that an offensive is incompatible with NEP, that, in essence, NEP is a retreat, that since the retreat has ended, NEP must be abolished. This is nonsense, of course. It is nonsense that emanates either from the Trotskyites, who have never understood anything about Leninism and who think of "abolishing" NEP in two ticks," or from the Right opportunists, who have also never understood anything about Leninism and think that by chattering about "the threat to abolish NEP" they can haggle us into abandoning the offensive. If NEP was nothing but a retreat, Lenin would not have said at the Eleventh Congress of the Party, when we were pursuing NEP with all consistency that "the retreat has ended." When Lenin said that the retreat had ended, did not he also say that we think of pursuing NEP "seriously and for a long time"? It is sufficient to put this question to understand the utter absurdity of this talk about NEP being incompatible with an offensive. Actually, NEP not only presupposes a *retreat* and permitting the revival of private trade, permitting the revival of capitalism while ensuring the regulating role of the state (the initial stage of NEP). Actually, NEP also presupposes, at a certain stage of development, the *offensive* of Socialism against the capitalist elements, the *restriction* of the field of activity of private trade, the relative and absolute *reduction* of capitalism, the increasing *preponderance* of the socialized sector over the nonsocialized sector, the victory of Socialism over capitalism (the present stage of NEP). NEP was introduced to ensure the victory of Socialism over the capitalist elements. In passing to the offensive along the whole front, we do not yet abolish NEP, for private trade and the capitalist elements still remain, "free" trade still remains—but we are certainly abolishing the initial stage of NEP, while developing its next stage, the present stage, which is the last stage of NEP.

This is what Lenin said in 1922, a year after NEP was introduced:

We are now retreating, going back as it were; but we are doing this in order first to retreat and then to get a better run for a bigger leap forward. This was the only condition on which we agreed to retreat in pursuing our New Economic Policy. We do not yet know where and how we must now regroup, adapt and reorganize our forces in order to start our persistent advance after our retreat. In order to carry out all these operations in proper order we must, as the proverb says, measure not ten times, but a hundred times before we decide (Vol. XXVII, pp. 361-62).

Clear, one would think.

But the question is: has the time already arrived to pass to the offensive, is the moment ripe for an offensive?

Elsewhere, Lenin said in that same year, 1922, that it was necessary to:

Link up with the peasant masses, with the rank-and-file working peasants and begin to move forward immeasurable, infinitely more slowly than we dreamed, but so that the whole mass will actually move forward with us . . . that "if we do that we shall in time get an acceleration of this movement such as we cannot dream of now" (Vol. XXVII, pp. 231-32).

The same question arises: has the time already arrived for such an acceleration of the movement, for accelerating the rate of our development; did we choose the right moment when we passed to the decisive offensive along the whole front in the latter half of 1929?

To this question the Party has already given a clear and definite answer.

Yes, that moment has arrived.

Yes, the Party chose the right moment to pass to the offensive along the whole front.

This is proved by the growing activity of the working class and by the unprecedented growth of the Party's prestige among the vast masses of the working people.

It is proved by the growing activity of the masses of the poor and middle peasants, and by the radical turn of these masses towards kolkhoz development.

It is proved by our achievements in industrial development as well as in sovkhoz and kolkhoz development.

It is proved by the fact that we are now able not only to substitute kolkhoz and sovkhoz production for kulak production, but exceed the latter several times over.

It is proved by the fact that we have already succeeded, in the main, in solving the grain problem and in accumulating a certain amount of grain reserves by shifting the centre of the production of market grain from the sphere of individual production to the sphere of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production.

Such is the proof that the Party chose the right moment to pass to the offensive along the whole front and to proclaim the slogan of eliminating the kulaks as a class.

What would have happened had we heeded the Right opportunists in the Bukharin group, had we refrained from launching the offensive, had we slowed down the rate of development of industry, had we retarded the development of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and had we based ourselves on individual peasant farming?

We would certainly have wrecked our industry, we would have sealed the doom of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, we would have been left without bread, and we would have cleared the way for the predominance of the kulaks. We would have been stranded.

What would have happened had we heeded the "Left" opportunists in the Trotsky-Zinoviev group and have launched the offensive in 1926-27, when we had no means whatever of substituting kolkhoz and sovkhoz production for kulak production?

We would certainly have met with failure in this matter, we would have demonstrated our weakness, we would have strengthened the position of the kulaks and of the capitalist elements generally, we would have pushed the middle peasants into the embrace of the kulaks, we would have disrupted our socialist development and would have been left without bread. We would have been stranded.

The results would have been the same.

It is not for nothing that our workers say: "When you go to the 'left' you arrive on the right." (*Applause.*)

Some comrades think that the chief thing in the offensive of Socialism are measures of repression, that if there are no increasing measures of repression there is no offensive.

Is this true? It is not true, of course.

Measures of repression in the sphere of socialist development are a necessary element of the offensive, but an auxiliary, not the chief element. The chief thing in the offensive of Socialism under our

present conditions is to speed up the rate of development of our industry, to speed up the rate of sovkhos and kolkhoz development, to speed up the rate of the economic elimination of the capitalist elements in town and country, to mobilize the masses around socialist development, to mobilize the masses against capitalism. You may arrest and deport tens and hundreds of thousands of kulaks, but if you do not at the same time do what is necessary to speed up the development of the new forms of farming, to substitute the new forms of farming for the old, capitalist forms, to undermine and liquidate the production sources of the economic existence and development of the capitalist elements in the rural districts—the kulaks will revive and grow.

Others think that the offensive of Socialism means just pushing forward, without proper preparation, without regrouping forces in the course of the offensive, without consolidating positions already captured, without utilizing reserves to develop successes, and that if signs have appeared of, say, an efflux from the kolkhozes of a section of the peasantry it means the “ebb of the revolution,” the decline of the movement, the cessation of the offensive.

Is this true? It is not true, of course.

Firstly, no offensive, even the most successful, can proceed without some checks and breaches of the line on individual sections of the front. To argue, on these grounds, that the offensive has stopped, or has failed, reveals failure to understand the essence of an offensive.

Secondly, there has never been, nor can there be, a *successful* offensive without a regrouping of forces in the course of the offensive, without the consolidation of captured positions, without the utilization of reserves for developing success and for carrying the offensive through to the end. Just pushing forward, i. e., without abiding by these conditions, the offensive must inevitably peter out and fail. Just pushing forward means death to the offensive. This is proved by the wealth of experience of our Civil War.

Thirdly, how can an analogy be drawn between the “ebb of the revolution,” which usually takes place on the basis of a *decline* of the movement, and the efflux of a section of the peasantry from the kolkhozes, which took place on the basis of the continuing *upswing* of the movement, on the basis of the continuing *upswing* of the whole of our socialist development, both industrial and kolkhoz, on the basis of the continuing *upswing* of our revolution? What can there be in common between these two totally different phenomena?

c) What is the essence of the Bolshevik offensive under our present conditions?

The essence of the Bolshevik offensive lies, firstly, in mobilizing the class vigilance and revolutionary activity of the masses against the capitalist elements in our country; in mobilizing the creative initiative and activity of the masses themselves against bureaucracy in our institutions and organizations, which is keeping concealed the colossal reserves that lie in the depths of our system and is preventing them from being used; in organizing emulation and labour enthusiasm among the masses for raising the productivity of labour, for developing socialist construction.

The essence of the Bolshevik offensive lies, secondly, in organizing the reconstruction of the entire practical work of the trade unions, cooperative societies, Soviet and all other mass organizations to fit

the requirements of the reconstruction period; in creating in them a core of the most active and revolutionary workers and in pushing aside and isolating the opportunist, trade-unionist, bureaucratic elements; in expelling from them the alien and degenerate elements and promoting new workers from the rank and file.

The essence of the Bolshevik offensive lies, further, in mobilizing the maximum of funds for financing our industry, for financing our sovkhozes and kolkhozes, in appointing the best people in our Party for the work of developing all this.

The essence of the Bolshevik offensive lies, lastly, in mobilizing the Party itself for the purpose of organizing the whole offensive; in strengthening and tightening up the Party organizations by expelling from them the elements of bureaucracy and degeneration; in isolating and thrusting aside those that express Right and "Left" deviations from the Leninist line and putting into the forefront genuine and staunch Leninists.

Such are the principles of the Bolshevik offensive at the present time.

How has the Party carried out this plan of the offensive?

You know that the Party has carried out this plan with all consistency.

It began with the Party developing wide *self-criticism*, concentrating the attention of the masses upon the defects in our work of construction, upon the defects in our organizations and institutions. The need for intensifying self-criticism was proclaimed already at the Fifteenth Congress. The Shakhty trial and the wrecking activities in various branches of industry, which revealed the absence of revolutionary vigilance in some of the Party organizations, on the one hand, and the struggle against the kulaks and the defects revealed in our rural organizations on the other hand, gave a further impetus to self-criticism. In its appeal of June 2, 1928, the Central Committee gave final shape to the campaign for self-criticism, calling upon all the forces of the Party and the working class to develop self-criticism "from top to bottom and from bottom up," "without respect of person." Dissociating itself from the Trotskyite "criticism" emanating from the other side of the barricade, and the object of which was to discredit and weaken the Soviet regime, the Party proclaimed the object of self-criticism to be the ruthless exposure of the defects in our work for the purpose of *improving* our work of construction and of *strengthening* the Soviet regime. As is known, this appeal met with a most lively response among the masses of the working class and peasantry.

Further, the Party organized a wide campaign for the struggle against *bureaucracy* and issued the slogan of *purging* the Party, trade union, cooperative and Soviet organizations of alien and bureaucratized elements. The sequel to this campaign was the well-known decision of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of March 16, 1930, concerning the promotion of workers to posts in the state apparatus and the organization of mass workers' control of the Soviet apparatus (patronage by factories). As is known, this campaign roused tremendous enthusiasm and activity among the masses of the workers. The result of this campaign is the immense increase in the Party's prestige among the masses of the working people, the increase in the confidence of the working

class in the Party, the influx into the Party of new hundreds of thousands of workers, and the resolutions passed by workers expressing the desire to join the Party in whole shops and factories. Lastly, the result of this campaign is the freeing of our organizations of a number of conservative and bureaucratic elements, the freeing of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the old, opportunist leadership.

Further, the Party organized wide socialist *emulation* and mass *labour enthusiasm* in the factories and mills. The appeal of the Sixteenth Party Conference concerning emulation started the ball rolling. The shock brigades are pushing it on further. The Lenin Young Communist League and the working class youth which it guides are crowning the cause of emulation and shock-brigade work with decisive successes. It must be admitted that our revolutionary youth have played an exceptional role in this matter. There can be no doubt now that one of the most important, if not the most important, factor in our work of construction at the present time is socialist emulation among factories and mills, the mutual reports of hundreds of thousands of workers of results achieved in emulation, the wide development of *shock-brigade work*.

Only the blind fail to see that a tremendous change has taken place in the mentality of the masses, in their attitude towards labour, which has radically changed the face of our mills and factories. Only very recently voices were still heard among us saying that emulation and shock-brigade work were "artificial inventions," and "unsound." Today, these "sages" do not even raise a smile, they are regarded as "sages" who have outlived their time. The cause of emulation and shock-brigade work is now won and consolidated. It is a fact that over two million workers are engaged in emulation, and that no less than a million workers belong to shock brigades.

The most remarkable feature of emulation, is the radical revolution it brings with it in men's views of labour, for it transforms labour from a degrading and painful burden, as it was regarded before, into a matter of *honour*, a matter of *glory*, a matter of *valour* and *heroism*. There is not, nor can there be, anything similar to it in capitalist countries. There, among the capitalists, the most desirable thing, deserving of public approval, is to be a bondholder, to live on interest, not to have to work, which is regarded as a despicable occupation. Here, in the U. S. S. R., on the contrary, what is becoming the most desirable thing, deserving of public approval, is the possibility of becoming a hero of labour, the possibility of becoming a hero in shock-brigade work, surrounded with the aureole of esteem among millions of working people.

A no less remarkable thing about emulation is the fact that it is beginning to spread also in the rural districts, and has already spread to our sovkhozes and kolkhozes. Everybody is aware of the numerous cases of genuine labour enthusiasm being displayed by the millions of sovkhoz workers and kolkhozniks.

Who could have dreamed of such successes in emulation and shock-brigade work a couple of years ago?

Further, the Party mobilized the country's financial resources for the purpose of developing sovkhozes and kolkhozes, supplied the sovkhozes with the best organizers, sent 25,000 advanced workers to assist the kolkhozes, promoted the best people among the kolkhoz

peasants to leading posts in the kolkhozes and organized a network of training classes for kolkhozuiks, thereby laying the foundation for the training of staunch and tried cadres for the kolkhoz movement.

Lastly, the Party reformed its own ranks in battle order, re-equipped the press, organized the struggle on two fronts, routed the remnants of Trotskyism, utterly defeated the Right deviators, isolated the conciliators, and thereby ensured the unity of its ranks on the basis of the Leninist line that is essential for a successful offensive, and properly led this offensive, pulling up and putting in their place the gradualists in the camp of the Rights as well as the "Lefts" who went to extremes in the kolkhoz movement.

Such are the principal measures the Party carried out in conducting the offensive along the whole front.

Everybody knows that this offensive has been crowned with success in all spheres of our work.

This is the reason why we have succeeded in surmounting a number of difficulties of the period of reconstruction of our national economy.

This is the reason why we are succeeding in surmounting the greatest difficulty in our development, the difficulty of turning the bulk of the peasantry towards Socialism.

Foreigners sometimes enquire about the internal situation in the U. S. S. R. But can there be any doubt that the internal situation in the U. S. S. R. is firm and unshakable? Look at the capitalist countries, at the growing crisis and unemployment in those countries, at the strikes and lockouts, at the anti-government demonstrations—what comparison can there be between the internal situation in those countries and the internal situation in the U. S. S. R.?

It must be admitted that the Soviet regime is now the most stable of all the regimes in the world. (*Applause.*)

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III. THE PARTY

I pass to the question of the Party.

I have spoken about the advantages of the Soviet system of economy compared with the capitalist system. I have spoken about the colossal possibilities our social system creates for us to fight for the complete victory of Socialism. I said that without these possibilities, without utilizing them, we could not have achieved the successes we have gained in the past period.

But the question arises: has the Party been able to make proper use of the possibilities created by the Soviet system; has it not kept these possibilities concealed, thereby preventing the working class from developing its revolutionary might to the utmost; has it been able to squeeze out of these possibilities all that could be squeezed out of them for the purpose of promoting socialist construction along the whole front?

The Soviet system creates colossal *possibilities* for achieving the complete victory of Socialism. But *possibility* is not *reality*. To transform possibility into reality a number of conditions are needed, among which the Party's line and the correct pursuit of this line play by no means the least role.

A few examples.

The Right opportunists assert that NEP guarantees us the victory of Socialism; therefore, there is no need to worry about the rate of industrialization, about developing sovkhoses and kolkhoses, and so forth, because victory is assured in any case, in the process of drift, so to speak. This, of course, is wrong and absurd. To speak like that means denying that the Party plays a role in the building of Socialism, denying that the Party is responsible for the work of building Socialism. Lenin did not at all say that NEP guarantees us the victory of Socialism. Lenin merely said that "economically and politically NEP fully guarantees us the *possibility* of building the foundations of socialist economy." But possibility is not *reality*. To convert possibility into reality we must first of all cast aside the opportunist theory of drift, we must rebuild (reconstruct) our national economy and conduct a determined offensive against the capitalist elements in town and country.

The Right opportunists also assert that there are no grounds inherent in our social system for a split between the working class and the peasantry, therefore we need not worry about establishing a correct policy in respect to the social groups in the rural districts, because the kulaks will grow into Socialism in any case, and the alliance between the workers and the peasants will be guaranteed in the course of drift, so to speak. This too is wrong and absurd. Such a thing can be said only by people who fail to understand that the policy of a party, and of a party that is in power at that, is the chief factor that determines the fate of the alliance between the workers and peasants. Lenin did not at all preclude the possibility of a split between the working class and the peasantry. Lenin said that "the grounds for such a split *are not necessarily inherent* in our social system," but "*if serious class disagreements arise between these classes, a split will be inevitable.*"

In view of this, Lenin was of the opinion that:

The main function of our Central Committee and Central Control Commission, as well as of our Party as a whole, is to watch very closely the circumstances which may cause a split and to *forestall* them; for, in the last resort, the fate of our Republic will depend upon whether the masses of the peasants will march with the working class and loyally maintain their alliance with it, or permit the "NEPmen," i. e., the new bourgeoisie, to drive a wedge between them and the workers, to split them off from the workers.

Consequently, a split between the working class and the peasantry is not precluded, but it is not at all inevitable, for our social system contains the *possibility* of averting such a split and of strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. What is needed to convert this possibility into reality? To convert the possibility of *averting* a split into reality we must first of all bury the opportunist theory of drift, tear up the roots of capitalism by organizing kolkhoses and sovkhoses, and pass from the policy of restricting the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks to the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class.

It follows, therefore, that a strict distinction must be drawn between the *possibilities* inherent in our social system and *utilizing* these possibilities, converting these possibilities into *reality*.

It follows that cases are quite conceivable when the possibilities of victory exist, but the Party does not see them, or is incapable of utilizing them properly, with the result that instead of victory comes defeat.

The same question arises: has the Party been able properly to utilize the *possibilities* and *advantages* inherent in our Soviet system? Has it done everything to *convert these possibilities into reality* and thus guarantee our development the maximum of successes?

In other words: has the Party and its Central Committee correctly guided the building of Socialism in the past period?

What is needed for correct Party guidance under present conditions?

Correct Party guidance needs, apart from everything else, that the Party should have a correct line, that the masses should understand that the Party's line is correct and should actively support it; that the Party should not confine itself to drawing up a general line, but should, day in and day out, guide the carrying out of this line; that the Party should wage a determined struggle against deviations from the general line, and against conciliation with such deviations; that in the struggle against deviations the Party should forge the unity of its ranks and iron discipline.

What has the Party and its Central Committee done to carry out these conditions?

1. Questions concerning the guidance of socialist construction

a) The Party's principal line at the present moment is *transition* from the offensive of Socialism on *separate sections* of the economic front to an offensive *along the whole front* both in the sphere of industry and in the sphere of agriculture.

The Fourteenth Congress was mainly the Congress of *industrialization*.

The Fifteenth Congress was mainly the Congress of *collectivization*.

This was preparation for the *general* offensive.

As distinct from the past stages, the period immediately before the Sixteenth Congress was the period of the *general* offensive of Socialism *along the whole front*, the period of intensified socialist construction in the sphere of industry and in the sphere of agriculture.

The Sixteenth Congress of the Party is the congress of the *sweeping offensive* of Socialism *along the whole front*, of the elimination of the kulaks as a class, and of the realization of solid collectivization.

Here you have in a few words the substance of our Party's general line.

Is this line correct?

Yes, it is correct. The facts show that our Party's general line is the only correct line. (*Applause*.)

This is proved by the successes and achievements we have gained on the socialist construction front. It cannot be, and it was not, the case, that the decisive victory the Party has achieved on the socialist construction front in town and country during the past period should be the result of an incorrect policy. Only a correct general line could have given us such a victory.

It is proved by the frenzied howl against our Party's policy raised lately by our class enemies, the capitalists and their press, by the Pope, and bishops of all kinds, by the Social-Democrats and the "Russian" Mensheviks of the Abramovich and Dan type. The capitalists and their flunkies are abusing our Party—hence, our Party's general line is correct. (*Applause*.)

It is proved by the fate of Trotskyism, with which everybody is now familiar. The gentlemen in the Trotsky camp chattered about the "degeneration" of the Soviet system, about "Thermidor," about the "inevitable victory" of Trotskyism, and so forth. But actually, what was the result? The result was the collapse, the end of Trotskyism. One section of the Trotskyites, as is known, broke away from Trotskyism and in numerous declarations of its representatives has admitted that the Party is right, and has acknowledged the counter-revolutionary character of Trotskyism. Another section of the Trotskyites really degenerated and became typical petty-bourgeois counterrevolutionaries, actually became an information bureau of the capitalist press on affairs concerning the C. P. S. U. (B). But the Soviet system which was to have "degenerated" (or "had already degenerated") continues to thrive and to build Socialism, successfully breaking the backbone of the capitalist elements in our country and their petty-bourgeois toadies.

It is proved by the fate of the Right deviators, with which everybody is now familiar. They chattered and howled about the Party line being "fatal," about the "probable catastrophe" in the U. S. S. R., about the necessity of "saving" the country from the Party and its leadership, and so forth. But actually, what was the result? Actually the result was that the Party has achieved gigantic successes on all the fronts of socialist construction, whereas the group of Right deviators who wanted to "save" the country, and later admitted that they were wrong, are now lying aground.

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2. Problems of guiding internal party affairs

It may be thought that the work of guiding socialist construction, the work of carrying out the Party's general line, has proceeded in our Party calmly and smoothly, without struggle and exertion of will power. But that is not so, comrades. Actually, this work has proceeded in the midst of a struggle against internal Party difficulties, in the midst of a struggle against all sorts of deviations from Leninism in the sphere of general policy and also in the sphere of the national problem. Our Party does not live and operate in a vacuum. It lives and operates in the thick of life and is subjected to the influence of the surrounding environment. And our environment, as is known, consists of different classes and social groups. We have launched a sweeping offensive against the capitalist elements, we have pushed our socialist industry far forward, we have widely developed sovkhozes and kolkhozes. Events like these, however, cannot but affect the exploiting classes. These events are usually accompanied by the ruin of the moribund classes, by the ruin of the kulaks in the rural districts, by the restriction of the field of activity of the petty-bourgeois strata in the towns. It goes without saying that all this cannot but intensify the class struggle, the resistance of the moribund classes to the Soviet regime's policy. It would be ridiculous to think that the resistance of these classes does not find reflection in some way or other in the ranks of our Party. And it does indeed find reflection in the Party. All and sundry deviations from the Leninist line in the ranks of our Party are precisely a reflection of the resistance of the moribund classes.

Is it possible to wage a successful struggle against class enemies without at the same time fighting against the deviations in our Party,

without overcoming these deviations? No, it is not. It is not, because it is impossible to develop a real struggle against class enemies while having their agents in your rear, while leaving in your rear people who have no faith in our cause, and who strive in every way to hinder our progress.

Hence the uncompromising struggle against deviations from the Leninist line is an immediate task of the Party.

Why is the Right deviation the chief danger in the Party at the present time? Because it reflects the kulak danger; and at the present moment, the moment of the sweeping offensive and the tearing up of the roots of capitalism, the kulak danger is the chief danger in the country.

What did the Central Committee have to do to overcome the Right deviation, to deliver the finishing stroke to the "Left" deviation and clear the road for rallying the Party to the utmost around the Leninist line?

a) It had, first of all, to finish with the remnants of Trotskyism in the Party, with the survivals of the Trotskyite theory. We had routed the Trotskyite group as an opposition, and had expelled it, long ago. The Trotskyite group is now an anti-proletarian and anti-Soviet counterrevolutionary group, which is zealously informing the bourgeoisie about the affairs of our Party. But the remnants of the Trotskyite theory, the survivals of Trotskyism, have not yet been completely winnowed from the Party. Consequently, the first thing to be done was to finish with these survivals.

What is the essence of Trotskyism?

The essence of Trotskyism is, first of all, denial of the possibility of building Socialism in the U. S. S. R. by the efforts of the working class and peasantry of our country. What does this mean? It means that if a victorious world revolution does not come to our aid in the near future, we will have to surrender to the bourgeoisie and clear the road for a bourgeois-democratic republic. Thus, we have here the bourgeois denial of the possibility of building Socialism in our country, disguised by "revolutionary" phrases about the victory of the world revolution.

Is it possible, while holding such views, to rouse the labour enthusiasm of the vast masses of the working class, to rouse them for socialist emulation, for mass shock-brigade work, for a sweeping offensive against the capitalist elements? Obviously it is not. It would be foolish to think that our working class, which has made three revolutions, will display labour enthusiasm and engage in mass shock-brigade work in order to manure the soil for capitalism. Our working class is displaying labour enthusiasm not for the sake of capitalism, but in order finally to bury capitalism and to build Socialism in the U. S. S. R. Take from it its confidence in the possibility of building Socialism, and you will completely remove the ground for emulation, for labour enthusiasm, for shock-brigade work.

Hence the conclusion: in order to rouse labour enthusiasm and emulation among the working class and to organize a sweeping offensive, it was necessary, first of all, to bury the bourgeois theory of Trotskyism that it is impossible to build Socialism in our country.

The essence of Trotskyism is, secondly, denial of the possibility of drawing the bulk of the peasant masses into the work of socialist construction in the rural districts. What does this mean? It means

that the working class is incapable of leading the peasantry in the work of transferring the individual peasant farms to collectivist lines, that if the victory of the world revolution does not come to the aid of the working class in the near future, the peasantry will restore the old bourgeois order. Thus, we have here the bourgeois denial of the ability of the proletarian dictatorship to lead, and the possibility of its leading, the peasantry to Socialism disguised with the mask of "revolutionary" phrases about the victory of the world revolution.

Is it possible, while holding such views, to rouse the peasant masses for the kolkhoz movement, to organize a mass kolkhoz movement, to organize the elimination of the kulaks as a class? Obviously it is not.

Hence the conclusion: to organize a mass peasant kolkhoz movement and to eliminate the kulaks it was necessary, first of all, to bury the bourgeois theory of Trotskyism that it is impossible to bring the masses of the working peasantry to Socialism.

The essence of Trotskyism is, lastly, denial of the necessity of iron discipline in the Party, recognition of freedom for factional groupings in the Party, recognition of the necessity of forming a Trotskyite party. According to Trotskyism, the C. P. S. U. (B.) must be not a single, united militant party, but a conglomeration of groups and factions, each with its own centre, its own discipline, its own press, and so forth. What does this mean? It means proclaiming freedom for political factions in the Party. It means that freedom for political groupings in the Party must be followed by freedom for political parties in the country, i. e., bourgeois democracy. Thus, we have here recognition of freedom for factional groupings in the Party right up to permitting political parties in the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat, disguised by phrases like "inner-party democracy," "improving the regime" in the Party. That freedom for factional squabbling among groups of intellectuals is not inner-party democracy, that the wide self-criticism conducted by the Party and the colossal activity of the mass of the Party membership is real and genuine inner-party democracy—Trotskyism cannot understand.

Is it possible, while holding such views about the Party, to guarantee the iron discipline in the Party, to guarantee the iron unity of the Party that is necessary for waging a successful struggle against class enemies? Obviously it is not.

Hence the conclusion: in order to guarantee the iron unity of the Party and proletarian discipline in it, it was necessary, first of all, to bury the Trotskyite theory of organization.

Actual capitulation as the *content*, "Left" phrases and "revolutionary"—adventurist posing as the *form* that disguises and advertises the defeatist content—such is the essence of Trotskyism.

This duality of Trotskyism reflects the duality of the position of the urban petty bourgeoisie, which is now being ruined, which cannot tolerate the "regime" of the proletarian dictatorship and is striving either to jump into Socialism "at once" in order to avoid being ruined (hence *adventurism* and *hysterics* in policy), or, if this is impossible, to make every conceivable concession to capitalism (hence *capitulation* in policy).

This duality of Trotskyism explains why it usually crowns its "frenzied" sham attacks upon the Right deviators by a *bloc* with them, as undisguised capitulators.

And what are the "Left" extremes that occurred in the Party in connection with the kolkhoz movement? They represent an attempt, unconscious, it is true, to revive among us the traditions of Trotskyism in practice, to revive the Trotskyite attitude towards the middle peasantry. They are the result of that mistake in policy which Lenin called "overadministration." This means that some of our comrades, infatuated by the successes of the kolkhoz movement, began to approach the problem of kolkhoz development not as builders, but mainly as administrators and, as a result, committed a number of crudest mistakes.

There are people in our Party who think that the "Left" extremists should not have been pulled up. They think that our officials should not have been punished and their infatuation should not have been counteracted even though this infatuation led to mistakes. This is nonsense, comrades. Only people who are determined to drift with the stream, can talk like that. These are the very same people who can never understand the Leninist policy of going against the stream when the situation demands it, when the interests of the Party demand it. They are khvostists,* not Leninists. The Party succeeded in turning whole detachments of our comrades to the right road, the Party succeeded in rectifying mistakes and in gaining achievements precisely because it resolutely went against the stream in order to carry out the Party's general line. This is precisely Leninism in practice, Leninism in leadership.

That is why I think that had we not overcome the "Left" extremes we would not have achieved the successes in the kolkhoz movement that we have now achieved.

That is how the matter stands with the struggle against the remnants of Trotskyism and against recrudescences of them in practice.

The matter stands a little different with Right opportunism, which was, or is, headed by Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsy.

It cannot be said that the Right deviators do not admit that it is possible to build Socialism in the U. S. S. R. No, they admit that it is possible, and this is what distinguishes them from the Trotskyites. But the misfortune of the Right deviators is that while formally admitting that it is possible to build Socialism in one country, they do not want those ways and means of struggle without which it is impossible to build Socialism. They will not admit that the utmost development of industry is the key to the transformation of the whole of the national economy on the principles of Socialism. They do not want the uncompromising struggle against the capitalist elements and the sweeping offensive of Socialism against capitalism. They fail to understand that all these ways and means constitute the system of measures, without which it is impossible to retain the proletarian dictatorship and to build Socialism in our country. They think that Socialism can be built on the quiet, in the process of drift, without class struggle, without an offensive against the capitalist elements. They think that the capitalist elements will either die out imperceptibly, or grow into Socialism. As, however, miracles do not happen in history, it follows that *the Right deviators are actually slipping into the viewpoint of denying that it is possible to build Socialism in our country.*

*Those who follow at the tail.—Tr.

Nor can it be said that the Right deviators deny that it is possible to draw the bulk of the peasant masses into the work of building Socialism in the rural districts. No, they admit that it is possible, and this is what distinguishes them from the Trotskyites. But while admitting this formally, they will not accept the ways and means without which it is impossible to draw the peasantry into the work of building Socialism. They will not admit that sovkhozes and kolkhozes are the principal means and the "highroad" of drawing the bulk of the peasant masses into the work of building Socialism. They will not admit that unless the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class is carried out, it will be impossible to transform the rural districts on the principles of Socialism. They think that the rural districts can be transferred to the lines of Socialism on the quiet, in the process of drift, without class struggle, with the aid of consumers' and marketing cooperatives alone, for they are convinced that the kulaks will grow into Socialism. They think that the chief thing now is not a high rate of industrial development, and not kolkhozes and sovkhozes, but to "release" the elemental forces of the market, to "emancipate" the market and to "remove the shackles" from the individual farms, including those of the capitalist elements in the rural districts. As, however, the kulaks cannot grow into Socialism, and "emancipating" the market means arming the kulaks and disarming the working class, it follows that *the Right deviators are actually slipping into the viewpoint of denying that it is possible to draw the bulk of the peasant masses into the work of building Socialism.*

It is this, really, that explains why the Right deviators usually crown their cockfighting with the Trotskyites by backstairs negotiations with the Trotskyites for the purpose of entering into a *bloc* with them.

The chief evil of Right opportunism is that it *breaks away* from the Leninist conception of the class struggle and is slipping into the viewpoint of *petty-bourgeois liberalism*.

There can be no doubt that the victory of the Right deviation in our Party would have meant the complete disarming of the working class, the arming of the capitalist elements in the rural districts and an increase in the chances of the restoration of capitalism in the U. S. S. R.

The Right deviators do not take the stand of forming another party, and this is another thing that distinguishes them from the Trotskyites. The leaders of the Right deviators have openly admitted their mistakes and have surrendered to the Party. But it would be foolish to think, on these grounds, that the Right deviation is already buried. The strength of Right opportunism is not measured by this circumstance. The strength of Right opportunism lies in the strength of the petty-bourgeois element, in the strength of the pressure against the Party exercised by the capitalist elements in general, and by the kulaks in particular. And it is precisely because the Right deviation reflects the resistance of the chief elements of the moribund classes that the Right deviation is the principal danger in the Party at the present time.

That is why the Party deemed it necessary to wage a determined and uncompromising struggle against the Right deviation.

There can be no doubt that had we not waged a determined struggle against the Right deviation, had we not isolated its leading elements,

we would not have succeeded in mobilizing the forces of the Party and of the working class, in mobilizing the forces of the poor and middle peasant masses, for a sweeping offensive of Socialism, for organizing sovkhozes and kolkhozes, for restoring our heavy industry, for eliminating the kulaks as a class.

That is how the matter stands with the "Left" and Right deviations in the Party.

The task is to continue the uncompromising struggle *on two fronts*, against the "Lefts," who represent *petty-bourgeois radicalism*, and against the Rights, who represent *petty-bourgeois liberalism*.

The task is to continue the *uncompromising* struggle against those *conciliatory* elements in the Party who fail to understand, or pretend they do not understand, the necessity of a determined struggle on two fronts.

b) The picture of the struggle against deviations in the Party will not be complete if we do not touch upon the deviations that exist in the Party on the *national question*. I have in mind, firstly, the deviation towards Great-Russian chauvinism, and secondly, the deviation towards local nationalism. These deviations are not as conspicuous and pushful as the "Left" or the Right deviation. They could be called creeping deviations. But this does not mean that they do not exist. No, they exist, and what is most important—they are growing. There can be no doubt whatever about that. There can be no doubt, because the general atmosphere of intense class struggle cannot but cause some intensification of national friction, which finds reflection in the Party. Therefore, the features of these deviations should be exposed and dragged into the light of day.

What is the essence of the deviation towards Great-Russian chauvinism under our present conditions?

The essence of the deviation towards Great-Russian chauvinism is the striving to ignore national differences in language, culture, and way of life; in the striving to prepare for the liquidation of the national Republics and Regions; the striving to undermine the principle of national equality and to discredit the Party's policy of nationalizing the administrative apparatus, the press, the schools and other state and public organizations.

In this, the deviators of this type proceed from the view that since, with the victory of Socialism, the nations must merge into one and their national languages, must be transformed into a single common language, the time has come to abolish national distinctions and to abandon the policy of promoting the development of the national cultures of the formerly oppressed peoples.

In this they refer to Lenin, misquoting him, and sometimes deliberately distorting and slandering Lenin.

Lenin said that under Socialism the interests of the nationalities will merge into one—does it not follow from this that it is time to put an end to the national Republics and Regions in the interests of . . . internationalism? Lenin said in 1913, in his controversy with the Bundists, that the national culture slogan is a bourgeois slogan—does it not follow from this that it is time to put an end to the national cultures of the peoples of the U. S. S. R. in the interests of . . . internationalism?

Lenin said that national oppression and national barriers are destroyed under Socialism—does it not follow from this that it is time

to put a stop to the policy of taking into account the specific national features of the peoples of the U. S. S. R. and pass to the policy of assimilation in the interests of . . . internationalism?

And so on and so forth.

There can be no doubt that this deviation on the national question, disguised, moreover, with the mask of internationalism and with the name of Lenin, is the most subtle and therefore the most dangerous species of Great-Russian nationalism.

Firstly, Lenin never said that national distinctions must disappear and that national languages must merge into one common language within the borders of *one state before the victory of Socialism is achieved on a world scale*. On the contrary, Lenin said something that was the very opposite of this, namely, that "national and state differences among peoples and countries . . . will continue to exist *for a very, very long time even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world scale*."* (Vol. XXV, p. 227.)

How can anyone refer to Lenin and forget about this fundamental statement of his?

True, Mr. Kautsky, an ex-Marxist, and now a renegade and reformist, asserts something that is the very opposite of what Lenin teaches us. He, despite Lenin, asserts that the victory of the proletarian revolution in the Austro-German federal state in the middle of the last century would have led to the formation of *one common German language and to the Germanization of the Czechs*, because "the mere force of unshackled intercourse, the mere force of modern culture of which the Germans were the vehicles, without any forcible Germanization, *would have converted into Germans the backward Czech petty bourgeoisie, peasants and proletarians who had nothing to gain from their decayed nationality* (cf. Preface to the German edition of *Revolution and Counterrevolution*.)

It goes without saying that this "conception" harmonizes perfectly with Kautsky's social-chauvinism. These were the very views that I fought in 1925 in my speech at the University for the Peoples of the East. But can this anti-Marxist chatter of an arrogant German social-chauvinist have any positive significance for us Marxists who want to remain consistent internationalists?

Who is right, Kautsky or Lenin?

If Kautsky is right, then how are we to explain the fact that relatively backward nationalities like the Byelorussians and Ukrainians, who are closer to the Great-Russians than the Czechs are to the Germans, have not become Russified as a result of the victory of the proletarian revolution in the U. S. S. R., but, on the contrary, have regenerated and developed as independent nations? How are we to explain the fact that nations like the Turkmens, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tajiks (not to speak of the Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, and others), in spite of their backwardness, far from becoming Russified as result of the victory of Socialism in the U. S. S. R., have, on the contrary, regenerated and developed into independent nations? Is it not evident that our esteemed deviators, chasing a sham internationalism, have fallen into the clutches of Kautskyian social-chauvinism? Is it not evident that in advocating one common language within the borders of *one state*, within the borders of the U. S. S. R.,

*My italics.—J. St.

they are, in essence, striving to restore the *privileges* of the formerly predominating language, namely, the *Great-Russian* language?

Where does internationalism come in here?

Secondly, Lenin never said that the abolition of national oppression and the merging of the interests of nationalities into one whole is tantamount to the abolition of national distinctions. We have abolished national oppression. We have abolished national privileges and have established national equality of rights. We have abolished state frontiers in the old sense of the term, frontier posts and customs barriers between the nationalities of the U. S. S. R. We have established the unity of economic and political interests of the peoples of the U. S. S. R. But does this mean that we have thereby abolished national distinctions, national languages, cultures, ways of life, etc.? Obviously it does not mean this. But if national distinctions, languages, cultures, ways of life, etc., have remained, is it not evident that the demand for the abolition of the national Republics and Regions at the present moment in history is a reactionary demand directed against the interests of the proletarian dictatorship? Do our deviators understand that to abolish the national Republics and Regions at the present time means depriving the vast masses of the peoples of the U. S. S. R. of the possibility of receiving education in their *native* languages, depriving them of the possibility of having schools, courts, administration, public and other organizations and institutions run in their *native* languages, depriving them of the possibility of being drawn into the work of socialist construction? Is it not evident that in chasing after a sham internationalism our deviators have fallen into the clutches of the reactionary Great-Russian chauvinists and have forgotten, completely forgotten, the slogan of the cultural revolution in the period of the proletarian dictatorship, which applies equally to *all* the peoples of the U. S. S. R., Great-Russian and non-Great-Russian?

Thirdly, Lenin never said that the slogan of developing national culture *under the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship* is a reactionary slogan. On the contrary, Lenin always stood for *helping* the peoples of the U. S. S. R. to develop their national cultures. It was under the guidance of none other than Lenin that the resolution on the national question was drafted and adopted at the Tenth Congress of the Party, in which it is plainly stated that:

"The Party's task is to *help* the labouring masses of the non-Great-Russian peoples to catch up with advanced central Russia, to help them: a) to develop and fortify their own Soviet statehood in forms corresponding to their national ways of life; b) to develop and strengthen their own courts, administrations, economic organs and organs of government to be run in their native languages and to be staffed with local people who are familiar with the way of life and mentality of the local inhabitants; c) to develop their own press, schools, theatres, clubs, and cultural and educational institutions in general, to be run in their native languages; d) to set up and develop a wide network of general-educational and trade and technical courses to be run in the native languages."

Is it not evident that Lenin stood wholly and entirely for the slogan of developing national culture *under the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship*?

Is it not evident that to deny the slogan of national culture under the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship means denying the necessity of raising the cultural level of the non-Great-Russian peoples of the U. S. S. R., denying the necessity of compulsory uni-

versal education for these peoples, means putting these peoples into spiritual bondage to the reactionary nationalists?

Lenin did indeed qualify the slogan of national culture *under the rule of the bourgeoisie* as a reactionary slogan. But could it be otherwise?

What is national culture under the rule of the national bourgeoisie? It is culture that is *bourgeois* in content and national in form, having the object of doping the masses with the poison of nationalism and of strengthening the rule of the bourgeoisie.

What is national culture under the proletarian dictatorship? It is culture that is *socialist* in content and national in form, having the object of educating the masses in the spirit of Socialism and internationalism.

How is it possible to confuse these two fundamentally different things without a rupture with Marxism?

Is it not evident that in contending against the slogan of national culture under the bourgeois order, Lenin struck at the bourgeois *content* of national culture and not at its national form?

It would be foolish to suppose that Lenin regarded socialist culture as *nonnational*, as having no national form. True, the Bundists did at one time ascribe this nonsense to Lenin. But it is known from the works of Lenin that he protested sharply against this slander, emphatically dissociated himself from this nonsense. Have our esteemed deviators really followed in the footsteps of the Bundists?

What has remained, after the foregoing, of the arguments of our deviators?

Nothing, except juggling with the flag of internationalism and slander against Lenin.

Those who are deviating towards Great-Russian chauvinism are profoundly mistaken in believing that the period of building Socialism in the U. S. S. R. is the period of the collapse and liquidation of national cultures. The very opposite is the case. Actually, the period of the proletarian dictatorship and of the building of Socialism in the U. S. S. R. is the period of the *efflorescence* of national cultures that are *socialist* in content and national in form; for, under the Soviet system, the nations themselves are not the ordinary "modern" nations, but *socialist* nations, just as, in content, their national cultures are not the ordinary bourgeois cultures, but *socialist* cultures.

Obviously, they fail to understand that national cultures must develop *with renewed force* with the introduction and firm establishment of compulsory universal elementary education in the native languages. They fail to understand that only if the national cultures are developed will it be possible really to draw the backward nationalities into the work of socialist construction.

They fail to understand that this, precisely, is the basis of the Leninist policy of *helping* and *promoting* the development of the national cultures of the peoples of the U. S. S. R.

It may seem strange that we who stand for the future *merging* of national cultures into one common (in form and in content) culture, with one common language, should at the same time stand for the *efflorescence* of national cultures at the present time, in the period of the proletarian dictatorship. But there is nothing strange about it. The national cultures must be allowed to develop and unfold, to reveal all their potentialities, in order to create the conditions for

merging them into one common culture with one common language in the period of the victory of Socialism all over the world. The efflorescence of cultures that are national in form and socialist in content under the proletarian dictatorship in one country *for the purpose* of merging them into one common socialist (in form and in content) culture, with one common language, when the proletariat is victorious all over the world, when Socialism has become the way of life—herein, precisely, lies the dialectics of the Leninist presentation of the question of national culture.

It may be said that such a presentation of the question is “contradictory.” But is there not the same “contradiction” in our presentation of the question of the state? We stand for the withering away of the state. At the same time we stand for the strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship, which is the mightiest and strongest state power that has ever existed. The highest development of the state power with the object of preparing the conditions *for* the withering away of state power—such is the Marxist formula. Is this “contradictory”? Yes, it is “contradictory.” But this is the contradiction in life, and it fully reflects Marx’s dialectics.

Or, for example, Lenin’s presentation of the question of the right of nations to self-determination, including the right to secession. Lenin sometimes depicted the thesis on national self-determination in the shape of the simple formula: “disunion for union.” Think of it—disunion for union. It even sounds like a paradox. And yet, this “contradictory” formula reflects that living truth of Marx’s dialectics which enables the Bolsheviks to capture the most impregnable fortresses in the sphere of the national question.

The same may be said about the formula on national culture: the efflorescence of national cultures (and languages) in the period of the proletarian dictatorship in one country with the object of preparing the conditions for their withering away and merging into one common socialist culture (and into one common language) in the period of the victory of Socialism all over the world.

Whoever has failed to understand this peculiar feature and “contradiction” of our transitional period, whoever has failed to understand these dialectics of the historical processes, is doomed for Marxism.

The misfortune of our deviators is that they do not, and do not wish to understand Marx’s dialectics.

That is how the matter stands with the deviation towards Great-Russian chauvinism.

It is not difficult to understand that this deviation reflects the striving of the moribund classes of the formerly dominant Great-Russian nation to recover their lost privileges.

Hence the danger of Great-Russian chauvinism as the chief danger in the Party in the sphere of the national question.

What is the essence of the deviation towards local nationalism?

The essence of the deviation towards local nationalism is the striving to separate and shut oneself up within the shell of one’s own nation, is the striving to tone down class antagonisms within one’s own nation, is the striving to protect oneself from Great-Russian chauvinism by deserting the general stream of socialist construction, is the striving not to see what draws together and unites the labouring masses of the nations of the U. S. S. R. and to see only what can draw them apart from one another.

The deviation towards local nationalism reflects the discontent of the moribund classes of the formerly oppressed nations with the regime of the proletarian dictatorship, their striving to isolate themselves in their national bourgeois state and to establish their class rule there.

The danger of this deviation lies in that it cultivates bourgeois nationalism, weakens the unity of the working people of the different nations of the U. S. S. R. and plays into the hands of the interventionists.

Such is the essence of the deviation towards local nationalism.

The Party's task is to wage a determined struggle against this deviation and to ensure the conditions necessary for the international education of the labouring masses of the peoples of the U. S. S. R.

That is how the matter stands with the deviations in our Party, with the "Left" and Right deviations in the sphere of general policy, and with the deviations in the sphere of the national question.

Such is the inner Party situation.

Now that the Party has emerged victoriously from the struggle for the general line, now that our Party's Leninist line is triumphant along the whole front, many are inclined to forget the difficulties that were created for us in our work by all and sundry deviators. More than that, to this day some philistine-minded comrades still think that it was possible to dispense with the struggle against the deviators. Needless to say, these comrades are profoundly mistaken. It is enough to look back and recall the handiwork of the Trotskyites and Right deviators, it is enough to recall the history of the struggle against deviations during the past period to understand the utter vacuity and futility of this party philistinism. There can be no doubt that had we not curbed the deviators and defeated them in open struggle, we would not have achieved the successes of which our Party is now justly proud.

In the struggle against deviations from the Leninist line our Party grew and gained strength. In the struggle against deviations it forged the *Leninist unity* of its ranks. Nobody now denies the indisputable fact that the Party has never been as united around its Central Committee as it is now. Everybody is now obliged to admit that the Party is now more *united* and *solid* than ever before, that the Sixteenth Congress is one of the few congresses of our Party at which there is no longer a definitely formed and compact opposition capable of opposing their own separate line to the Party's general line.

To what is the Party indebted for this decisive achievement?

It is indebted for this achievement to the circumstance that in its struggle against deviations it has always pursued a *principled* policy, that it never sank to backstairs combinations and diplomatic huckstering.

Lenin said that a principled policy is the *only* correct policy. We emerged victoriously from the struggle against deviations because we honestly and consistently carried out this behest of Lenin's. (*Applause.*)

I will now conclude, comrades.

What is the general conclusion?

During the past period we achieved a number of decisive successes on all the fronts of socialist construction. We achieved these successes because we were able to hold aloft the great banner of Lenin. If we

want to be victorious we must continue to hold aloft the banner of Lenin and keep it pure and unstained. (*Applause.*)

Such is the general conclusion.

With the banner of Lenin we triumphed in the battles for the October Revolution.

With the banner of Lenin we have achieved decisive successes in the struggle for the victory of socialist construction.

With this banner we will triumph in the proletarian revolution all over the world.

Long live Leninism! (*Loud and prolonged applause rising to an ovation throughout the hall.*)

Pravda, No. 177, June 29, 1930.

Certainly by the low thirties and possibly as early as 1929, Soviet history was being subjected to Stalin's "true Bolshevik" method. That is, revisions had to be made to present the latest correct interpretation of historical events. As Stalin here declares, "Who, besides archive rats, can rely upon paper documents alone? Who, besides archive rats, doesn't understand that the party and its leaders must be tested first of all by their *deeds* and not only by their declarations?" Scholars who are so naive as to take former Bolshevik writings and treaties at face value are guilty of "decadent liberalism" and worthy to be treated as Trotskyites. At best, they are capable of nothing more scientific than "comic misunderstanding" (this section, exhibit No. 51).

EXHIBIT No. 36

[*The Communist International*, November 15, 1931. Pp. 664-669]

SOME QUESTIONS REGARDING THE HISTORY OF BOLSHEVISM

J. Stalin

To the Editors of "Proletarskaya Revolyutsia."

Dear Comrades: I strongly protest against the publication in "Proletarskaya Revolyutsia" (No. 6, 1930) of Slutski's anti-Party and semi-Trotsky article, "The Bolsheviks on German Social Democracy in the Period of its Pre-War Crisis," as a discussion article.

Slutski asserts that Lenin (the Bolsheviks) underestimated the danger of *centralism* in German Social Democracy and in prewar Social Democracy generally, that is, underestimated the danger of camouflaged opportunism, the danger of the conciliatory attitude towards opportunism. In other words, according to Slutski, Lenin (the Bolsheviks) did not carry on a relentless struggle against opportunism, for, when all is said and done, the failure to attach due importance to opportunism is renunciation of the struggle against opportunism on a wide front. Thus, it is made to appear that in the period before the war Lenin was not yet a real Bolshevik, that it was only in the period of the Imperialist War, or even at the close of this war, that Lenin became a real Bolshevik. That is what Slutski says in his article. And you, instead of branding this new-found "historian" as a slanderer and falsifier, enter into discussion with him, give him a platform. I cannot refrain from protesting against the publication of Slutski's article in your journal as a discussion article, since the question of Lenin's Bolshevism, the

question as to whether Lenin *did or did not carry* on an unrelenting struggle against centralism as a certain form of opportunism, the question as to whether Lenin *was or was not* a real Bolshevik cannot be converted into a subject of discussion.

In your statement sent "in the name of the editors" to the Central Committee on October 20th, you acknowledge that the editors made a mistake in publishing Slutski's article as a discussion article. That is, of course, a good thing, despite the fact that the editor's statement was very belated. But in your statement you commit a fresh mistake when you declare that "the editors consider it to be politically extremely urgent and necessary that the entire complex of problems connected with the mutual relations between the Bolsheviks and the pre-war Second International be further discussed in the pages of "Proletarskaya Revolyutsia." That means that you intend again to draw people into discussion on questions which represent the axioms of Bolshevism. That signifies that you are again thinking of turning the question of Lenin's Bolshevism from an axiom into a problem needing "further discussion." Why? On what grounds? Everyone knows that Leninism was born, grew up and became strong in the ruthless struggle against opportunism of every brand, including centralism in the West (Kautsky), and centralism in our own country (Trotsky, etc.). This cannot be denied even by the direct enemies of Bolshevism. That is an axiom. But you are attempting to drag us backward, by turning an axiom into a problem requiring "further discussion." Why? On what grounds? Perhaps, through lack of acquaintance with the history of Bolshevism? Perhaps, for the sake of a rotten liberalism, so that the Slutskies and other pupils of Trotsky may not be able to say that they are being gagged. A strange sort of liberalism this, exercised at the expense of the vital interests of Bolshevism.

What is it exactly in Slutski's article that the editors regard as worthy of examination in discussion?

1. Slutski asserts that Lenin (the Bolsheviks) did not pursue a line in the direction of a rupture, of a split with the opportunists of German Social Democracy, with the opportunists of the Second International of the prewar period. You wish to enter into discussion against this Trotskyian thesis of Slutski's? But what is there to discuss in that? Is it not plain that Slutski is simply slandering Lenin, slandering the Bolsheviks? Slander must be branded, not transformed into a subject for discussion.

Every Bolshevik, if he is truly a Bolshevik, knows that already long before the war, approximately in 1903-04, when the Bolshevik group was first formed in Russia and when the leftwing first made itself felt in German Social Democracy, Lenin took his course for a rupture, for a split with the opportunists here in the Russian Social Democratic Party, and over there, in the Second International, particularly in German Social Democracy. Every Bolshevik knows that it was for that very reason that already at that time (1903-05) the Bolsheviks won for themselves, in the ranks of the opportunists of the Second International, honourable fame as "heretics" and "disruptors." But what could Lenin do, what could the Bolsheviks do if the left Social Democrats in the Second International, and, above all, in German Social Democracy, represented a weak and powerless group, which had not yet acquired organisational form, which was ideologically

not strongly prepared, which was afraid even to pronounce the word "rupture," "split"? It could not be demanded of Lenin, of the Bolsheviks, that they should from Russia arrange a split in the parties of Western Europe for the benefit of the leftwing. I will not go into the fact that weakness in organisation and ideology was a characteristic feature of the left Social Democrats, and not only in the period before the war. This negative characteristic, as is well known, was preserved among the leftwing even in the period which followed the war. Everyone knows the estimate of the German left Social Democrats, given by Lenin in his famous article, "Junius' Pamphlet,"* written in October 1916, that is more than two years after the beginning of the war; in it, Lenin, in criticising a whole series of very serious political mistakes committed by the left Social Democrats in Germany, speaks of "*the weakness of the German lefts, who are entangled on all sides in the vile net of Kautskian hypocrisy, pedantry, 'friendship' for the opportunists*"; in it he says that "*Junius has not yet freed herself completely from the 'environment' of the German, even the leftwing Social Democrats, who are afraid of a split, are afraid to carry their revolutionary slogans to their logical conclusion.*"

Of all the groupings in the Second International the Russian Bolsheviks were at that time the only group, which, by its experience in organisation and ideological training, could undertake anything serious in the sense of direct rupture or split with its own opportunists in its own, Russian Social Democracy. If people like Slutski would attempt, not to prove, but simply to presuppose that Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks did not exert all their efforts to organise a split with the opportunists (Plekhanov, Martov, Dan) and to expel the Centralists (Trotsky and other partisans of the August bloc), then one might argue about Lenin's Bolshevism, about the Bolsheviks' Bolshevism. But that is just the point, that people like Slutski do not dare even to hint anything in favour of such a wild presupposition. They dare not, for they know that the facts, known to all, of the determined policy of rupture with the opportunists of all brands, which was carried out by the Russian Bolsheviks (1904-12), cry out against such an assumption. They do not dare, for they know that they would be pilloried for it the very next day.

But the question arises: could the Russian Bolsheviks bring about a split with their own opportunists and centralists—reconciliators long before the Imperialist War (1904-1912)—without at the same time pursuing a policy of rupture, a policy of a split with the opportunists and centralists of the Second International? Who can doubt that the Russian Bolsheviks regarded their policy towards the opportunists and centralists as a model policy for the leftwing in the West? Who can doubt that the Russian Bolsheviks did everything to urge the leftwing Social Democrats in the West, particularly the leftwing of German Social Democracy towards a rupture, towards a split with their own opportunists and centralists? It was not the fault of Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks that the leftwing Social Democrats in the West proved to be too immature to follow in the footsteps of the Russian Bolsheviks.

* Junius, the *nom de plume* of Rosa Luxemburg, leader of the lefts in the German Social Democratic Party.

2. Slutski blames Lenin and the Bolsheviks for not supporting the left wing in German Social Democracy determinedly and irrevocably, for supporting it only with important reservations, for allowing factional considerations to prevent them from giving absolute support to the left wing. You wish to open a discussion against this charlatan and thoroughly false reproach. But what is there in it, properly speaking, that requires discussion? Is it not plain that in this Slutski is manoeuvring and trying, by hurling a false reproach at Lenin and the Bolsheviks to camouflage the real blunders in the position taken up by the left wing in Germany? Is it not plain that the Bolsheviks could *not* support the left wing in Germany, which from time to time wavered between Bolshevism and Menshevism, *without* important reservations *without* serious criticism of their errors, for to do so would be to betray the working class and its revolution. An impostor's tricks must be branded as such, not turned into a subject for discussion.

Yes, the Bolsheviks supported the left-wing Social Democrats in Germany only with certain important reservations, and criticised their semi-Menshevist errors. But for that they must be praised, not condemned.

Does anybody doubt this?

Let us turn to the best known facts of history:

(a) In 1903 serious disagreements arose between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in Russia on the question of party-membership. By their formula on party-membership the Bolsheviks wished to put an organisational restraint upon the influx of non-proletarian elements into the Party. The danger of such an influx was very real at that time, in view of the bourgeois and democratic character of the Russian revolution. The Russian Mensheviks advocated the opposite position, which opened wide the doors of the Party to non-proletarian elements. In view of the importance of the questions of the Russian revolution for the world revolutionary movement, the Western European Social Democrats in Germany intervened; Parvus and Rosa Luxemburg, the then leaders of the left wing, also intervened. And what happened? Both came out against the Bolsheviks. At the same time the Bolsheviks were accused of betraying ultra-centralist and Blanquist tendencies. Later, these vulgar and philistine epithets were caught up by the Mensheviks and spread throughout the world.

(b) In 1905 disagreements developed between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in Russia as to the character of the Russian revolution. The Bolsheviks advocated an alliance between the working class and the peasantry under the hegemony of the proletariat. The Bolsheviks asserted that we must bring about the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in order to pass immediately from the bourgeois democratic revolution to the socialist revolution and in this to secure the support of the rural poor. The Mensheviks in Russia rejected the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois democratic revolution; as against the policy of alliance between the working class and the peasantry they gave preference to the policy of compromise with the liberal bourgeoisie; they declared that the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the working class and peasantry was a reactionary Blanquist scheme which ran contrary to the development of the bourgeois revolution.

What was the attitude of the left-wing in the German Social Democracy, of Parvus and Rosa Luxemburg, in this controversy? They invented a Utopian and semi-Menshevist scheme of permanent revolution (a monstrous distortion of the Marxian scheme of revolution), which was completely permeated with the Menshevist refutation of the policy of alliance between the working class and peasantry, and opposed this scheme to the Bolshevik scheme of the revolutionary and democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. Later, this semi-Menshevist scheme of permanent revolution was picked up by Trotsky (in part by Martov) and turned into a weapon of struggle against Leninism.

(c) One of the most urgent questions that confronted the parties of the Second International in the period before the war was the national and colonial question, the question of the oppressed nationalities and colonies, the question of liberating the oppressed nationalities and colonies, the question of the paths of the struggle against imperialism, the question of the overthrow of imperialism. For the sake of developing the proletarian revolution and encircling imperialism, the Bolsheviks proposed a policy of supporting the liberation movement among the oppressed nationalities and colonies on the basis of the self-determination of nations, and developed the plan for a united front between the proletarian revolution in the progressive countries and the revolutionary liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and oppressed countries. The opportunists of all countries, the social-chauvinists and social-imperialists of all countries hastened to rally against this scheme and against the Bolsheviks. They slandered the Bolsheviks, calling them mad dogs. What position did the left-wing Social Democrats in the West take up at that time? They developed a semi-Menshevist theory of imperialism, rejected the principle of the self-determination of nations in its Marxist sense (including separation and formation of independent states), resisted the thesis of the important revolutionary significance of the liberation movement of the colonies and oppressed countries, rejected the thesis of the possibility of a united front between the proletarian movement and the movement for national emancipation and opposed all this semi-Menshevist hodge-podge, representing an out-and-out under-estimation of the national and colonial question, to the Marxist scheme of the Bolsheviks. It is well known that this semi-Menshevist hodge-podge was later caught up by Trotsky and used by him as a weapon of struggle against Leninism.

Such were the errors, known to everyone, of the left-wing Social Democrats in Germany.

I shall not speak of the other mistakes of the German left wing which were criticized in various articles by Lenin.

Nor shall I speak of the mistakes committed by them in appraising the policy of the Bolsheviks in the period of the October Revolution.

What do these mistakes of the German left wing, taken from the history of the pre-war period show, if not that the left-wing Social Democrats, despite their left character, had not yet thrown off their Menshevist baggage?

Of course, the left wing in Germany have something else besides serious mistakes to record. They also have great and important revolutionary acts to their credit. I have in mind a whole series of services and revolutionary acts in connection with questions of internal

policy and, in particular, of electoral struggle, on the questions of parliamentary and non-parliamentary struggle, on the general strike, on war, on the revolution of 1905 in Russia, etc. That was precisely why the Bolsheviks regarded them as a left wing, supported and urged them forward. But this does not and cannot remove the fact that the left-wing Social Democrats in Germany did commit a whole series of very serious political and theoretical errors, that they had not yet thrown off their Menshevist burden and therefore needed very serious criticism on the part of the Bolsheviks.

Judge for yourselves now whether Lenin and the Bolsheviks could have supported the left-wing Social Democrats in the West *without serious reservations, without serious criticism of their mistakes*, and not betray the interests of the revolution, betraying communism.

Is it not clear that Slutski, in reproaching Lenin and the Bolsheviks for that for which he should have applauded them if he were a Bolshevik, exposes himself utterly as a semi-Menshevik, as a masked Trotskyist?

Slutski assumes that in their estimate of the left wing in the West, Lenin and the Bolsheviks took as their point of departure their own factional considerations, that, consequently, the Russian Bolsheviks sacrificed the great cause of the international revolution to their own factional interests. It is scarcely necessary to prove that there can be nothing more vulgar and vile than such an assumption. There can be nothing more vulgar, for even the frantic Philistines among the Mensheviks are beginning to understand that the Russian revolution is not a private matter of Russians, that it is, on the contrary, the cause of the working class of all the world, the cause of the world proletarian revolution. There can be nothing more vile, for even the professional slanderers in the Second International are beginning to understand that the logical and thoroughly revolutionary internationalism of the Bolsheviks is the model of proletarian internationalism for the workers of all countries.

Yes, the Russian Bolsheviks did bring to the forefront the fundamental problems of the Russian revolution, such as the question of the Party, of the attitude of Marxists to the bourgeois democratic revolution, of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, of the hegemony of the proletariat, of the struggle inside and outside of parliament, of the general strike, of the bourgeois democratic revolution growing into the socialist revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of imperialism, of the self-determination of nations, of the liberation movement of oppressed nationalities and colonies, of rendering political support to this movement, etc. They advanced these problems as the touchstone on which they tested the revolutionary stamina of the left-wing Social Democrats in the West. Did they have the right to do so? Yes, they did. They not only had the right; it was their duty to do so. It was their duty to do so because all these questions were at the same time fundamental questions of the world revolution, to the tasks of which the Bolsheviks subordinated all their policy, all their tactics. It was their duty to do so, because only on such questions could they really test the revolutionary character of the various groups in the Second International. The question arises: what has the "factionalism" of the Russian Bolsheviks, and "factional" considerations got to do with this?

As early as 1902 Lenin wrote in his pamphlet, "What is to be Done?" that "*History has confronted us with an immediate task, which is the most revolutionary of all the immediate tasks of the proletariat of any country whatsoever,*" that "*the fulfilment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark not only of European, but of Asiatic, reaction would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat.*" Thirty years have passed since the pamphlet, "What is to be Done?" appeared. No one will dare deny that the events of this period have brilliantly confirmed Lenin's words. But does it not follow from this that the Russian revolution was (and has remained) the key position of the world revolution, that the fundamental questions of the Russian revolution were at the same time (and now are) the fundamental questions of the world revolution?

Is it not plain that only on these fundamental questions was it possible to put the left-wing Social Democrats of the West to a real test?

Is it not plain that those who regard these questions as "factional" questions thereby expose themselves to the full as Philistines and degenerates?

3. Slutski asserts that so far a sufficient quantity of official documents has not been found to prove Lenin's (the Bolsheviks') determined and relentless struggle against centralism. He employs that bureaucratic thesis as an irrefutable argument in favour of the postulate that Lenin (the Bolsheviks), under-estimated the danger of centralism in the Second International. And you set about arguing against this nonsense, against this rascally hair-splitting. But what is there, properly speaking, to argue about? Is it not plain, without arguing, that by his talk about documents Slutski is trying to cover up the wretchedness and falsity of his, so-called, position?

Slutski regards the party documents now available as insufficient.

Why? On what grounds? Are the documents, known to everyone, regarding the Second International, as well as the internal party struggle in Russian Social Democracy not sufficient to plainly demonstrate the revolutionary irreconcilability of Lenin and the Bolsheviks in their struggle against the opportunists and the centralists? Is Slutski at all acquainted with these documents? What other documents does he need?

Let us suppose that in addition to the documents already known a mass of other documents will be found, in the shape, for example, of resolutions of the Bolsheviks again urging the necessity for wiping out centralism. Does that mean that the mere presence of paper documents is sufficient to demonstrate the real revolutionary character and real relentlessness of the Bolsheviks towards centralism? Who, besides archive rats, can rely on paper documents alone? Who, besides archive rats, does not understand that the party and its leaders must be tested first of all by their *deeds* and not only by their declarations? History knows not a few socialists who readily signed any revolutionary resolution in order to escape their annoying critics. But that does not mean that they carried these resolutions into effect. History knows further not a few socialists who, foaming at the mouth, called upon the workers' parties of *other countries* to perform the most revolutionary actions imaginable. But that does

not mean that they did not in their own party, or in their own country, *shrink* from fighting their *own* opportunists, their *own* bourgeoisie. Is not that why Lenin taught us to test revolutionary parties, tendencies and leaders, not by their declarations and resolutions, but by their *deeds*?

Is it not plain that if Slutski really wished to test the irreconcilability of Lenin's and the Bolsheviks' attitude toward centralism, he should have taken as the *foundation* of his article, not separate documents and two or three personal letters, but their *deeds*, their *history*, their *acts*? Did we not have opportunists, centralists in our Russian Social Democracy? Did not the Bolsheviks wage a determined and relentless struggle against all these tendencies? Were not these tendencies bound up in ideas and organisation with the opportunists and centralists in the West? Did not the Bolsheviks rout the opportunists and centralists as no other left-wing group routed them anywhere else in the world? After all that, how can anyone say that Lenin and the Bolsheviks underestimated the danger of centralism? Why did Slutski ignore these facts which have decisive significance in characterising the Bolsheviks? Why did he not make use of the more reliable method of Lenin and the Bolsheviks and test them by their deeds, by their acts? Why did he prefer the less reliable method of rummaging among casually collected papers?

Because the more reliable method of testing the Bolsheviks by their deeds would have upset Slutski's whole position in a flash.

Because the test of the Bolsheviks by their deeds would have shown that the Bolsheviks are the *only* revolutionary organisation in the world which has utterly destroyed its opportunists and centralists and driven them out of its party.

Because the real deeds and the real history of the Bolsheviks would have shown that Slutski's teachers, the Trotskyites, were the principal and fundamental group which planted centralism in Russia and for this purpose created a special organisation as the hotbed of centralism, viz, the August bloc.

Because the testing of the Bolsheviks by their deeds would have exposed Slutski once and for all as a falsifier of the history of our party, who is trying to cover up the centralism of prewar Trotskyism by the slanderous accusation against Lenin and the Bolsheviks of underestimating the danger of centralism.

That, comrades editors, is how matters stand with Slutski and his article.

You see, the editors made a mistake in opening a discussion with a falsifier of the history of our party.

What caused the editors to take this wrong road? I think that they were impelled on that road by decadent liberalism, which has spread to a certain extent among one section of the Bolsheviks. Some Bolsheviks think that Trotskyism is a faction of communism, which has made mistakes, it is true, which has done many foolish things, which has sometimes even been antisoviet, but which is, nevertheless, a faction of communism. Hence, a certain liberalism in dealing with Trotskyites and people who think like Trotsky. It is scarcely necessary to prove that such a view of Trotskyism is profoundly wrong and pernicious. As a matter of fact, Trotskyism has long since ceased to be a faction of communism. As a matter of fact,

Trotskyism is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, which is carrying on the struggle against the communists, against the Soviet Government, against the building of socialism in the U. S. S. R.

Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie its intellectual weapon against Bolshevism, in the form of the thesis of the impossibility of building socialism in our country, in the form of the thesis of the inevitability of the degeneration of the Bolsheviks, etc.? That weapon was given it by Trotskyism? The fact that all anti-soviet groups in the U. S. S. R. in their attempts to give grounds for their arguments for the inevitability of the struggle against the Soviet Government referred to the well-known thesis of Trotskyism of the impossibility of building socialism in our country, of the inevitable degeneration of the Soviet Government, of the probability of the return to capitalism, cannot be regarded as an accident.

Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie in the U. S. S. R. its tactical weapon in the form of attempts at open attacks on the Soviet Government? This weapon was given to it by the Trotskyites, who tried to organise antisoviet demonstrations in Moscow and Leningrad on November 7th, 1927. It is a fact that the antisoviet actions of the Trotskyites raised the spirits of the bourgeoisie and let loose the work of counter-revolutionary sabotage of the bourgeois specialists.

Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie an organisational weapon in the form of attempts at organising underground antisoviet organisations? This weapon was given to it by the Trotskyites who founded their own anti-Bolshevik illegal group. It is a fact that the underground antisoviet work of the Trotskyites facilitated the organised formation of the antisoviet group within the U. S. S. R.

Trotskyism is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

That is why liberalism towards Trotskyism, even if it is shattered and concealed, is stupidly bordering on crime, bordering on treason to the working class.

That is why the attempts of certain "litterateurs" and "historians" to smuggle the disguised Trotskyite rubbish into our literature must encounter determined resistance from the Bolsheviks.

That is why we cannot admit a literary discussion with these Trotskyite smugglers.

It seems to me that the "historians" and "litterateurs" of the category of the Trotskyite smugglers are for the present trying to carry on their work of smuggling along two lines.

First of all, they are trying to prove that *Lenin* in the period before the war underestimated the danger of centralism, while leaving the inexperienced reader to surmise that *Lenin* was not at that time a real revolutionary, but became one only after the war, after he had been "re-equipped" with Trotsky's help. Slutski may be regarded as a typical representative of such a type of smuggler. We have seen above that Slutski and Co. are not worth our spending a great deal of attention on.

Secondly, they try to prove that *Lenin* did not understand the necessity for the development of the bourgeois democratic revolution into the socialist revolution, while leaving the inexperienced reader to surmise that *Lenin* was not at that time a real Bolshevik, that he grasped the necessity for such a development only after the war,

after he had been "reequipped" with Trotsky's help. We may regard Volosevich, author of "Course of History of the C. P. S. U.," as a typical representative of such a sort of smuggler. It is true, *Lenin* already in 1905 wrote that "*from the democratic revolution we shall immediately begin to pass over, and that in proportion to our strength, to the strength of the conscious and organised proletariat, we shall begin to pass over to the socialist revolution,*" that "*we stand for uninterrupted revolution, we will not halt halfway.*" It is true, a great number of facts and documents of an analogous sort could be found in the works of *Lenin*, but what concern have people like Volosevich with the facts and the life and activity of *Lenin*? People like Volosevich write in order, by camouflaging themselves in Bolshevik colours, to drag in their anti-Leninist contraband and to lie against the Bolsheviks and falsify the history of the Bolshevik Party.

You see, the Voloseviches are worthy of the Slutskies.

Such are the "paths and crossroads" of the Trotskyite smugglers.

You yourselves understand that it is not the business of the editors to facilitate the smuggling activity of such "historians" by granting them the platform for discussion.

The task of the editors is, in my opinion, to raise the questions concerning the history of Bolshevism to the proper level, to put the study of the history of our Party on scientific, Bolshevik paths and concentrate attention against the Trotskyite and all other falsifiers of the history of our Party, by systematically tearing the mask from them.

This is the more necessary since even several of our historians—I speak of historians without quotation marks—the *Bolshevik* historians of our Party—are not free of mistakes which bring grist to the mill of people like Slutski and Volosevich. In this respect, even Comrade Yaroslavsky does not, unfortunately, represent an exception; his books on the history of the C. P. S. U., despite all their merits, contain a number of errors of principle and history.

With comradely greetings,

J. STALIN.

In 1932, "Socialist realism" was rising to new heights in the U. S. S. R. After certain American writers had written a letter of protest to Maxim Gorky over the use of excessive violence against the Russian peasants (liquidation of the kulaks, etc.), the famous Soviet author replied in contemptuous language. Gorky (born Alexei Maximovich Pyeshkov) had been a longtime revolutionary and close friend of *Lenin*.¹ Horrified by the latter's curtailment of intellectual liberties, he had left the Soviet Union in 1921.² By 1928, he returned to become the author-laureate of the new Stalinist terror and one of the dictator's closest friends.³

We must leave to conjecture whether he died a natural death in 1936. At the last great purge trial in 1938, certain victims accused themselves of having poisoned him because of his friendship for Stalin.⁴ There is also the possibility that Stalin had ordered Gorky's death. It seems that, after having for several years defended the most repugnant kind of ruthlessness, his better nature finally rebelled. So far as we can tell, he was refused permission to leave the U. S. S. R. in 1935.⁵ If Stalin did order Gorky's death, he also provided him with a grand funeral and a niche in the halls of Soviet immortality. It would not have been

¹ Buknor, B. Trawick, *World Literature*, vol II, New York, Barnes and Noble, 1955, pp. 297-298.

² Struve, *Soviet Russian Literature*, p. 55, Shub, *Lenin*, pp. 264-265, 377.

³ Souvarine, *Stalin*, pp. 592-593.

⁴ People's Commissariat of Justice in the U. S. S. R., *Anti-Soviet "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites,"* pp. 561-562, 574, 771-772, 781, 787. Alexander Barmine, *One Who Survived*, New York, Putnam, 1945, p. 207.

⁵ Lyons, *Assignment in Utopia*, pp. 497-499.

the first time that Stalin found it convenient to glorify a man whom he had liquidated.⁶

Unfortunately, the tragedy of Gorky's life as a writer who surrendered his conscience in order to exist under a regime of ruthless terror was not comprehended by some "intellectuals" in the Western World. To them, the Soviet Union remained the only hope of civilization and progress.

EXHIBIT No. 37

[New York, International Publishers, 1932. Maxim Gorky, *To American Intellectuals*. Pp. 3, 23-25, 31].

You write: "You will probably be surprised to receive this message from unknown people beyond the sea." * No, your letter did not surprise me. I receive such letters quite frequently and you are mistaken when you say that your message is a "singular" one, for during the last two or three years imploring appeals from intellectuals have become quite a daily occurrence.

This is quite natural. The function of the intellectual has always been confined, in the main, to embellishing the bored existence of the bourgeoisie, to consoling the rich in the trivial troubles of their life. The intelligentsia was the nurse of the capitalist class. It was kept busy embroidering white stitches on the philosophical and ecclesiastical vestments of the bourgeoisie—that old and filthy fabric, besmeared so thickly with the blood of the toiling masses.

* * * * *

You, "humanitarians who want to be practical men," should have understood long ago that there are two forms of hatred at work in the world. One form has sprung up among the plunderers because of their competition with each other, and because of their apprehensions for the future, which threatens them with inevitable ruin. The other is the hatred of the proletariat, which originates in its disgust with things as they are, and which is daily becoming more clearly defined because the proletariat realises that it has the right to power. Nothing and nobody can reconcile these two hatreds, so strong have they now grown—nothing and nobody save the inevitable physical clash of the representatives of these two classes. Nothing save the victory of the proletariat will be able to rid the world of hatred.

You write: "Like many others, we are of the opinion that in your country the dictatorship of the workers results in violence to the peasants." I want to give you a piece of advice. Just try to think not like the "many others," but like those members of the intelligentsia, as yet very few in number, who are beginning to understand that the theory of Marx and Lenin is the highest pinnacle yet reached by scientific thought honestly investigating all social phenomena, and that only from the heights of this theory may the straight road leading towards social justice and new forms of culture be clearly seen. Make some mental effort and try to forget, if only for a moment, your kinship to that class whose whole history has been and still is a history of continual physical and moral violence inflicted on the

⁶ Joseph Bornstein, *The Politics of Murder*, New York, Sloane, 1950, chapter IX: The Death of Lenin, reviews the evidence for the case that Stalin arranged the liquidation of Lenin. Even in 1950, Bornstein expressed the hope that Bolshevism without Stalin might still prove itself "a tortured way" to decent living (p. 30).

*Since the original communications from American correspondents to which this is a reply were not available to the editor, the extracts quoted here have been retranslated from the Russian.—Ed.

masses of toiling humanity, on the workers and the peasants. Make this effort and you will understand that your class is your enemy.

Karl Marx was a very wise man, but it should not be imagined that he came into the world as Minerva sprang out of the head of Jupiter. No, his theory is another case of genius perfecting a scientific experiment, as were also the theories of Newton and Darwin in their day. Lenin is much plainer than Marx, and not less wise as a teacher. These two teachers will first show you the class which you serve in all its power and glory. They will demonstrate to you how this class by means of inhuman violence built up a "culture" most suitable for its purposes on a basis of blood, hypocrisy, and lies. And then they will show you the process by which this culture decays, and, further, the process of its present decomposition which you can witness for yourselves. Why, it was this very process that inspired you with alarm, as expressed in your letter to me.

Let us discuss the subject of "violence." The dictatorship of the proletariat is only a temporary phenomenon, which is indispensable for the reeducation of tens of millions of people who were formerly the slaves of nature and of the bourgeois state and for making them the sole masters of their country and of its vast resources. The dictatorship of the proletariat will cease to be a necessity as soon as the whole toiling people and the entire peasantry are placed on an equal footing in the social and economic sense and as soon as each member of society has the opportunity to work according to his ability and receive according to his needs. "Violence" as you and "many others" understand it, is a misunderstanding, but more often it is a lie and a libel against the working class of the Soviet Union and its Party. The term "violence" as applied by the enemies of the working class to a social process now taking place in the Soviet Union is nothing but a slander of the cultural activity of the toiling masses—an activity which involves the restoration of the country, and the organization of new forms of economy.

In my opinion, it is possible to speak of compulsion, which is a very different thing from violence, for in teaching children to read and write you do not use any violence. The working class of the Soviet Union and its Party are teaching the peasants their sociopolitical A. B. C.

* * * * *

It is time for you to decide on which side you are, "masters of culture!" Are you for the elemental labour force of culture and for the creation of new forms of life, or are you against this force, and for the preservation of the caste of irresponsible plunderers, the caste which is decaying from its head down and is continuing its existence only by inertia?

The following excerpt summarizes Stalin's ideas on the role of Communists in labor unions at the height of the second Socialist offensive (1933). In brief, Marx knew a great deal about revolutionary activities in labor unions, but Lenin knew more. Where Lenin was deficient, Stalin had the answers. Further research became both unnecessary and too often fatal.¹

¹ Solomon M. Schwarz, *Labor in the Soviet Union*, New York, Praeger, 1952. Schwarz' analysis of labor conditions in the U. S. S. R. is based upon published Soviet records. While not denying that millions of Russians were nothing better than slaves, he does not discuss their condition because Soviet labor laws do not cover them. For the history of slavery in the U. S. S. R., see Dallin and Nicolaevsky, *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia*. A more recent account appears in *Slave Labor in Russia: The Case Presented by the American Federation of Labor to the United Nations*, Washington American Federation of Labor, 1949.

EXHIBIT No. 38

[New York, International Publishers, 1942. A. Lozovsky, *Marx and the Trade Unions*. Pps. 174-181]

THE creator of Marxism was as monolithic as his teachings. The British socialist Hyndman in his reminiscences of Marx relates the following: "I remember I once told Marx that as I grew older I became apparently more tolerant. 'More tolerant!' answered Marx—'more tolerant?' It was clear that he was not becoming more tolerant."¹

This philistine, who went over to the camp of British imperialism, correctly noted the chief feature of Marx. And this is also the chief feature of Marxism. Revolutionary Marxism cannot owe to "age" become more tolerant towards its ideological and political enemies. The power of revolutionary Marxism consists precisely in its irreconcilability. This ideological and political irreconcilability of Marxism was taken as the basis of the Bolshevik Party and was the guiding line in the theoretical and political activity of V. I. Lenin, the brilliant pupil of Marx.

Marx laid the foundation of the doctrine concerning trade unions. He defined the rôle of the trade unions in the capitalist State, he established a correct relationship between the economic and political struggle, he established the primacy of the political over the economic struggle. Marx indicated the limits and scope of activity of the trade unions, building his trade union tactics on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle, organically linking up the struggle for the workers' immediate demands with the struggle for their ultimate goal. Marx proved that those trade unions which do not struggle against the bourgeoisie merely become a weapon in its hands against the interests of the working class. *Marx defined the past, present and future of the trade unions in the capitalist countries.*

But Marx could not define the rôle of the trade unions after the seizure of power by the working class; he could not state what place the trade unions would occupy under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was done by the great pupil and follower of Marx, the founder and organizer of the Russian Bolshevik Party—Lenin. Lenin did this basing himself on the theory of Marx. Lenin enriched and developed Marxism on the basis of the experiences acquired in the world labour movement and in a number of revolutions. This is why we say that "Leninism is Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution." To be more exact—"Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular" (Stalin). Lenin theoretically and practically worked on all problems pertaining to the dictatorship of the proletariat and therefore he could not but touch on such an important pillar of the proletarian dictatorship as the trade unions. What is the central, the guiding idea of Lenin on the question of the trade unions? The idea was already formulated by Marx—that the trade unions are schools of communism. This formula, in spite of its brevity, is very rich in content. And, as a matter of fact, four principal ideas are included in this definition: (1) The trade unions are organizations that must embrace the whole class; (2) the trade unions politically educate the masses in the spirit

¹ Lenin, *Hyndman on Marx*, *Collected Works* (Russian edition) Vol. XV, p. 268.

of communism, raising them to the level of understanding their general class tasks; (3) the trade unions link up the Party with the masses *i. e.*, the vanguard with the class; (4) the trade unions wage the struggle against Capital under the leadership of the revolutionary party of the proletariat.

Some "theoreticians" are perplexed at the formula—"the trade unions are schools of communism," for they take "schools" in the literal sense of the word. The difference between an ordinary school and a trade union is that the trade union is a class school. It collects scattered workers, carries on preliminary work to turn these workers into a class and they are turned into a class *not by knowledge gained from text-books but knowledge gained in class battles*. In the capitalist countries this instruction occurs in the battles against capitalism (strikes, demonstrations, revolts, or any other form of struggle); in the U. S. S. R.—in the active participation of the trade unions in the construction of socialism (participation in the management of national economy, socialist competition, shock brigades, labour discipline, raising the material and cultural level of the masses, etc.). Both in the one case as well as the other, this school is of a special type, and he who imagines that the trade unions are ordinary schools is no more than a schoolboy in the problems of Marxism-Leninism. The question of what the formula "the trade unions are schools of communism" means seem to be clear especially to the members of the C. P. S. U. But if we follow our trade union literature more attentively, we see that there is confusion in the minds of some "theoreticians." Here, for example, is what V. Yarotsky writes, who under Comrade Tomsy was looked upon as a theoretician of the trade-union movement:

The formula "Schools of Communism" is incomplete. A scientific definition must differentiate the phenomenon defined from the chain of cognate phenomena. The formula must be so constructed that it covers only the given phenomenon. And this is precisely what is missing in the formula "The unions are schools of communism." Isn't the Communist Party a school of communism? Doesn't any workers' club in actual fact fulfil the rôle of just such a school of communism? The methods of pedagogical influence over their members differ in all of these organisations. The composition of their membership also varies. *But they are all schools of communism, to the same extent as the workers' co-operative is.* Thus, the formula "the trade unions are schools of communism" covers, during a certain stage of development of the working class, all organisations of the working class. It is quite evident that this formula, defining the functions of the unions, to a certain extent does not permit us to draw a sharp and clear-cut line between the trade unions and other proletarian organisations. Evidently, it is inadequate.¹

"The formula—the trade unions are schools of communism," says our theoretician, "is incomplete and inadequate." But Yarotsky himself, in his explanation of the formula "trade unions are schools of communism," quotes the words of Lenin: "The trade unions are schools, schools for unification, schools of solidarity, schools for learning how to defend the interests of the workers, schools for learning administration and management." But, it seems, these explanations also do not satisfy our severe "critic." The formula of Lenin is "incomplete and inadequate." Why? Because the "Party is also a school of communism," and the "workers club" is another such (!) "school of communism," and the "co-operative is a school of com-

¹ V. Yarotsky, *History, Theory and Practice of the Trade Union Movement* (Russian edition), Part I. "Nature of Trade Union Movement." A. U. C. C. T. U. edition, 1925, pp. 31-32.

munism." We never supposed that the Party was—a "school." We, together with Lenin and the Comintern, have been of the opinion up to now that the Russian Bolshevik Party was the vanguard of the working class.

Such anti-Leninist arguments are the result of the complete failure to understand what the Party is. Let us hear what the Second Congress of the Comintern said on this question in the resolution worked out and adopted with the direct participation of Lenin:

The Communist Party is part of the working class. Namely, its most advanced, intelligent and therefore most revolutionary part. The Communist Party is formed of the best, most intelligent and far-seeing workers. The Communist Party has no other interests than those of the working class. It differs from the general mass of the workers in that it takes a general view of the whole historical march of the working class and at all turns of the road it endeavours to defend the interests, not of separate groups or professions, but of the working class as a whole. The Communist Party is the organised political lever by means of which the more advanced section of the working class leads the whole proletarian and semi-proletarian mass.¹

This does not sound at all like the childish prattle of Professor Yarotsky who says that the "Party is also a school of Communism." Yarotsky, like all other "critics" of Marxism, confuses the major problems of Marxist-Leninism: the Party, the trade unions, and the class.

V. Yarotsky, having stumbled over the formula, "the trade unions are schools of communism," goes to great lengths to improve and to complete the definition of a trade union. But, of course, nothing comes of it. Nothing comes of it because his general line is wrong. Here is what Yarotsky recommends in place of the formula of Marx and Lenin:

The trade-union organisation as such is always (?), at all times (?) and in all countries (?) the association of workers best suited to the changing and constantly rising level of class consciousness.²

Here we have it, the "universal" formula, "complete" (for all times) (!), all peoples and all countries. The formula is doubtless complete from the point of view of the number of words it contains, but as far as its essence is concerned it is nothing but piffle—thoughtless in content and "scientific" in form. And V. Yarotsky wants us to give up the "incomplete" and "inadequate" formula, "the trade unions are schools of communism," for his high-flown rubbish. Indeed, we cannot accuse him of being too modest. . . . No, we prefer the "incomplete" and "inadequate" formula of Marx-Lenin to a formula replete with nonsense and pretensions (for all times, all peoples, all countries, and all trade unions!) such as that of our professor of confusion Yarotsky.

Trotsky too, it will be remembered, began his race back to Social-Democracy with the trade-union question. The trade-union discussion showed that Trotsky did not and could not understand what the formula "the trade unions are schools of communism" meant, as he monstrously distorted the viewpoint of Marx and Lenin on the rôle of the trade unions, for which he was mercilessly assailed by Lenin, Stalin, and the whole Party. In Volume VII of the *Lenin Miscellany*, a pamphlet by Trotsky is published entitled *The Rôle*

¹ Second Congress of the Comintern, stenographic report (Russian ed.), pp. 368-69. Reprinted as "The Rôle of the Communist Party," Marston Co., London.

² V. Yarotsky, p. 41.

and Tasks of the Trade Unions, with marginal notes by Lenin to almost every paragraph. Lenin accompanies the arguments given by Trotsky with words like: "Not true, syndicalist trash, blunder, nonsense, etc." These *blunders* with regard to questions of the Party, trade unions, and class have led Trotsky straight into the camp of the counterrevolution.

Marx and Lenin, when defining the trade unions, did not think that *all* trade unions, at all times and in all countries, were schools of communism. They spoke only about those unions *which carry on the class struggle against the capitalists and the capitalist system*. Marx and Lenin could not tolerate people who cover their own theoretical illiteracy with confused "scientific" arguments. We think we have the right to ask: "Is it possible that the trade-union movement of the victorious Revolution, the trade-union movement that grew out of the teachings of Marx and grew up under the leadership of Lenin, was *even* under Tomsky in need of such 'theories' and such 'theoreticians'?"

The teachings of Lenin on the trade unions actually signify, under new conditions, the application and development of the basic principles of Marx. Lenin (more deeply and better than anyone else) understood the essence and method of Marx and that is why he paid so much attention to the trade union question. Lenin not only continued to develop the theory of the trade union movement (about this we shall speak in a special publication), but he mapped out and defined the strategy and tactics *before, during and after* the proletarian revolution. What are the strategy and tactics of Leninism? "The strategy and tactics of Leninism," writes Comrade Stalin, "*constitute the science of leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.*"¹ And we know that the revolutionary struggle is the principal task of the trade unions. Lenin was the greatest strategist and tactician of the class struggle, precisely because he had completely mastered the method of Marx. Let me give but one example of many that might be cited. In the article intended for Granat's encyclopedia, Lenin writes on the tactics of the proletariat according to Marx:

The fundamental task of proletarian tactics was defined by Marx in strict conformity with the general principles of his materialist-dialectical outlook. Nothing but an objective account of the sum total of all the mutual relationships of all the classes of a given society without exception, and consequently an account of the objective stage of the development of this society as well as an account of the mutual relationships between it and other societies, can serve as the basis for the correct tactics of the class that forms the vanguard. All classes and all countries are at the same time looked upon not statically, but dynamically; i. e., not as motionless, but as in motion (the laws of their motion being determined by the economic conditions of existence of each class). The motion in its turn is looked upon not only from the point of view of the past, but also from the point of view of the future; and moreover not only in accordance with the vulgar conception of the "evolutionists," who see only slow changes—but dialectically: "In such great developments—twenty years are as but one day—and there may come days which are the concentrated essence of twenty years," wrote Marx to Engels (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. III, p. 127). At each stage of development, at each moment, proletarian tactics must take account of these objectively unavoidable dialectics of human history, utilising, on the one hand, the phases of political stagnation, when things are moving at a snail's pace along the road of the so-called "peaceful" development to increase the class-consciousness, strength and fighting capacity of the most advanced class; on the other hand, conducting this work in the direction of the "final aim" of the movement of this class, cultivating in it the

¹ Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, "Strategy and Tactics."

faculty for the practical performance of great tasks in great days that are the "concentrated essence of twenty years."²

Only the greatest pupil of Marx and the great master of the proletarian revolution could have defined the tactics of the proletariat as he did here. Lenin proved in practice how it is necessary to act when the "decisive days come, in each of which twenty years may be concentrated."

But Lenin, like Marx, could not foresee everything. Lenin did not and could not give a reply to the question of the *rôle* and the tasks of the trade unions during the reconstruction period. This problem has been worked out and solved by the best pupil of Marx and Lenin, Comrade Stalin. This once more proves that Marxism is not a dogma, is not something set, something fixed once for all time. Marx never understood his teachings and his method metaphysically. Marxism is a live revolutionary science which makes it possible for us to understand the society in which we live and to alter it. It is the "theory and programme of the workers of all countries" (Lenin). Marxism is hostile in the extreme to the theory and practice of "Class Harmony"; it has nothing in common with opportunism, which represents "the alliance of a section of the workers with the bourgeoisie against the interests of the proletarian masses" (Lenin). Hence, it follows that only those trade unions which wage the class struggle against the bourgeoisie and its ideological apologists and political helpers and allies have the right to raise aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

On November 16, 1933, the United States Government established diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R.¹ One of President Roosevelt's concerns at the time was the protection of religious liberty. Acting in behalf of the Soviet Government, Maxim Litvinov gave the President certain assurances. Just what these promises were worth can be ascertained from the works to which reference is made in connection with the exhibits dealing with religion in the U. S. S. R. As for the Soviet pledge of noninterference in the internal affairs of the United States, the record speaks for itself.

EXHIBIT No. 39

[Washington, Government Printing Office, 1933. *Establishment of Diplomatic Relations with the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics*. Pp. 5-6, 8-11].

EXCHANGE OF COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND MR. LITVINOFF, NOVEMBER 16

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, November 16, 1933.

MR. MAXIM M. LITVINOV,
*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.*

MY DEAR MR. LITVINOV: I am very happy to inform you that as a result of our conversations the Government of the United States has decided to establish normal diplomatic relations with the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to exchange ambassadors.

² Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Part I. "Teachings of Karl Marx," pp. 42-3. Little Lenin Library No. 1, pp. 32-33.

¹ Additional documents connected with the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States can be found in *Soviet Foreign Relations*, edited by Donald G. Bishop, Syracuse University Press, 1952, pp. 62-75.

I trust that the relations now established between our peoples may forever remain normal and friendly, and that our nations henceforth may cooperate for their mutual benefit and for the preservation of the peace of the world.

I am, my dear Mr. Litvinov,

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

WASHINGTON, November 16, 1933.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am very happy to inform you that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is glad to establish normal diplomatic relations with the Government of the United States and to exchange ambassadors.

I, too, share the hope that the relations now established between our peoples may forever remain normal and friendly, and that our nations henceforth may cooperate for their mutual benefit and for the preservation of the peace of the world.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

MAXIM LITVINOFF,

*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.*

MR. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,

*President of the United States of America,
The White House.*

WASHINGTON, November 16, 1933.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have the honor to inform you that coincident with the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two Governments it will be the fixed policy of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

1. To respect scrupulously the indisputable right of the United States to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner in the internal affairs of the United States, its territories or possessions.

2. To refrain, and to restrain all persons in government service and all organizations of the Government or under its direct or indirect control, including organizations in receipt of any financial assistance from it, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to injure the tranquility, prosperity, order, or security of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions, and, in particular, from any act tending to incite or encourage armed intervention, or any agitation or propaganda having as an aim, the violation of the territorial integrity of the United States, its territories or possessions, or the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions.

3. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which makes claim to be the Government of,

or makes attempt upon the territorial integrity of, the United States, its territories or possessions; not to form, subsidize, support or permit on its territory military organizations or groups having the aim of armed struggle against the United States, its territories or possessions, and to prevent any recruiting on behalf of such organizations and groups.

4. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

MAXIM LITVINOFF,
*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.*

Mr. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
*President of the United States of America,
The White House.*

WASHINGTON, November 16, 1933.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In reply to your letter of November 16, 1933, I have the honor to inform you that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a fixed policy accords the nationals of the United States within the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the following rights referred to by you:

1. The right to "free exercise of liberty of conscience and religious worship" and protection "from all disability or persecution on account of their religious faith or worship".

This right is supported by the following laws and regulations existing in the various republics of the Union:

Every person may profess any religion or none. All restrictions of rights connected with the profession of any belief whatsoever, or with the non-profession of any belief, are annulled. (Decree of Jan. 23, 1918, art. 3.)

Within the confines of the Soviet Union it is prohibited to issue any local laws or regulations restricting or limiting freedom of conscience, or establishing privileges or preferential rights of any kind based upon the religious profession of any person. (Decree of Jan. 23, 1918, art. 2.)

2. The right to "conduct without annoyance or molestation of any kind religious services and rites of a ceremonial nature".

This right is supported by the following laws:

A free performance of religious rites is guaranteed as long as it does not interfere with public order and is not accompanied by interference with the rights of citizens of the Soviet Union. Local authorities possess the right in such cases to adopt all necessary measures to preserve public order and safety. (Decree of Jan. 23, 1918, art. 5.)

Interference with the performance of religious rites, in so far as they do not endanger public order and are not accompanied by infringements on the rights of others is punishable by compulsory labour for a period up to six months. (Criminal Code, art. 127.)

3. "The right and opportunity to lease, erect or maintain in convenient situations" churches, houses or other buildings appropriate for religious purposes.

This right is supported by the following laws and regulations:

Believers belonging to a religious society with the object of making provision for their requirements in the matter of religion may lease under contract, free of charge, from the Sub-District or District Executive Committee or from the Town Soviet, special buildings for the purpose of worship and objects intended exclusively for the purposes of their cult. (Decree of April 8, 1929, art. 10.)

Furthermore, believers who have formed a religious society or a group of believers may use for religious meetings other buildings which have been placed at their disposal on lease by private persons or by local Soviets and Executive Committees. All rules established for houses of worship are applicable to these buildings. Contracts for the use of such buildings shall be concluded by individual believers who will be held responsible for their execution. In addition, these buildings must comply with the sanitary and technical building regulations. (Decree of April 8, 1929, art. 10.)

The place of worship and religious property shall be handed over for the use of believers forming a religious society under a contract concluded in the name of the competent District Executive Committee or Town Soviet by the competent administrative department or branch, or directly by the Sub-District Executive Committee. (Decree of April 8, 1929, art. 15.)

The construction of new places of worship may take place at the desire of religious societies provided that the usual technical building regulations and the special regulations laid down by the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs are observed. (Decree of April 8, 1929, art. 45.)

4. "The right to collect from their co-religionists . . . voluntary offerings for religious purposes."

This right is supported by the following law:

Members of groups of believers and religious societies may raise subscriptions among themselves and collect voluntary offerings, both in the place of worship itself and outside it, but only amongst the members of the religious association concerned and only for purposes connected with the upkeep of the place of worship and the religious property, for the engagement of ministers of religion and for the expenses of their executive body. Any form of forced contribution in aid of religious associations is punishable under the Criminal Code. (Decree of April 8, 1929, art. 54.)

5. Right to "impart religious instruction to their children either singly or in groups or to have such instruction imparted by persons whom they may employ for such purpose."

This right is supported by the following law:

The school is separated from the Church. Instruction in religious doctrines is not permitted in any governmental and common schools, nor in private teaching institutions where general subjects are taught. Persons may give or receive religious instruction in a private manner. (Decree of Jan. 23, 1918, art. 9.)

Furthermore, the Soviet Government is prepared to include in a consular convention to be negotiated immediately following the establishment of relations between our two countries provisions in which nationals of the United States shall be granted rights with reference to freedom of conscience and the free exercise of religion which shall not be less favorable than those enjoyed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by nationals of the nation most favored in this respect. In this connection, I have the honor to call to your attention Article 9 of the Treaty between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed at Moscow October 12, 1925, which reads as follows:

Nationals of each of the Contracting Parties . . . shall be entitled to hold religious services in churches, houses or other buildings, rented, according to the laws of the country, in their national language or in any other language which is customary in their religion. They shall be entitled to bury their dead in accordance with their religious practice in burial-grounds established and maintained by them with the approval of the competent authorities, so long as they comply with the police regulations of the other Party in respect of buildings and public health.

Furthermore, I desire to state that the rights specified in the above paragraphs will be granted to American nationals immediately upon the establishment of relations between our two countries.

Finally, I have the honor to inform you that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, while reserving to itself the right of refusing visas to Americans desiring to enter the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on personal grounds, does not intend to base such refusals on the fact of such persons having an ecclesiastical status.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

MAXIM LITVINOFF,
*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.*

Mr. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
*President of the United States of America,
The White House.*

At the 17th Bolshevik Party Congress held in January 1934, Stalin opened with his usual observations on the international situation. Despite the warmongering madness of the decadent imperialist powers, the U. S. S. R. was still working as hard as ever to promote peaceful coexistence. Proof of the benign intentions of the Soviet Union was to be found in its current desire to make favorable trade and other agreements. On the domestic scene, heavy industrialization and collectivized farming were going well but would, of course, do much better once the threat of capitalist encirclement was completely eliminated. Within the party, nearly all deviators, left, right and nationalist-minded, had been defeated. Nevertheless, increased vigilance was still necessary.

Those who dreamed of a classless society just around the corner must try to understand why the dictatorship of the proletariat must continue to prosecute disgruntled "remnants." According to Stalin, it was impossible for classless society to arise spontaneously. If the peoples of the U. S. S. R. were ever to enjoy its utopian benefits, they must be willing to submit for an unspecified period of time to even more intensive iron discipline. Stalin was completely caustic in his condemnation of those stupid "bourgeois liberals" who imagine that Marxist doctrine implied equalization of rewards and services.¹ As the late George Orwell ably put it in his little masterpiece of Aesopian language, "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others."² Those Russians who could not understand how Marxism demanded greater inequality were soon to be in serious trouble. Shortly after the close of the 17th Bolshevik Party Congress, nearly 300,000 party members had to be purged.³

In his concluding paragraph, Stalin briefly observed that "no objection whatever had been raised against the report." Whereupon, he begged his listeners to excuse him from the burden of further comment upon the fate of his prostrate adversaries. His courteous brevity was rewarded with prolonged applause.

EXHIBIT No. 40

[Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1951. J. Stalin, *Report to the 17th Congress of the CPSU (B) on the Work of the Central Committee, January 26, 1934*. Pp. 7-9, 29-42, 89-94, 101-108, 131]

I. THE CONTINUING CRISIS OF WORLD CAPITALISM AND THE POSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Comrades, more than three years have passed since the Sixteenth Congress. That is not a very long period. But it has been fuller in content than any other period. I do not think a single period in the last decade has been so rich in events as this one.

In the *economic* sphere these years have been years of continuing world economic crisis. The crisis has affected not only industry, but also agriculture as a whole. The crisis has raged not only in the sphere of production and trade; it has also invaded the sphere of credit and money circulation, and has completely upset the established credit and currency relations among countries. While formerly people here and there still debated as to whether there was a world economic crisis or not, now this is no longer a matter of debate; for the existence of the crisis and its devastating effects are only too obvious. Now the controversy centres around another question: Is there a way out of the crisis or not; and if there is, how is it to be effected?

In the *political* sphere these years have been years of growing tension in the relations among capitalist countries as well as within these countries. Japan's war on China and the occupation of Manchuria, which have strained relations in the Far East; the victory of fascism in Germany and the triumph of the idea of revenge, which have strained relations in Europe; the withdrawal of Japan and Germany from the League of Nations, which has given a new impetus to the growth of armaments and to the preparations for an imperialist war; the defeat of fascism in Spain, which is one more indication that the revolutionary crisis is maturing and that fascism is far from being durable—such are the most important events of the period under review. It is not surprising that bourgeois pacifism is breathing its last

¹ Dallin, *Real Soviet Russia*, p. 93.

² George Orwell, *Animal Farm*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1946, p. 112. If it had been directed against the "decadent bourgeoisie" rather than against the Bolshevik leadership, Lenin would certainly have approved this brief, but wonderfully written, fable about "animals."

³ Souvarine, *Stalin*, p. 579.

and that the trend towards disarmament is openly and definitely giving way to a trend towards armament and re-armament.

Amid the surging waves of economic perturbations and military-political catastrophes, the U. S. S. R. stands out alone, like a rock, continuing its work of socialist construction and its fight to preserve peace. While in the capitalist countries the economic crisis is still raging, the U. S. S. R. is advancing steadily both in the sphere of industry and in the sphere of agriculture. While in the capitalist countries feverish preparations are in progress for a new war, for a new redivision of the world and of spheres of influence, the U. S. S. R. is continuing its systematic and persistent struggle against the menace of war and for peace; and it cannot be said that the efforts of the U. S. S. R. in this sphere have been entirely unsuccessful.

Such is the general picture of the international situation at the present moment.

* * * * *

3. The relations between the U. S. S. R. and the capitalist states.

It is quite easy to understand how difficult it has been for the U. S. S. R. to pursue its peace policy in this atmosphere which is poisoned with the miasma of war combinations.

In the midst of this eve-of-the-war hullabaloo which is going on in a number of countries, the U. S. S. R. during these years has stood firmly and indomitably by its position of peace: fighting against the menace of war; fighting to preserve peace; meeting half-way those countries which for one reason or another stand for the preservation of peace; exposing and tearing the masks from those who are preparing for and provoking war.

What did the U. S. S. R. rely on in this difficult and complicated struggle for peace?

- a) On its growing economic and political might.
- b) On the moral support of the vast masses of the working class in every country, who are vitally interested in the preservation of peace.
- c) On the prudence of those countries which for one motive or another are not interested in disturbing the peace, and which want to develop commercial relations with such a punctual client as the U. S. S. R.
- d) Finally—on our glorious army, which stands ready to defend our country against attacks from without.

It was on this basis that we began our campaign for the conclusion of pacts of nonaggression and of pacts defining the aggressor with neighbouring states. You know that this campaign has been successful. As you know, pacts of nonaggression have been concluded not only with the majority of our neighbours in the West and in the South, including Finland and Poland, but also with such countries as France and Italy; and pacts defining the aggressor have been concluded with those same neighbouring states, including the Little Entente.

On this basis, also, the friendship between the U. S. S. R. and Turkey has been consolidated; relations between the U. S. S. R. and Italy have been improved and have become indisputably satis-

factory; relations with France, Poland and other Baltic states have improved; relations have been restored with the U. S. A., China, etc.

Of the many facts reflecting the successes of the peace policy of the U. S. S. R. two facts of indisputably material significance should be noted and singled out.

1. I have in mind, first, the change for the better that has taken place recently in the relations between the U. S. S. R. and Poland and between the U. S. S. R. and France. As is well known, our relations with Poland in the past were not at all good. Representatives of our state were assassinated in Poland. Poland regarded herself as the barrier of the Western states against the U. S. S. R. All and sundry imperialists counted on Poland as their vanguard in the event of a military attack upon the U. S. S. R. The relations between the U. S. S. R. and France were no better. We need only recall the facts relating to the trial of the Ramzin wreckers' group in Moscow to bring back the picture of the relations between the U. S. S. R. and France. But now these undesirable relations are gradually beginning to disappear. They are giving way to other relations, which cannot be otherwise described than as relations of rapprochement. It is not only that we have concluded pacts of nonaggression with these countries, although these pacts in themselves are of great importance. The point is, primarily, that the atmosphere of mutual distrust is beginning to be dissipated. This does not mean, of course, that the incipient process of rapprochement can be regarded as sufficiently stable and as guaranteeing ultimate success. Surprises and zigzags in policy, for example in Poland, where anti-Soviet sentiments are still strong, cannot by far be regarded as precluded. But a change for the better in our relations, irrespective of its results in the future, is a fact worthy of being noted and singled out as a factor in the advancement of the cause of peace.

What is the cause of this change? What stimulates it?

Primarily, the growth of the strength and might of the U. S. S. R.

In our times it is not the custom to give any consideration to the weak—consideration is given only to the strong. Besides, there have been some changes in the policy of Germany which reflect the growth of revanchist and imperialist sentiments in Germany.

In this connection some German politicians say that the U. S. S. R. has now taken an orientation towards France and Poland; that from an opponent of the Versailles Treaty it has become a supporter of that treaty, and that this change is to be explained by the establishment of the fascist regime in Germany. That is not true. Of course, we are far from being enthusiastic about the fascist regime in Germany. But fascism is not the issue here, if only for the reason that fascism in Italy, for example, has not prevented the U. S. S. R. from establishing the best relations with that country. Nor is it a question of any alleged change in our attitude towards the Versailles Treaty. It is not for us, who have experienced the shame of the Brest-Litovsk Peace, to sing the praises of the Versailles Treaty. We merely do not agree to the world being flung into the abyss of a new war on account of this treaty. The same must be said of the alleged new orientation taken by the U. S. S. R. We never had any orientation towards Germany, nor have we any orientation towards Poland and France. Our orientation in the past and our orientation at the present time is towards the U. S. S. R., and towards the U. S. S. R. alone.

(*Loud applause.*) And if the interests of the U. S. S. R. demand rapprochement with one country or another which is not interested in disturbing peace, we take this step without hesitation.

No, that is not the point. The point is that Germany's policy has changed. The point is that even before the present German politicians came into power, and particularly after they came into power, a contest began in Germany between two political lines: between the old policy, which was reflected in the well-known treaties between the U. S. S. R. and Germany, and the "new" policy, which, in the main, recalls the policy of the former German Kaiser, who at one time occupied the Ukraine, marched against Leningrad, and converted the Baltic countries into a military base for this march; and this "new" policy is obviously gaining the upper hand over the old policy. The fact that the advocates of the "new" policy are gaining supremacy in all things, while the supporters of the old policy are in disfavour, cannot be regarded as an accident. Nor can the well-known statements made by Hugenberg in London, nor the equally well-known declarations of Rosenberg, who directs the foreign policy of the ruling party in Germany, be regarded as accidents. That is the point, comrades.

2. Secondly, I have in mind the restoration of normal relations between the U. S. S. R. and the United States of America. There cannot be any doubt that this act is of great significance for the whole system of international relations. It is not only that it improves the chances of preserving peace, and that it improves the relations between the two countries, strengthens commercial intercourse between them, and creates a base for their mutual collaboration. The point is that it is a landmark between the old position, when in various countries the U. S. A. was regarded as the bulwark for all sorts of anti-Soviet trends, and the new position, when this bulwark has been voluntarily removed, to the mutual advantage of both countries.

Such are the two main facts which reflect the successes of the Soviet peace policy.

It would be wrong, however, to think that everything went smoothly in the period under review. No, not everything went smoothly, by a long way.

Recall, say, the pressure that was brought to bear upon us by England; the embargo on our exports, the attempt to interfere in our internal affairs to see how the land lies and thereby to test our power of resistance. True, nothing came of this attempt, and later the embargo was lifted; but the unpleasant taste left after these sallies is still felt in everything affecting the relations between England and the U. S. S. R., including the negotiations for a commercial treaty. And these sallies against the U. S. S. R. must not be regarded as accidental. It is well known that a certain section of the British conservatives cannot live without such sallies. And precisely because they are not accidental we must bear in mind that in the future, too, sallies will be made against the U. S. S. R., all sorts of menaces will be created, attempts will be undertaken to damage the U. S. S. R., etc.

Nor can we lose sight of the relations between the U. S. S. R. and Japan, which stand in need of very considerable improvement. Japan's refusal to conclude a pact of nonaggression, of which Japan stands in

no less need than the U. S. S. R., once again emphasizes the fact that all is not well in the sphere of our relations. The same must be said of the rupture of negotiations concerning the Chinese-Eastern Railway due to no fault of the U. S. S. R.; and also of the outrageous actions of the Japanese agents on the C. E. R., the illegal arrests of Soviet employees on the C. E. R., etc. All this apart from the fact that one section of the military people in Japan, with the avowed approval of another section of the military, is openly advocating in the press the necessity for a war against the U. S. S. R. and the seizure of the Maritime Province; while the government of Japan, instead of calling these instigators of war to order, pretends that it has nothing to do with the matter. It is not difficult to understand that such circumstances cannot but create an atmosphere of uneasiness and uncertainty. Of course, we will persistently continue our policy of peace and will strive to bring about an improvement in our relations with Japan, because we want to improve these relations. But it does not depend entirely upon us. That is why we must at the same time take all measures to guard our country against surprises, and be prepared to defend it in the event of attack. (*Loud applause.*)

As you see, besides successes in our peace policy we also have a number of negative occurrences.

Such is the situation as regards the foreign relations of the U. S. S. R.

Our foreign policy is clear. It is a policy of preserving peace and of strengthening commercial relations with all countries. The U. S. S. R. does not think of threatening anybody—let alone of attacking anybody. We stand for peace and champion the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats and are prepared to return the instigators of war blow for blow. (*Loud applause.*) Those who want peace and seek business relations with us will always have our support. But those who try to attack our country will receive a crushing repulse to teach them not to poke their pig snouts into our Soviet garden. (*Thunderous applause.*)

Such is our foreign policy. (*Thunderous applause.*)

The task is to continue this policy with unflinching perseverance and consistency.

II. THE CONTINUED PROGRESS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN THE U. S. S. R.

I now pass to the question of the internal situation in the U. S. S. R.

From the point of view of the internal situation in the U. S. S. R. the period under review presents a picture of ever-increasing progress, both in the sphere of national economy and in the sphere of culture.

This progress has not been merely a simple quantitative accumulation of strength. This progress is remarkable in that it has introduced fundamental changes into the structure of the U. S. S. R., and has radically changed the face of the country.

During this period, the U. S. S. R. has become radically transformed and has cast off the integument of backwardness and medievalism. From an agrarian country it has become an industrial country. From a country of small individual agriculture it has become a country of collective, large-scale mechanized agriculture. From an ignorant, illiterate and uncultured country it has become—or rather it is becoming—a literate and cultured country covered by a vast network of

higher, secondary and elementary schools teaching in the languages of the nationalities of the U. S. S. R.

New industries have been created: machine-tool construction, automobile, tractor, chemical, motor construction, aircraft, harvester combines, the construction of powerful turbines and generators, high-grade steel, ferro-alloys, synthetic rubber, nitrates, artificial fibre, etc., etc. (*Prolonged applause.*)

During this period thousands of new, up-to-date industrial plants have been built and put into operation. Giants like the Dnieprostroi, Magnitostroi, Kuznetskstroi, Chelyabstroi, Bobriki, Uralmashstroi and Krammashstroi have been built. Thousands of old plants have been reconstructed and provided with modern technical equipment. New plants have been built, and industrial centres created, in the national republics and in the border regions of the U. S. S. R.: in Byelorussia, in the Ukraine, in the North Caucasus, in Transcaucasia, in Central Asia, in Kazakhstan, in Buryat-Mongolia, in Tataria, in Bashkiria, in the Urals, in East and West Siberia, in the Far East, etc.

More than 200,000 collective farms and 5,000 state farms have been organized, with new district centres and industrial centres serving them.

New large towns, with large populations, have sprung up in what were formerly almost vacant spaces. The old towns and industrial centres have grown enormously.

The foundations have been laid for the Urals-Kuznetsk Combine, which unites the coking coal of Kuznetsk with the iron ore of the Urals. Thus, we may consider that the dream of a new metallurgical base in the East has become a reality.

The foundations for a powerful new oil base have been laid in the regions of the western and southern slopes of the Ural range—in the Ural Region, Bashkiria and Kazakhstan.

It is obvious that the enormous capital investments of the state in all branches of national economy, which in the period under review amounted to over 60,000,000,000 rubles, has not been ill-spent, and is beginning to bear fruit.

As a result of these achievements the national income of the U. S. S. R. has increased from 29,000,000,000 rubles in 1929 to 50,000,000,000 in 1933; whereas there has been an enormous decline in the national income of all capitalist countries without exception during this period.

It goes without saying that all these achievements and all this progress had to lead—and really did lead—to the further consolidation of the internal situation in the U. S. S. R.

How was it possible for these colossal changes to take place in a matter of three or four years on the territory of a vast state with a backward technique and a backward culture? Was it not a miracle? It would have been a miracle had this development proceeded on the basis of capitalism and individual small farming. But it cannot be described as a miracle if we bear in mind that this development took place on the basis of expanding socialist construction.

It goes without saying that this enormous progress could take place only on the basis of the successful building of Socialism; on the basis of the collective work of scores of millions of people; on the

basis of the advantages which the socialist system of economy has over the capitalist and individual-peasant system.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the colossal progress in the economy and culture of the U. S. S. R. during the period under review has also signified the elimination of the capitalist elements, and the relegation of individual-peasant economy to the background. It is a fact that the socialist system of economy in the sphere of industry now represents 99 per cent of the total; and in agriculture, according to area sown to grain crops, it represents 84.5 per cent of the total, whereas individual-peasant economy accounts for only 15.5 per cent.

It follows, then, that capitalist economy in the U. S. S. R. has already been eliminated and that the individual-peasant sector in the countryside has been forced back to a secondary position.

At the time when the New Economic Policy was being introduced Lenin said that we had the elements of five forms of economy in our country: 1) patriarchal economy (largely natural economy); 2) small commodity production (the majority of the peasants who sell grain); 3) private capitalism; 4) state capitalism; 5) Socialism. Of all these forms of economy, Lenin said, the socialist form of economy must in the end gain the upper hand. We can now say that the first, the third and the fourth forms of economy no longer exist; the second form of economy has been forced into a secondary position, while the fifth form of economy—the socialist form of economy—now holds unchallenged sway and is the sole commanding force in the whole national economy. (*Loud prolonged applause.*)

Such is the result.

This result is the basis of the stability of the internal situation in the U. S. S. R., the basis of the firmness of its front and rear positions in the midst of the capitalist encirclement.

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III. THE PARTY

I now come to the question of the Party.

The present Congress is taking place under the flag of the complete victory of Leninism; under the flag of the liquidation of the remnants of the anti-Leninist groups.

The anti-Leninist trotskyite group has been defeated and scattered. Its organizers are not to be found in the backyards of the bourgeois parties abroad.

The anti-Leninist group of the Right deviationists has been defeated and scattered. Its organizers have long since renounced their views and are now trying in various ways to expiate the sins they committed against the Party.

The groups of nationalist deviators have been defeated and scattered. Their organizers have either completely merged with the interventionist émigrés, or else recanted.

The majority of the adherents to these antirevolutionary groups had to admit that the line of the Party was correct and have capitulated before the Party.

At the Fifteenth Party congress it was still necessary to prove that the Party line was correct and to wage a struggle against certain anti-Leninist groups; and at the Sixteenth Party Congress we had to deal

the final blow to the last adherents of these groups. At this Congress, however, there is nothing more to prove and, it seems, no one to fight. Everyone now sees that the line of the Party has triumphed. (*Thunderous applause.*)

The policy of industrializing the country has triumphed. Its results are obvious to everyone. What arguments can be advanced against this fact?

The policy of eliminating the kulaks and of mass collectivization has triumphed. Its results are also obvious to everyone. What arguments can be advanced against this fact?

The experience of our country has shown that it is entirely possible for Socialism to achieve victory in one country, taken singly. What arguments can be advanced against this fact?

It is obvious that all these successes, and primarily the victory of the Five-Year-Plan, have utterly demoralized and smashed all and sundry anti-Leninist groups.

It must be admitted that the Party today is united as it has never been before.

(*Thunderous, prolonged applause.*)

1. Problems of ideological-political leadership

Does this mean, however, that the fight is ended, and that the offensive of Socialism is to be discontinued as unnecessary?

No, it does not mean that.

Does this mean that all is well in our Party; that there will be no more deviations, and that, therefore, we may now rest on our laurels?

No, it does not mean that.

We have defeated the enemies of the Party, the opportunists of all shades, the nationalist deviators of all types. But remnants of their ideology still live in the minds of individual members of the Party, and not infrequently they find expression. The Party must not be regarded as something isolated from the people who surround it. It lives and works in its environment. It is not surprising that at times unhealthy moods penetrate into the Party from outside. And the soil for such moods undoubtedly exists in our country, if only for the reason that there still exist in town and country certain intermediary strata of the population who represent the medium that breeds such moods.

The Seventeenth Conference of our Party declared that one of the fundamental political tasks in connection with the fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan is "to overcome the survivals of capitalism in economic life and in the minds of people." This is an absolutely correct idea. But can we say that we have already overcome all the survivals of capitalism in economic life? No, we cannot say that. Still less can we say that we have overcome the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people. We cannot say that, not only because the development of people's minds lags behind their economic position, but also because we are still surrounded by capitalist countries which are trying to revive and sustain the survivals of capitalism in the economic life and in the minds of the people of the U. S. S. R., and against which we Bolsheviks must always keep our powder dry.

It stands to reason that these survivals cannot but create a favourable soil for the revival of the ideology of the defeated anti-Leninist groups in the minds of individual members of our Party. Add to

this the not very high theoretical level of the majority of the members of our Party, the inadequate ideological work of the Party organs, and the fact that our Party workers are overburdened with purely practical work, which deprives them of opportunity of augmenting their theoretical knowledge, and you will understand the origin of the confusion on a number of problems of Leninism that exists in the minds of individual Party members, a confusion which not infrequently penetrates into our press and helps to reanimate the survivals of the ideology of the defeated anti-Leninist groups.

That is why we cannot say that the fight is ended and that there is no longer any need for the policy of the socialist offensive.

A number of problems of Leninism could be taken to demonstrate how tenaciously the survivals of the ideology of the defeated anti-Leninist groups continue to subsist in the minds of certain Party members.

Take, for example, the problem of building a *classless socialist society*. The Seventeenth Party Conference declared that we are heading for the formation of a classless socialist society. It goes without saying that a classless society cannot come of itself, spontaneously, as it were. It has to be achieved and built by the efforts of all the working people, by strengthening the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by intensifying the class struggle, by abolishing classes, by eliminating the remnants of the capitalist classes, and in battles with enemies both internal and external.

The point is clear, one would think.

And yet, who does not know that the promulgation of this clear and elementary thesis of Leninism has given rise to not a little confusion and to unhealthy sentiments among a section of Party members? The thesis that we are advancing towards a classless society—which was put forward as a slogan—was interpreted by them to mean a spontaneous process. And they began to reason in this way: If it is classless society, then we can relax the class struggle, we can relax the dictatorship of the proletariat, and get rid of the state altogether, since it is fated to die away soon in any case. They dropped into a state of moon-calf ecstasy, in the expectation that soon there will be no classes, and therefore no class struggle, and therefore no cares and worries, and therefore we can lay down our arms and retire—to sleep and to wait for the advent of classless society. (*General laughter.*)

There can be no doubt that this confusion of mind and these sentiments are as like as two peas to the well-known views of the Right deviationists, who believed that the old must automatically grow into the new, and that one fine day we shall wake up and find ourselves in socialist society.

* * * * *

Bourgeois writers are fond of depicting Marxian Socialism in the shape of the old tsarist barracks, where everything is subordinated to the "principle" of equalization. But Marxists cannot be held responsible for the ignorance and stupidity of bourgeois writers.

There can be no doubt that the confusion in the minds of certain Party members concerning Marxian Socialism, and their infatuation with the equalitarian tendencies of agricultural communes, are as like as two peas to the petty-bourgeois views of our Leftist blockheads,

who at one time idealized the agricultural communes to such an extent that they even tried to set up communes in factories, where skilled and unskilled workers, each working at his trade, had to pool their wages in a common fund, which was then shared out equally. You know what harm these infantile equalitarian exercises of our "Left" blockheads caused our industry.

As you see, the remnants of the ideology of the defeated anti-Party groups still display rather considerable tenacity.

It is obvious that if these Leftist views were to triumph in the Party, the Party would cease to be a Marxist party; and the collective-farm movement would be utterly disorganized.

Or take, for example, the slogan "*Make all the collective farmers prosperous.*" This slogan applies not only to collective farmers; it applies still more to the workers, for we want to make all the workers prosperous—people leading a prosperous and fully cultured life.

One would think that the point was clear. There would have been no use overthrowing capitalism in October 1917 and building Socialism all these years if we were not going to secure a life of plenty for our people. Socialism does not mean destitution and privation, but the abolition of destitution and privation; it means the organization of a prosperous and cultured life for all members of society.

And yet, this clear and really elementary slogan has caused perplexity, bewilderment, and confusion among a section of our Party members. Is not this slogan, they ask, a reversion to the old slogan, "Enrich yourselves," that was rejected by the Party? If everyone becomes prosperous, they argue, and the poor cease to be with us, upon whom can we Bolsheviks then rely in our work? How can we work without the poor?

This may sound funny, but the existence of such naive and anti-Leninist views among a section of the members of the Party is an undoubted fact, which we must indeed bear in mind.

Evidently, these people do not understand that a wide gulf lies between the slogan "Enrich yourselves" and the slogan "*Make all collective farmers prosperous.*" In the first place, only *individual* persons or groups can enrich themselves; whereas the slogan concerning a prosperous life applies not to individual persons or groups, but to *all* collective farmers. Secondly, *individual* persons or groups enrich themselves for the purpose of subjugating other people and of *exploiting* them; whereas the slogan concerning a prosperous life for *all* collective farmers—with the means of production in the collective farms socialized—*precludes* all possibility of the exploitation of some persons by others. Thirdly, the slogan "Enrich yourselves" was issued in the period when the New Economic Policy was in its initial stage, when capitalism was being partly restored, when the kulak was a power, when individual peasant farming predominated in the country, and collective farming was in a rudimentary state; whereas the slogan "*Make all collective farmers prosperous*" was issued in the last stage of NEP, when the capitalist elements in industry had been eliminated, the kulaks in the countryside crushed, individual peasant farming forced into the background, and the collective farms had become the predominant form of agriculture. This is apart from the fact that the slogan "*Make all collective farmers*

prosperous" is not an isolated slogan, but is inseparably bound up with the slogan "Make the collective farms Bolshevik farms."

Is it not clear that in point of fact the slogan "Enrich yourselves" was a call for the *restoration* of capitalism, whereas the slogan "Make all collective farmers prosperous" is a call to *deal the final blow* to the last remnants of capitalism by increasing the economic power of the collective farms and by transforming all collective farmers into prosperous working people? (*Voices: "Hear, hear!"*)

Is it not clear that there is not, and cannot be, anything in common between these two slogans? (*Voices: "Hear, hear!"*)

As for the argument that Bolshevik work and Socialism are inconceivable without the existence of the poor, it is so stupid that it is embarrassing even to talk about it. The Leninists rely upon the poor when there exist capitalist elements and the poor who are exploited by the capitalists. But when the capitalist elements have been crushed and the poor have been emancipated from exploitation, the task of the Leninists is not to perpetuate and preserve poverty and the poor—the conditions for whose existence have already been eliminated—but to abolish poverty and to raise the poor to the standard of prosperity. It would be absurd to think that Socialism can be built on the basis of poverty and privation, on the basis of reducing individual requirements and the standard of living to the level of the poor, who, moreover, refuse to remain poor any longer and are pushing their way upward to prosperity. Who wants this sort of Socialism, so-called? This would not be Socialism, but a caricature of Socialism. Socialism can only be built up on the basis of a rapid growth of the productive forces of society; on the basis of an abundance of products and goods; on the basis of the prosperity of the working people, and on the basis of the rapid growth of culture. For Socialism, Marxian Socialism, means not cutting down individual requirements but developing them to the utmost, to full bloom; not the restriction of these requirements or a refusal to satisfy them, but the full and all-round satisfaction of all the requirements of culturally developed working people.

There can be no doubt that this confusion in the minds of certain members of the Party concerning the poor and prosperity is a reflection of the views of our Leftist blockheads, who idealize the poor as the eternal bulwark of Bolshevism under all conditions, and who regard the collective farms as the arena of fierce class struggle.

As you see, here, too, on this question, the remnants of the ideology of the defeated anti-Party groups have not yet lost their tenacity.

It goes without saying that had such blockhead views prevailed in our Party, the collective farms would not have achieved the successes they have gained during the past two years, and would have disintegrated in a very short time.

Or take, for example, the *national problem*. Here, too, in the sphere of the national problem, just as in the sphere of other problems, there is a confusion in the views of a section of the Party which creates a certain danger. I have spoken of the tenacity of the survivals of capitalism. It should be observed that the survivals of capitalism in people's minds are much more tenacious in the sphere of the national problem than in any other sphere. They are more tenacious because they are able to disguise themselves well in national costume. Many think that Skrypnick's fall was an indi-

vidual case, an exception to the rule. This is not true. The fall of Skrypnyk and his group in the Ukraine is not an exception. Similar aberrations are observed among certain comrades in other national republics as well.

What is the deviation towards nationalism—regardless of whether we are dealing with the deviation towards Great-Russian nationalism or with the deviation towards local nationalism? The deviation towards nationalism is the adaptation of the internationalist policy of the working class to the nationalist policy of the bourgeoisie. The deviation towards nationalism reflects the attempts of “one’s own,” “national” bourgeoisie to undermine the Soviet system and to restore capitalism. The source of both these deviations, as you see, is the same. It is a *departure* from Leninist internationalism. If you want to keep both these deviations under fire, then aim primarily against this source, against those who depart from internationalism—regardless of whether we are dealing with the deviation towards local nationalism or with the deviation towards Great-Russian nationalism. (*Loud applause.*)

There is a controversy as to which deviation represents the major danger: the deviation towards Great-Russian nationalism, or the deviation towards local nationalism? Under present conditions, this is a formal, and, therefore, a pointless controversy. It would be absurd to attempt to give ready-made recipes suitable for all times and for all conditions as regards the major and the minor danger. Such recipes do not exist. The major danger is the deviation against which we have ceased to fight, thereby allowing it to grow into a danger to the state. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In the Ukraine, only very recently, the deviation towards Ukrainian nationalism did not represent the major danger; but when we ceased to fight it and allowed it to grow to such an extent that it merged with the interventionists, this deviation became the major danger. The question as to which is the major danger in the sphere of the national problem is determined not by futile, formal controversies, but by a Marxian analysis of the situation at the given moment, and by a study of the mistakes that have been committed in this sphere.

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IN LIEU OF CONCLUDING REMARKS

Comrades, the debate at this Congress has revealed complete unity of opinion among our Party leaders on all questions of Party policy, one can say. As you know, no objections whatever have been raised against the report. Hence, it has been revealed that there is extraordinary ideological-political and organizational solidarity in the ranks of our Party. (*Applause.*) The question arises: Is there any need, after this, for any concluding remarks? I think there is no need for it. Permit me therefore to refrain from making any concluding remarks. (*Ovation. All the delegates rise to their feet. Loud cheers. A chorus of cheers: “Long live Stalin!” The delegates, all standing, sing the “Internationale,” after which the ovation is resumed. Shouts of “Hurrah for Stalin!” “Long live Stalin!” “Long live the C. C.!”*)

Although Emelyan Yaroslavsky, president of the League of Militant Atheists of the Soviet Union, worked hard to bring his program of antireligious activity to full fruition, he had to admit as late as 1941 that things had not gone according to plan.¹ On August 22, 1941, the Moscow radio began to call upon "all God-loving inhabitants of the occupied countries" (by Germany) to rise in defense of their religious freedom.² Shortly thereafter, two publications of the League of Militant Atheists were suspended: the weekly *Bezbozhnik* (*The Atheist*) and the monthly *Antireligioznik* (*The Anti-Religious*). Wartime conservation of paper was given as the official reason for their discontinuance.

At the same time, Stalin had an eye toward improving relations with President Roosevelt, who had expressed a desire to see some proof that the Soviet Bill of Rights really meant something.³ As the war progressed, notable concessions were made to the Russian Orthodox Church, which had swiftly rallied to the defense of Mother Russia.⁴ With typical Communist cynicism, Stalin permitted some patriotic religious propaganda (designed chiefly for its export value) to be printed on the idle presses of the League of Militant Atheists.⁵

EXHIBIT No. 41

[New York, International Publishers, 1934. E. Yaroslavsky, *Religion in the U. S. S. R.*, pp. 5-9, 12-14, 19-23, 61-64]

RELIGION IN THE U. S. S. R.

MILITANT ATHEISM BECOMES A MASS MOVEMENT

The epoch-making changes which are taking place in all branches of the national economy in the U. S. S. R. must necessarily be accompanied by correspondingly sharp changes in the ideology of the great masses.

The soil that fostered the ideology of the Russian workers in the period of tsarist reaction is now being deeply plowed up by lumbering tractors on the collective and state farms; the choicest seeds of Leninism are being sown on a vast expanse of territory stretching over one-sixth of the surface of the globe. Years of stubborn and persistent toil have prepared this soil to receive this seed. Now that the sowers have grown up, have been trained and prepared for their task, we garner the rich harvest they sowed. Witness the mass antireligious movement, which is one of the consequences of the enormous social-economic changes which are taking place in our country.

The program of our Party says:

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is guided by the conviction that only the conscious and deliberate planning of all the social and economic activities of the masses will cause religious prejudices to die out completely. The Party stands for the complete dissolution of the ties between the exploiting classes and organized religious propaganda, and facilitates the real emancipation of the working masses from religious prejudices by organizing the widest possible scientific, educational, and antireligious propaganda.

Thus religious beliefs will be destroyed not primarily by anti-religious propaganda, but by "the conscious and deliberate planning of all the social and economic activities of the masses."

This does not imply that the Party should or does ignore the use of antireligious propaganda, which helps to form the new atheist

¹ Curtiss, *Russian Church*, p. 285.

² Timasheff, *Religion in Soviet Russia*, p. 136.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁴ Curtiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-303.

⁵ Timasheff, *Great Retreat*, p. 231. William Henry Chamberlin, *The Russian Enigma*, New York, Scribner's, 1944, p. 102.

conceptions of the broad toiling masses. The basis of this movement, however, rests on the fact that the working class is winning in its struggle against the capitalist forms of economy—that the working class is rebuilding the whole of the country in accordance with socialist ideas—that it is not the old Russia, but the workers, the most suitable standard-bearers of atheism, the leaders of the socialist revolution, who are building giant state farms, who are building the mighty Dnieper Dam and the large tractor works, who are marching to victory despite the malevolent plotting of the exploiters of all the world. The Pyatiletka (Five-Year Plan) in the realm of construction embodies that “conscious and deliberate planning of all the social and economic activities of the masses” which the party program refers to as the greatest force which will bring in its wake “the dying-out of religious prejudices.”

Under the leadership and influence of the proletariat, the peasants are turning to a new form of economy, socialized economy. More and more we find them adopting the new technique and freeing themselves from and subduing the dominion of the elemental forces of nature.

These victories over nature, over these elemental forces, are of paramount importance in the work of freeing the great peasant masses from the stupefying influence of religion. In a few more years the masses of peasants organized in the collective and state farms will, with the use of the mighty technique of the proletarian state and with the help of the mighty fertilizers at work upon new and hitherto untilled fields, be able to free themselves from the last remnants of the influence of religion which the exploiters had almost indelibly imprinted on their minds in the course of centuries.

It must be pointed out that in this process, the cultural revolution, the logical concomitant of all these profound changes in the national economy of our country, plays a very important part.

Take for example the Christmas holidays, December 25, 26, and 27. In the village of Borodino, the peasants arranged a mass festival of socialist culture. About two thousand people, poor and middle peasants, came from all parts of the country and without a single dissenting voice closed down two of the three churches in the village. They installed machinery in one church and turned it into a collective farm mill; in the other they opened up a home for socialist culture with a number of assembly rooms, a library, rooms for study circles, moving pictures, and radio.

But all this was made possible only because the peasant masses had joined this mighty movement and because of the influence of the mass collectivization of the farms in this region.

Illiteracy has been almost completely wiped out in this village, and two-thirds of the adult population regularly visit the village reading room. This room was set up without a single kopek being spent by the state, as was also an elementary school, another school for knitting and sewing, a living newspaper, a Young Pioneer detachment, a *crèche* for babies, and a library. Out of every three homes, two subscribe to newspapers, and in every home there are two who go to the library. *This is something entirely new in the Russian village.* Here they are making short shrift with all the vestiges of the old régime.

Hand-in-hand with this work of reconstructing our economy, we are making great progress in remolding the *consciousness of the masses*. We see in this an assurance that the work of the atheists will be crowned with success and this explains why militant atheism has become not only a mass movement in the cities, but throughout the whole countryside.

This is of tremendous significance in view of the fact that all our work towards carrying out the Pyatiletka—the industrialization of the country, the collectivization of agriculture, as well as our entire cultural revolution—deals a crushing blow to all exploiters and to their influence over the toiling peasant masses. This is why our Party finds it easier sailing now than at any time before “to completely dissolve the ties,” as our program reads, “between the exploiting classes and organized religious propaganda.” The collective farmers will not go to the priest to ask him to propitiate the deity by offering up a prayer to the prophet Elijah or some other saint in the calendar. They will rely solely on the village proletariat to improve the conditions of their work, to combat drought and other elemental forces of nature which affect the well-being of the masses.

A gigantic movement against religious organizations is going on in the collective farms, in favor of dropping out of religious societies, of removing church bells, closing down churches and remodeling them to meet the new secular-cultural requirements of the masses. Only a few months ago, this movement bore an entirely different character. Indeed, before our very eyes, quantity has been transformed into quality. There is not the slightest doubt that these two “fronts” on which we work—the destruction of the material roots of religion, and atheist propaganda—are evidences of the many-sided activities of the proletariat which, in the aggregate, seeks not only to explain the world, but to remake it.

Lenin, as early as 1909, pointed out in his article, “The Attitude of the Workers’ Party Towards Religion,” that:

To draw a hard and fast line between the theoretical propagation of atheism, between breaking down the religious beliefs of certain sections of the proletariat, and the effect, the development, the general implications of the class struggle of these sections, is to reason non-dialectically—to transform a variable, relative boundary into an absolute one. It is a forcible tearing asunder of that which is indissolubly connected in reality.

While in 1909 this was true only of the advanced strata of the proletariat, to-day the situation has changed, for to-day the great masses of the working class have already been drawn into the atheist movement. We must lay great emphasis on Lenin’s words, and not “fall either into the abstract, wordy and in fact futile ‘revolutionism’ of the anarchist, or into the philistinism and opportunism of the petty bourgeois, or liberal intellectual, who shirks the fight against religion, forgets his tasks, reconciles himself to a belief in god, and who is guided, not by the interests of the class struggle, but by petty, mean calculations such as: not to offend, not to repel, not to frighten; and who is governed by the wise rule: ‘Live and let live,’ etc., etc.” *

Let us examine the most interesting facts of the mass atheist movement of workers and peasants of yesterday and today.

* V. I. Lenin, *Religion*, Little Lenin Library, Vol. 7, contains the article referred to here as well as other writings by Lenin on Religion.—Ed.

Industrialization Day, which has now replaced the religious holiday known as the Day of the Transfiguration, has shown to what extent not only the great masses of workers, but the peasants too, are aware of the problems of industrialization. This is a tremendously successful day. And it must be pointed out that vast numbers even of seemingly the most fervent religious devotees have during recent years begun to adopt antireligious views. We see this change also among the Jews, the Mohammedans and others. On such strict Jewish holidays as the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur) and New Year's Day, they arranged special "subbotniks"* among the Jewish workers, artisans, employees and peasants, and the proceeds went to the industrialization fund. These "subbotniks" were highly successful everywhere. The Jews who year after year had spent these same days in the synagogues, now went to the factories and workshops, collected scrap iron, cleaned up the factory yards or worked in the fields. After this first "Industrialization Day" a great deal of antireligious work began. There is no doubt whatever that the resolutions of the Second Congress of Militant Atheists which laid down as its fundamental plan that the Union of Militant Atheists must become a mass atheist organization, played a very great part in effecting recent changes. The membership of the Union of Militant Atheists has more than doubled in a year and a half. In Kronstadt, for instance, prior to the anti-Christmas campaigns, it had six thousand members, whereas after the campaign the membership rose to ten thousand. The newspaper "*Bezbozhnik*" (The Atheist) increased in circulation to 350,000. This increased interest was largely due to the initiative of a large number of organizations which until then had been rather indifferent to the necessity of antireligious propaganda.

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Those who argue that up till now, we have used only "light artillery" in our antireligious propaganda, and that now we must use "heavy artillery"—Marx, Engels, and Lenin—are wrong. Our Party programs and all our resolutions regarding the question of religion are permeated with the spirit of this "heavy artillery"—Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The point is that now the scope of our activities has become much wider since the masses have awakened and are joining the movement. We must work untiringly to develop a consistent materialistic philosophy among the masses. And Lenin repeatedly emphasized that:

A Marxist could not make a worse mistake than to think that the many millions of people (particularly peasants and artisans) who are condemned by modern society to ignorance, illiteracy and prejudices can extricate themselves from this ignorance only by following the straight line of purely Marxist education. It is essential to give these masses the greatest variety of atheist propaganda material—to acquaint them with facts from the most diversified fields of life. Every way of approach to them must be tried in order to interest them, to rouse them from their religious slumber, to shake them up by most varied ways and means. (Lenin, *Religion*, p. 31.)

The atheist movement has become a mass movement even beyond the confines of the Soviet Union. A number of facts go to prove that this movement is gaining ground also in other countries. A growth in the antireligious movement is observed particularly among

*Urgent communal work performed voluntarily and gratuitously outside of working hours or on days of rest.—Ed.

the great masses of working class Jews in Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Belgium, England, America, Germany and other countries. In Warsaw, for example, on the Jewish New Year's Day, 15 mass demonstrations were held, which were dispersed by the police. Demonstrations were also held in Polish provincial towns, in Latvia, New York and elsewhere. Priests are beginning to complain of the drop in their incomes and of the decline of religion.

Despite, or because of, the fact that religious organizations are supported by social democratic as well as avowedly bourgeois and fascist organizations, there is no doubt whatever that the above-mentioned facts concerning the anti-religious movement will intensify the campaign of lies and slander now being waged by all the pillars of the church against the Soviet Union. The exploiters of all countries fully realize that the experience of the work of socialist construction, which is going on throughout the length and breadth of the U. S. S. R., in town and country, will be of enormous significance for the workers in other countries.

The Five-Year Plan, which maps out our economic construction, is riveted to another and a concurrent Five-Year Plan designed to tear up the roots of religion. The vast army of exploiters and priests of all the religious creeds all over the world realize that the day when the earth will tremble beneath their feet is drawing near. That is why the rise of the mass atheist movement imposes upon the Communist Parties the task of increasing the anti-religious struggle.

The Social Democrats organize Free Thinkers' Societies and Religious Societies simultaneously. The Communist Parties must penetrate into all anti-religious organizations in which the masses take part and must take control of this movement of the masses, *link it up* with the movement of the class struggle of the proletariat, and bend the tasks of the anti-religious to the task of this class movement.

The workers and peasants of our Party occupy the key position also in this movement. It is imperative for us to increase the importance of this central position in anti-religious propaganda. We have certain institutions that can be of great assistance. For example, our anti-religious museum, the first of its kind, which, in spite of all its deficiencies, has attracted the attention of all those interested in the anti-religious movement. An anti-religious center must be created to assist the Communist Parties of all countries to guide this constantly-growing movement against religion and the clergy, because this is a part of the class struggle and as such is not only inevitable, but an essential part of the struggle against the capitalist world, part of the struggle for Communism.

* * * * *

COMMUNISTS AND RELIGION

Why must every Leninist know the correct Communist attitude towards religion?

Why is every class-conscious worker and peasant who wants to join the Communist Party confronted with the question of religion? What have the Communists to do with god? Why are they concerned with religion? Does it make any difference to the prospects of the victory of communism whether a Communist believes in a God or

gods and goddesses, or in evil spirits, or not? Is it not possible to be a Communist and at the same time believe in religion, i. e., believe that the whole world is controlled by a god, or a number of gods, and that everything on earth is done by the will of these gods or of their assistants—the saints, or the malice of evil spirits—devils, fiends, Satan? Is it possible to live without believing in god and yet preserve “morality”?

Millions of workers and peasants who have not yet entered the road to communism ask themselves these questions, and thousands of workers who are sympathetic towards the Communist Party waver on the question of religion. Their belief in god, or in gods, their belief that without religion, without faith, without religious rites they will not know how to live right, prevent them from joining the ranks of the Communist Party. The worker in the city can more easily free himself from religious beliefs than rural workers. It is easier for young people to abandon religious beliefs; their beliefs are not so firmly rooted. It is much more difficult for old folks to shake off these beliefs. And as a rule it is still more difficult for women to get away from religion than men.

Every Leninist, every Communist, every class-conscious worker and peasant must be able to explain why a Communist cannot support religion; why Communists fight against religion; and every Communist must be able to answer the questions put to him by his fellow workers on this subject, he must know and understand why the Soviet Government has separated the church from the state, and the school from the church.

Program of the C. P. S. U. on the question of religion

What is a program? The program of a party is the full statement of the demands and views of the party on all phases of its activities. The party program explains the struggle of the various classes in modern society, and how this society develops. Our program contains our Party's demands on all questions concerning social life.

On questions of religion we had to express ourselves with precision and clarity. What does our program say on these questions? In paragraph 13 we read:

With regard to religion, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not confine itself to the already decreed separation of church and state and of school and church, i. e., measures advocated in the programs of bourgeois democracy, which the latter has nowhere consistently carried out to the end owing to the diverse and actual ties which bind capital with religious propaganda.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is guided by the conviction that only conscious and deliberate planning of all the social and economic activities of the masses will cause religious prejudices to die out. The Party strives for the complete dissolution of the ties between the exploiting classes and the organizations of religious propaganda, facilitates the real emancipation of the working masses from religious prejudices and organizes the widest possible scientific educational and anti-religious propaganda. At the same time it is necessary to carefully avoid giving offense to the religious sentiments of believers, which only leads to the strengthening of religious fanaticism. (*The Program and Rules of the C. P. S. U.*, pp. 20–21.)

The program of the Communist International also states clearly that Communists fight against religion, as it is a counter-revolutionary force, an ally and a weapon of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the revolutionary movement.

We will try to state more simply what the program of the C. P. S. U. says on the question of religion, and then we will explain it in detail.

On January 23, 1918, the Soviet Government issued a decree separating the church from the state, and the schools from the church. We will speak in detail about this decree later on. But our Party is not content with passing this law, for this law alone does not yet destroy the power of religion and of the church, it only weakens it. Laws separating the church from the state, and the schools from the church, have been passed not only by the Soviet Government but also by the governments in capitalist countries. But in these capitalist countries the bourgeoisie put these laws on their statute books only for the sake of appearances, to give in to the demands of the people, *while in reality they retain the connection between the church and the state, between religion and the state, and between religion and organized capital in the state.* In fact, in almost all the capitalist countries the church still enjoys enormous power and tremendous wealth; and to this very day, in most capitalist countries it still wields power in both the state and the school.

Take, for instance, Italy, where in 1929, the power of the Pope—the head of the Catholic Church—was reestablished. In accordance with a treaty concluded with the leader of the fascists, Mussolini, the Pope was recognized as the head of the Vatican State, formed within the territory of the city of Rome. Of course, in return for this, the clergy gives still greater support to the fascists. In Germany, and in many other states, the governments likewise invest the church with far-reaching rights. In the U. S. S. R., the law separating the church from the state, and the school from the church, has been actually carried out. But the law does not abolish religious organizations, nor does it prohibit religion. Our Party is convinced that *only when all social life, including economic life, proceeds according to a conscious, well-thought-out plan, will religion lose its authority over the peasantry and over the working class.*

This is why our Party is trying first of all to prevent the capitalists of all countries from using religious organizations to deceive the peasant and working masses, as they are doing now. We expose *the class basis of religion*, that is, we lay bare the class motives of those who are interested in upholding and spreading religious beliefs. Secondly, our Party conducts a struggle against religious prejudices and religious beliefs by propagating science and general education, through books, newspapers, lectures, moving pictures, etc., all directed against religion and religious deception.

As already stated, our program expressly warns all Communists and Marxists that they must, in carrying out this work act in a way that will give no avoidable offense to the sentiments of believers, because, by intentionally outraging the feelings of believers, they will only confirm them in their religious convictions.

DECREES OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ON THE SEPARATION OF THE CHURCH FROM THE STATE, AND OF THE SCHOOL FROM THE CHURCH

On January 23, 1918, the Soviet Government issued a decree on the disestablishment of the church. This decree reads as follows:

Decree of the Soviet of People's Commissars on the Separation of the Church from the State, and of the School from the Church (January 23, 1918):

1. The church is hereby separated from the state.
2. It is unlawful to pass any local law or issue any decree whatsoever within the territory of the Republics, which will restrict or limit the liberty of conscience or grant any advantage or privilege whatsoever to any citizen on the basis of his religious profession.

3. Every citizen may profess any religion he desires or profess no religion; all laws disfranchising any citizen by reason of his profession or non-profession of faith are hereby repealed.

Note: No reference is to be made in any official document to the profession or non-profession of religion by any citizen.*

4. No proceedings of any state or other official public body shall be accompanied by any religious rites or ceremonies whatsoever.

5. The right to perform religious rites is hereby guaranteed in so far as no breach of the peace is committed and the performance does not infringe upon any of the rights of any citizen of the Soviet Republic. Local authorities have the right in such cases to take all the measures necessary to safeguard public order and security.

6. No person may refuse to fulfill any civic obligation on the ground of his religious convictions. Exceptions to this rule may be made on the condition that another civic obligation is performed in substitution for the one declined, but this must in each separate case be considered by the People's Court.

7. Religious vows, or oaths, are abolished. Whenever necessary solemn affirmation to tell the truth is made.

8. Registration of births, marriages, deaths, etc., are performed exclusively by the civil authorities and the departments for the registration of marriages and births.

9. The school is hereby separated from the church. The teaching of religious doctrines is not permitted in any state, public, or private educational institution where general educational subjects are taught. Citizens may give or receive religious instructions privately.

10. All ecclesiastical and religious societies are subject to the general conditions governing private societies and associations, and shall not receive any privilege or subsidy from any state, local, autonomous or self-governing body.

11. No compulsory collection of dues or assessments for the benefit of ecclesiastical or religious societies is permitted, nor may any measures of compulsion or punishment of fellow-members be taken by such societies.

12. No ecclesiastical or religious society whatsoever, has the right to own private property, nor does any such society enjoy the rights of a judicial person.

13. All the property of the existing ecclesiastical and religious societies in Russia becomes the property of the people. The local or central state authorities may, by special decree, place the buildings and objects specially intended for worship at the service of the given religious society free of charge.

* * * * *

What are the tasks and duties of the League of Militant Atheists during this period?

Primarily, to conduct serious work among the masses, because the demands of these masses, even of the most backward groups among whom the influence of religion is still strong, have become more serious. In our work among religious people we must bear in mind Lenin's advice to utilize every method available to us, or, as he said,

*Formerly, on registering birth, marriage, death, or applications to official institutions, the applicant had to state what faith he subscribed to.—Ed.

we must "approach them this way and that way" in order to stimulate them to criticize religion themselves. This work has not yet been properly developed. We must also work out the proper methods and produce the necessary mass literature which will meet the requirements of these backward groups and of religious people.

We must observe that the past fifteen years of struggle for consistently Leninist militant atheism have been years of struggle against every attempt to restrict the tasks of the struggle in an opportunist manner, or to give the struggle an anarchist-rebel turn. We have fought against the substitution of "pure" education, mere anticlericalism, priestophobia, for militant atheism. But at the same time we have also combated the tendency to draw a distinction between our educational work and the exposure of the class rôle of religion. We have linked up every step in our educational work among the masses with the task of exposing the social roots of religion. We have fought against the opportunist attempts to liquidate antireligious work on the pretext that religion is dying in the U. S. S. R. anyway. But we have also fought resolutely against the theory that religion can be wiped out in no time—that all that is required is to use strong language. This struggle on two fronts was one of the necessary conditions of the victory which we have gained on the antireligious front.

This victory would have been impossible without an intense ideological struggle in the field of philosophy. For this reason the League of Militant Atheists has been closely connected with the Society of Militant Dialectical Materialists and they together have fought both against the Mechanists and against Menshevik idealism. I may remind you that the magazine, the *Atheist* (*Bezbozhnik*), was the first to start the struggle against the philosophical mistakes of Deborin's school. The defect of this struggle at first was that we did not criticize the Mechanists with sufficient sharpness; but this defect was subsequently rectified. The struggle against the Mechanists and the influence of Menshevik idealism in the field of antireligious propaganda, continues to be one of our most important tasks. While we do not refuse to coöperate with the inconsistent Materialists in the antireligious struggle, we must, however, expose their mistakes; we must sharply define our own viewpoint, sharply criticize every inconsistency on this sector of the ideological front.

We have continued and must continue to criticize very strongly those who underestimate the importance of atheist propaganda; for this underestimation was one of the results of the underestimation of the rôle of Lenin and of Leninism as marking a new stage in the struggle for a consistent materialist world outlook. This was the particular weakness of the Deborin school, and this was precisely the reason why the magazine, *Under the Banner of Marxism*, failed, under its old leadership, to fulfill the task placed before it by V. I. Lenin. That is precisely why the magazine and the Society of Militant Dialectical Materialists must now devote much more attention to the problems of antireligious propaganda. That is precisely why it is necessary to introduce ideological clarity in the whole of the work of the Union of Militant Atheists and to combat every deviation from the consistent Marxiam-Leninist line in our work.

Particularly immense are our tasks in our antireligious work among the various nationalities in the U. S. S. R. which are only

now beginning to awaken to a real life—which are only beginning to develop their own culture. Among many of the nationalities the relics of prerevolutionary ideology are still great; the influence of the mullah, rabbi, shamans, lamas, etc., is still strong. The literature these nationalities possess is too poor for antireligious propaganda and they have almost no translated literature. The methods of work among the various nationalities are not yet sufficiently differentiated; plans for this work have not yet been prepared thoroughly. That is why it is necessary to train cadres, to study and explain the various problems, and to conduct a serious work of popularization.

Our entire work must be more closely than ever linked up with the work of the Proletarian Free-Thinkers International. The atheist movement has made giant strides in many countries. No punitive measures against the Proletarian Free-Thinkers International can stop this mass movement now that it has begun. The suppression of the League of Militant Atheists in Germany, as many observers, even from the bourgeois camp, admit, only led to the further strengthening of godlessness, to open defections from the church, to withdrawal from the parishes, etc. The growth of godlessness in the United States, the closing of churches in other countries, are inevitable accompaniments of the decay of capitalism. Of course, in these countries, too, the priests are trying to adapt themselves to the social changes that are taking place. Whenever necessary they even flirt with socialist theories. But, the exposure of the rôle of the church and of religion will proceed at a growing pace in the countries of capitalism and create a mighty army of militant atheists throughout the world.

The only country in which the antireligious movement is able to develop openly, broadly, unhindered is the U. S. S. R. Our experience is of the greatest importance to every nation. We must never forget that by our work we are rendering assistance to our foreign comrades. We must deeply internationalize our work so that every atheist should regard his work as part of our international struggle against religion and the church.

The League of Militant Atheists has always closely linked its work with that of the Proletarian Free-Thinkers International. In the columns of the press of the League of Militant Atheists we inform our members and the workers generally of the work of the League, and of the struggle taking place within the Proletarian Free-Thinkers International. The delegates of our League took a most vigorous part in the defense of this international, against the demoralizing petty-bourgeois influence of the social-fascist leaders of the type of Sivers, Hartwig, etc. The latter sought to utilize the international in order to subject the entire atheist movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie, to deprive atheist propaganda of its revolutionary sting, to convert the militant atheism of the masses of the workers and peasants into a liberal movement of bourgeois freethinkers. We have exposed their rôle. We did not allow the Siverses and Hartwigs to convert the Proletarian Free-Thinkers International into an appendage of the bourgeoisie. Thanks to this, the International continues to exist and grow throughout the world as an organization of militant atheists. It is our duty to do even more than we have done to make the

antireligious movement, not only in the U. S. S. R., but in the capitalist countries as well, a movement of vast millions.

We are entering the sixteenth year of the proletarian revolution with great gains to our account in the field of atheism. But these gains are insufficient; our work must be improved, consolidated, expanded, deepened. The banner of militant atheism must be raised still higher. Propaganda in favor of militant atheism must be carried on more widely, must become deeper and more serious. The ranks of the militant atheists must be increased to include millions.

Remember that the struggle against religion is a struggle for socialism!

On May 16, 1934, Stalin issued an epoch-making decree on the matter of teaching history. The following *Pravda* editorial explains certain changes which Stalin's directive made imperative. It announces that entirely new history books would be available in June 1934. Until the year 1931, Mikhail Prokrovsky dominated the production of Bolshevik history. According to Prokrovsky's orthodox Marxist interpretations, the economic state of development of any given society determines the consciousness of the individual and not vice versa. Stalin, however, had different ideas. In 1934, Prokrovsky was found guilty of having propagated dangerous Trotskyite falsifications.¹ Fortunately for him, Prokrovsky had died in 1932. The fate of his living disciples, however, was much less happy. Perhaps a few of them managed to survive purging by completely repudiating their master's alleged collaboration with the fascist foe.²

As late as 1931, Eugene Tarle had been violently condemned as a Russian imperial chauvinist. In 1934, he was permitted to return from exile in Siberia. Very soon, Tarle became a Soviet hero. The price of his sudden acclaim was a correct Bolshevik revision of Russian history. According to Tarle, reactionary czars had been only imperfect predecessors of the reigning infallible *vozhd* Stalin. Many of their apparently tyrannical acts had indeed been undertaken in a spirit of true Russian patriotism. What looked like repression really amounted to liberation of the Russian masses from the danger of external aggression. Loyal citizens of the Soviet Union must no longer ridicule and despise the feeble attempts of the czars to make Russia great. Not only history but also Bolshevik literature, music, and all other forms of propaganda must take on a completely different orientation.³ Henceforth, socialist realism must concentrate more upon Russian national traditions than upon inadequate Marxist ideology.

EXHIBIT No. 42

[*Pravda*, May 16, 1934. "For High-Grade Schools in the Soviet Union"]

No subject is considered more important by the Central Committee of the Soviet Government than the education and cultural training of the growing generation in a socialistic country. Universal schooling was decreed as long ago as July 25, 1930, and is rapidly being introduced throughout the land. No less important is the constant striving for improvement in the courses of study, for the elimination of shortcomings in failure to prepare the scholars for the technical and higher schools. About 2 years ago further measures were adopted to coordinate instruction with the demands of life, to make discipline more strict, and to enhance the authority and responsibility of the teachers.

¹ W. W. Kulski, *The Soviet Regime*, Syracuse University Press, 1954, p. 86. Timasheff, *Great Retreat*, pp. 246-247.

² Klaus Mehnert, *Stalin versus Marx: The Stalinist Historical Doctrine*, London, Allen and Unwin, 1952, p. 32. Mehnert sympathizes with Prokrovsky and condemns Stalin.

³ *I Want To Be Like Stalin*. Translated by George S. Counts and Nuela P. Lodge New York, Day, 1947, p. 17. See also George S. Counts and Nuela Lodge, *The Country of the Blind: The Soviet System of Mind Control*, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1949, *passim*.

A new regulation has now been promulgated by the Central Committee and the Council of Peoples' Commissars, to correct serious shortcomings that still exist in Soviet schools. It is intended still further to strengthen discipline to instill the love of work, and to broaden the scope of knowledge.

Three types of schools are created, primarily, "incomplete middle," and "full middle" schools, which all children will eventually attend. The head of the school will be director in name and in fact, and the group unit or class will represent the responsibility of the pupils toward the school. These classes will run from 1 to 10 in the full middle school, starting a child at 8 years old; the 7-year-old class will be termed preparatory. In the primary school the classes will run from 1 to 4 and in the incomplete middle school from 1 to 7. The graduates of the last-named course have prior rights to continue in the technical high schools, while those of the "full middle" schools have priority in entrance to the universities. Only teachers with education and experience commensurate with the positions which they occupy will be chosen as pedagogues. Similar requirements are made of the directors of the different grades of schools.

A radical change has been made by this decree in the teaching of history, which hitherto has been taught purely for its sociological content and application, without emphasis on historical facts, which remained largely unknown. Maps, chronology, names were simply omitted, or mentioned without sequence or connection. It is obvious that without a factual background history becomes an empty schedule, to be learned by rote. It is now proposed, however, to present history as a series of connected and related facts, the study of which will show the cause and effect of certain developments, together with a picture of historic figures and chronology of important dates. By June 1934, new history books are to be prepared, covering the ancient world, the Middle Ages, recent history, the history of the U. S. S. R., and that of dependent and colonial countries. A group of prominent teachers has been selected and assigned the task of preparing these textbooks.

The teaching of geography has also suffered from serious drawbacks, such as poor presentation of material, and overloading with economic and statistical details, with the result that pupils often did not acquire even an elementary knowledge of true geography. This system is to be replaced by one that emphasizes physical details, as seas, rivers, mountains, and demands careful study of maps, with particular attention to the geography of the U. S. S. R. Beginning with a groundwork of physical geography, the continents and principal countries are taken up, followed by a detailed study of the Soviet Union, covering not only geographical matter but also economic information, with the characteristics of each raion of the Union. The economic geography of the capitalistic countries completes the course.

For this course also new books are to be prepared, by scholars prominent in this field; books for the teachers themselves are also needed, to introduce and explain the new methods of instruction, also books for collateral reading, such as travel books, descriptions of life in foreign lands, etc.

The Commissars for Education of the constituent republics are directed to assist in the process of establishing the new course and

methods in all schools, and to aid in the improvement of all education that should follow upon the adoption of the new standards of instruction.

The Soviet citizen who expresses an opinion before consulting the latest issue of *Pravda* or *Izvestia* is asking for serious trouble. For decades, Communists had been told that workers had no fatherland. Later, they learned that the Soviet Union was their true fatherland, but only in the sense that it was the first place in which Marxist ideology had been reduced to practice. Then one fine June day in 1934, *Pravda* enlightened them with the astounding news that old-fashioned patriotism was back in style. It was no less a person than Stalin himself who had inspired seven Soviet fliers to do heroic deeds out of love of their country. Taking his cue from Hitler, Stalin recognized the value of combining patriotic sentiment with socialist dogma.¹ Forthwith, bolshevism became national socialism. Woe betide the Russian who manifested "homeless cosmopolitan tendencies."²

In addition to extolling the virtue of patriotism, this June 1934 *Pravda* editorial warned Russian citizens of the extremely severe penalties attending treason against the fatherland. Not only they, but also their relatives and dependents, would be made to suffer according to the best tested Soviet techniques of vengeance. Patriotism now became a grimly necessary virtue.

EXHIBIT No. 43

[*Pravda*, June 9, 1934. Page 1]

FOR THE FATHERLAND!

At present the whole Soviet Union, even the remote corners of our unembraceable country, is excited by the news of the arrival of the glorious Cheliuskints, the heroes of the Soviet Union—the courageous fliers. Tens of thousands of workers and Kolkhozniks greeted with admiration the great leader of the expedition, Comrade Schmidt.

Why is everybody so excited about the heroic exploits of the Soviet fliers, their life and their struggle on the drifting iceberg?

There is only one answer to this question. A small group of men laboring under unusually difficult conditions, lead by our Party and reared by Stalin, demonstrated unlimited love and devotion to their fatherland. This love for their fatherland, this devotion to the cause of the working class inspired them in their struggle against the elements. Conscientiousness of the fact that they are children of the Sovietland, of the country of socialism which united them, armed them and made them invincible in the struggle against such enemies as polar icebergs, fog, and blizzards.

Yesterday's issue of *Pravda* published a letter from the seven fliers, the heroes of the Soviet Union, Comrades Sleptsev, Liapidenskii, Doronin, Kamanin, Molokov, Levanevskii, and Vodop'ianov in which they write the following: "The Red fliers know what they fight for—in this is their pledge for victory. At the first call of the Party and the government, our planes are ready to fly at any moment to defend the inviolability of our borders. To defend our fatherland, thousands of mighty planes will fly over the Sovietland. Each plane will perform a great feat and each flier will become a hero."

Each plane will perform a feat and each flier will become a hero! These words express the strong conviction of these best people of our

¹ Frederick C. Barghoorn (Yale University), *The Soviet Image of the United States*, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1950, p. 269-270. Souvarine, *Stalin*, pp. 615ff. DeHuszar, *Soviet Power*, pp. 410-411.

² Fainsod, *How Russia is Ruled*, pp. 115-116.

country, who are loved and whose example will be followed by millions of workers, kolkhozniks, engineers, and scientists.

Millions and tens of millions of people greet in the persons of the Cheliuskints, great patriots of our country, for whom honor and glory, might and the well-being of the Soviet Union represent the supreme law in life. Millions and tens of millions of people in the ardent greeting of the Cheliuskints, the heroic fliers, express their own willingness to do anything for the defence of their fatherland and for the honor and glory of the Soviet country.

The country of the October Revolution is endlessly dear to the workers, the Kolkhozniks and the Soviet intelligentsia. The working people are bound to their factories, sovkhos's and kolkhos's, to their soil and to their culture by the indissoluble links of blood, heroism and love. For proletariats and kolkhozniks, for honest soviet specialists, there is nothing more beautiful and more clear than their own country liberated from the yoke of landowners and capitalists.

The best traditions of the Civil War and of the struggle with the interventionists, when the workers and peasants were armed to defend their right to a new life, are now being multiplied in the progress of techniques and Socialistic culture. That is why the Soviet Union has become an impregnable fortress and is capable of crushing all those who would dare to attempt to violate the sanctity of its boundaries.

For our fatherland! This call fans the flame of heroism, the flame of creative initiative in pursuits and all fields of our rich life. For our fatherland! This call arouses millions of workers and alerts them in the defence of their great country.

The defence of the fatherland is the supreme law of life. And he who raises his hand against his country, he who betrays his country should be destroyed.

Today we publish the decree of the Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R. regarding the supplementing of the statutes of the state criminal code with articles on treason. The Soviet country is very dear to the workers and kolkhozniks. They have paid for it dearly in blood and suffering in their struggle with exploiters and interventionists and they will not allow anyone to betray their country and will not allow anyone to bargain with her interests.

For high treason, for acts detrimental to the country's military might, or state independence, or inviolability of her territories, for espionage, for divulging military or state secrets, for deserting to the enemy, or escaping across the border, the Soviet court will punish the guilty by shooting or by confiscating all his property. In the case of a civilian, some leniency will be shown according to circumstances, and for the death penalty will be substituted the confiscation of his property or imprisonment for ten years. For a person in military service, however, for treason there will be only one measure of punishment—execution by shooting with confiscation of all his property. Individual members of his family are also responsible for the acts of traitors. "In the case of the escape or flight across the border of a person in military service, all mature members of his family, if they are implicated in aiding the criminal, or knew of his intentions and did not report them to the authorities the punishment is imprisonment from 5 to 10 years with confiscation of all their property.

The other members of the family of the traitor and all his dependents at the time he committed treason are subject to disfranchisement and exile to some remote region in Siberia for 5 years.

Traitors should be punished unmercifully. On the other hand, if a person in military service was aware of a plot to betray the government or of an act of betrayal and did not report this to the authorities, he is subject to imprisonment for 10 years. One cannot be a neutral observer where the interests of the country of the workers and peasants are concerned. This is a terrible crime; this is complicity in the crime.

This decree of the Central Executive Committee gives the workers of the great Soviet Union a new weapon in their hands in the struggle against the enemies of the proletariat dictatorship. The one hundred and seventy million working people who regard the Soviet land as their own mother who has nursed them to a happy and joyous life will deal with the traitors of their fatherland with all their force.

For the fatherland, for its honor and glory, might and well-being!

The following interview throws no little light upon the psychological reactions of certain pseudoliberals when brought face to face with Bolshevik reality.¹ Wells begins by assuring Stalin that the western democracies can save themselves only by going collectivist. If they desire to achieve complete success, they must accept Stalin as their most competent mentor. When the latter candidly defends the use of force and violence as a matter of "revolutionary expediency," Wells concedes that, under certain conditions, it may be the only practical way. To Wells' observations that reform might accomplish all desirable change in society, Stalin bluntly replies that some intellectuals are nothing better than "simpletons" and "ciphers." Whereupon, Wells expresses gratitude for Stalin's illuminating evaluation of "liberalism."²

At one point, Wells even offers Stalin a serviceable Machiavellian suggestion: western "liberals" would be more impressed by subtler Communist propaganda. In typical pseudoliberal fashion, Wells admits that, while he does not know the facts about the U. S. S. R., one day's reading of people's faces has already taught him how good living conditions are in the Soviet Union. When Stalin invites Wells to stay around for a while, the latter regrets that he can remain only a week during which, of course, he will take the usual carefully guided tour. Whereupon, he will be ready to tell the world that he has seen the future and that it works.

Throughout his prolonged eulogy of Stalin's efforts to change the world, Wells tactfully declines to inquire as to what kind of progress was to be accomplished by the purge of several hundred thousand Bolshevik Party members.³ Nor was there any discussion as to how deliberate liquidation of several million kulaks ("rich" peasants) had brought a change for the better.⁴ If Wells had been an honest student of Soviet history, he could not possibly have been unaware of the "liquidation of the kulaks as a class." Stalin had publicly admitted it on several occasions; for example, at the 17th Bolshevik Party Congress which had been held six months before Wells' visit to the U. S. S. R.

¹ Salvadori, *Modern Communism*, pp. 48-49, 107-108.

² For a sober commentary on interviews with Stalin, see Lyons' *Assignment in Utopia*, pp. 390-392; Borodin, *One Man in His Time*, p. 248.

³ Souvarine, *Stalin*, p. 579. *History of CPSU(B)*, p. 326.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 305-310. Kravchenko, *I Chose Freedom*, Chapter IX: Harvest in Hell. Scholmer, *Vorkuta*, p. 114. Manning, *Ukraine Under the Soviets*, pp. 93-107.

EXHIBIT No. 44

[New York, New Century Publishers, September 1937; reprinted October 1950.
Joseph Stalin and H. G. Wells, *Marxism vs. Liberalism: An Interview.*]

NOTE

H. G. Wells visited the Soviet Union in 1934 and on July 23 he interviewed Joseph Stalin. The conversation, lasting from 4 P. M. to 6:50 P. M., was recorded by Constantine Oumansky, then head of the Press Bureau of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. The text, as printed in this pamphlet, has been approved by Mr. Wells.

WELLS: I am very much obliged to you, Mr. Stalin, for agreeing to see me. I was in the United States recently. I had a long conversation with President Roosevelt and tried to ascertain what his leading ideas were. Now I have come to you to ask you what you are doing to change the world. . . .

STALIN: Not so very much. . . .

WELLS: I wander around the world as a common man and, as a common man, observe what is going on around me.

STALIN: Important public men like yourself are not "common men." Of course, history alone can show how important this or that public man has been; at all events you do not look at the world as a "common man."

WELLS: I am not pretending humility. What I mean is that I try to see the world through the eyes of the common man, and not as a party politician or a responsible administrator. My visit to the United States excited my mind. The old financial world is collapsing; the economic life of the country is being reorganized on new lines. Lenin said: "We must learn to do business," learn this from the capitalists. Today the capitalists have to learn from you, to grasp the spirit of socialism. It seems to me that what is taking place in the United States is a profound reorganization, the creation of planned, that is, socialist, economy. You and Roosevelt begin from two different starting points. But is there not a relation in ideas, a kinship of ideas, between Washington and Moscow? In Washington I was struck by the same thing I see going on here; they are building offices, they are creating a number of new state regulation bodies, they are organizing a long-needed Civil Service. Their need, like yours, is directive ability.

STALIN: The United States is pursuing a different aim from that which we are pursuing in the U. S. S. R. The aim which the Americans are pursuing arose out of the economic troubles, out of the economic crisis. The Americans want to rid themselves of the crisis on the basis of private capitalist activity without changing the economic basis. They are trying to reduce to a minimum the ruin, the losses caused by the existing economic system. Here, however, as you know, in place of the old destroyed economic basis an entirely different, a new economic basis has been created. Even if the Americans you mention partly achieve their aim, *i. e.*, reduce these losses to a minimum, they will not destroy the roots of the anarchy which is inherent in the existing capitalist system. They are preserving the economic system which must inevitably lead, and cannot but lead, to anarchy in production. Thus, at best, it will be a matter, not of the reorganization of society, not of abolishing the old social system which gives rise to anarchy and crises, but of restricting certain of its bad

features, restricting certain of its excesses. Subjectively, perhaps, these Americans think they are reorganizing society; objectively, however, they are preserving the present basis of society. That is why, objectively, there will be no reorganization of society.

Nor will there be planned economy. What is planned economy? What are some of its attributes? Planned economy tries to abolish unemployment. Let us suppose it is possible, while preserving the capitalist system, to reduce unemployment to a certain minimum. But surely, no capitalist would ever agree to the complete abolition of unemployment, to the abolition of the reserve army of unemployed, the purpose of which is to bring pressure on the labor market, to ensure a supply of cheap labor. Here you have one of the rents in the "planned economy" of bourgeois society. Furthermore, planned economy presupposes increased output in those branches of industry which produce goods that the masses of the people need particularly. But you know that the expansion of production under capitalism takes place for entirely different motives, that capital flows into those branches of economy in which the rate of profit is highest. You will never compel a capitalist to incur loss to himself and agree to a lower rate of profit for the sake of satisfying the needs of the people. Without getting rid of the capitalists, without abolishing the principle of private property in the means of production, it is impossible to create planned economy.

WELLS: I agree with much of what you have said. But I would like to stress the point that if a country as a whole adopts the principle of planned economy, if the government, gradually, step by step, begins consistently to apply this principle, the financial oligarchy will at last be abolished and socialism, in the Anglo-Saxon meaning of the word, will be brought about. The effect of the ideas of Roosevelt's "New Deal" is most powerful, and in my opinion they are socialist ideas. It seems to me that instead of stressing the antagonism between the two worlds, we should, in the present circumstances, strive to establish a common tongue for all the constructive forces.

STALIN: In speaking of the impossibility of realizing the principles of planned economy while preserving the economic basis of capitalism I do not in the least desire to belittle the outstanding personal qualities of Roosevelt, his initiative, courage, and determination. Undoubtedly Roosevelt stands out as one of the strongest figures among all the captains of the contemporary capitalist world. That is why I would like once again to emphasize the point that my conviction that planned economy is impossible under the conditions of capitalism does not mean that I have any doubts about the personal abilities, talent, and courage of President Roosevelt. But if the circumstances are unfavorable, the most talented captain cannot reach the goal you refer to. Theoretically, of course, the possibility of marching gradually, step by step, under the conditions of capitalism, towards the goal which you call socialism in the Anglo-Saxon meaning of the word, is not precluded. But what will this "socialism" be? At best, bridling to some extent the most unbridled of individual representatives of capitalist profit, some increase in the application of the principle of regulation in national economy. That is all very well. But as soon as Roosevelt, or any other captain in the contemporary bourgeois world, proceeds to undertake something serious against the foundation of capitalism, he will inevitably suffer utter defeat.

The banks, the industries, the large enterprises, the large farms are not in Roosevelt's hands. All these are private property. The railroads, the mercantile fleet, all these belong to private owners. And finally, the army of skilled workers, the engineers, the technicians, these too are not at Roosevelt's command, they are at the command of the private owners; they all work for the private owners. We must not forget the functions of the State in the bourgeois world. The State is an institution that organizes the defense of the country, organizes the maintenance of "order"; it is an apparatus for collecting taxes. The capitalist State does not deal much with economy in the strict sense of the word; the latter is not in the hands of the State. On the contrary, the State is in the hands of capitalist economy. That is why I fear that, in spite of all his energy and abilities, Roosevelt will not achieve the goal you mention, if indeed that is his goal. Perhaps, in the course of several generations, it will be possible to approach this goal somewhat; but I personally think that even this is not very probable.

WELLS: Perhaps I believe more strongly in the economic interpretation of politics than you do. Huge forces driving towards better organization, for the better functioning of the community, that is, for socialism, have been brought into action by invention and modern science. Organization, and the regulation of individual action, have become mechanical necessities, irrespective of social theories. If we begin with the State control of the banks and then follow with the control of transport, of the heavy industries, of industry in general, of commerce, etc., such an all-embracing control will be equivalent to the State ownership of all branches of national economy. This will be the process of socialization. Socialism and individualism are not opposites like black and white. There are many intermediate stages between them. There is individualism that borders on brigandage, and there is discipline and organization that are the equivalent of socialism. The introduction of planned economy depends, to a large degree, upon the organizers of economy, upon the skilled technical intelligentsia, who, step by step, can be converted to the socialist principles of organization. And this is the most important thing. Because organization comes before socialism. It is the more important fact. Without organization the socialist idea is a mere idea.

STALIN: There is no, nor should there be, irreconcilable contrast between the individual and the collective, between the interests of the individual person and the interests of the collective. There should be no such contrast, because collectivism, socialism, does not deny, but combines individual interests with the interests of the collective. Socialism cannot abstract itself from individual interests. Socialist society alone can most fully satisfy these personal interests. More than that; socialist society alone can firmly safeguard the interests of the individual. In this sense there is no irreconcilable contrast between "individualism" and socialism. But can we deny the contrast between classes, between the propertied class, the capitalist class, and the toiling class, the proletarian class? On the one hand we have the propertied class which owns the banks, the factories, the mines, transport, the plantations in colonies. These people see nothing but their own interests, their striving after profits. They do not submit to the will of the collective; they strive to subordinate every collective to their will. On the other hand we have

the class of the poor, the exploited class, which owns neither factories nor works, nor banks, which is compelled to live by selling its labor power to the capitalists and which lacks the opportunity to satisfy its most elementary requirements. How can such opposite interests and strivings be reconciled? As far as I know, Roosevelt has not succeeded in finding the path of conciliation between these interests. And it is impossible, as experience has shown. Incidentally, you know the situation in the United States better than I do as I have never been there and I watch American affairs mainly from literature. But I have some experience in fighting for socialism and this experience tells me that if Roosevelt makes a real attempt to satisfy the interests of the proletarian class at the expense of the capitalist class, the latter will put another president in his place. The capitalists will say: Presidents come and presidents go, but we go on forever; if this or that president does not protect our interests, we shall find another. What can the president oppose to the will of the capitalist class?

WELLS: I object to this simplified classification of mankind into poor and rich. Of course there is a category of people which strives only for profit. But are not these people regarded as nuisances in the West just as much as here? Are there not plenty of people in the West for whom profit is not an end, who own a certain amount of wealth, who want to invest and obtain a profit from this investment, but who do not regard this as the main object? They regard investment as an inconvenient necessity. Are there not plenty of capable and devoted engineers, organizers of economy, whose activities are stimulated by something other than profit? In my opinion there is a numerous class of capable people who admit that the present system is unsatisfactory and who are destined to play a great role in future socialist society. During the past few years I have been much engaged in and have thought of the need for conducting propaganda in favor of socialism and cosmopolitanism among wide circles of engineers, airmen, military-technical people, etc. It is useless approaching these circles with two-track class war propaganda. These people understand the condition of the world. They understand that it is a bloody muddle, but they regard your simple class-war antagonism as nonsense.

STALIN: You object to the simplified classification of mankind into rich and poor. Of course there is a middle stratum, there is the technical intelligentsia that you have mentioned and among which there are very good and very honest people. Among them there are also dishonest and wicked people, there are all sorts of people among them. But first of all mankind is divided into rich and poor, into property owners and exploited; and to abstract oneself from this fundamental division and from the antagonism between poor and rich means abstracting oneself from the fundamental fact. I do not deny the existence of intermediate, middle strata, which either take the side of one or other of these two conflicting classes, or else take up a neutral or semineutral position in this struggle. But, I repeat, to abstract oneself from this fundamental division in society and from the fundamental struggle between the two main classes means ignoring facts. This struggle is going on and will continue. The outcome of the struggle will be determined by the proletarian class, the working class.

WELLS: But are there not many people who are not poor, but who work and work productively?

STALIN: Of course, there are small landowners, artisans, small traders, but it is not these people who decide the fate of a country, but the toiling masses, who produce all the things society requires.

WELLS: But there are very different kinds of capitalists. There are capitalists who only think about profit, about getting rich; but there are also those who are prepared to make sacrifices. Take old Morgan for example. He only thought about profit; he was a parasite on society, simply, he merely accumulated wealth. But take Rockefeller. He is a brilliant organizer; he has set an example of how to organize the delivery of oil that is worthy of emulation. Or take Ford. Of course Ford is selfish. But is he not a passionate organizer of rationalized production from whom you take lessons? I would like to emphasize the fact that recently an important change in opinion towards the U. S. S. R. has taken place in English speaking countries. The reason for this, first of all, is the position of Japan and the events in Germany. But there are other reasons besides those arising from international politics. There is a more profound reason, namely, the recognition by many people of the fact that the system based on private profit is breaking down. Under these circumstances, it seems to me, we must not bring to the forefront the antagonism between the two worlds, but should strive to combine all the constructive movements, all the constructive forces in one line as much as possible. It seems to me that I am more to the Left than you, Mr. Stalin; I think the old system is nearer to its end than you think.

STALIN: In speaking of the capitalists who strive only for profit, only to get rich, I do not want to say that these are the most worthless people, capable of nothing else. Many of them undoubtedly possess great organizing talent, which I do not dream of denying. We Soviet people learn a great deal from the capitalists. And Morgan, whom you characterize so unfavorably, was undoubtedly a good, capable organizer. But if you mean people who are prepared to reconstruct the world, of course, you will not be able to find them in the ranks of those who faithfully serve the cause of profit. We and they stand at opposite poles. You mentioned Ford. Of course, he is a capable organizer of production. But don't you know his attitude towards the working class? Don't you know how many workers he throws on the street? The capitalist is riveted to profit; and no power on earth can tear him away from it. Capitalism will be abolished, not by "organizers" of production, not by the technical intelligentsia, but by the working class, because the aforementioned strata do not play an independent role. The engineer, the organizer of production does not work as he would like to, but as he is ordered, in such a way as to serve the interests of his employers. There are exceptions of course; there are people in this stratum who have awakened from the intoxication of capitalism the technical intelligentsia can, under certain conditions, perform miracles and greatly benefit mankind. But it can also cause great harm. We Soviet people have not a little experience of the technical intelligentsia. After the October Revolution, a certain section of the technical intelligentsia refused to take part in the work of constructing the new society; they opposed this work of construction and sabotaged it. We did all we possibly could to bring the technical intelligentsia into this work of construction;

we tried this way and that. Not a little time passed before our technical intelligentsia agreed actively to assist the new system. Today the best section of this technical intelligentsia are in the front rank of the builders of socialist society. Having this experience, we are far from underestimating the good and the bad sides of the technical intelligentsia and we know that on the one hand it can do harm, and on the other hand, it can perform "miracles." Of course, things would be different if it were possible, at one stroke, spiritually to tear the technical intelligentsia away from the capitalist world. But that is utopia. Are there many of the technical intelligentsia who would dare break away from the bourgeois world and set to work to reconstruct society? Do you think there are many people of this kind, say, in England or in France? No, there are few who would be willing to break away from their employers and begin reconstructing the world.

Besides, can we lose sight of the fact that in order to transform the world it is necessary to have *political power*? It seems to me, Mr. Wells, that you greatly underestimate the question of political power, that it entirely drops out of your conception. What can those, even with the best intentions in the world, do if they are unable to raise the question of seizing power, and do not possess power? At best they can help the class which takes power, but they cannot change the world themselves. This can only be done by a great class which will take the place of the capitalist class and become the sovereign master as the latter was before. This class is the working class. Of course, the assistance of the technical intelligentsia must be accepted; and the latter, in turn, must be assisted. But it must not be thought that the technical intelligentsia can play an independent historical role. The transformation of the world is a great, complicated and painful process. For this great task a great class is required. *Big ships go on long voyages.*

WELLS: Yes, but for long voyages a captain and a navigator are required.

STALIN: That is true; but what is first required for a long voyage is a big ship. What is a navigator without a ship? An idle man.

WELLS: The big ship is humanity, not a class.

STALIN: You, Mr. Wells, evidently start out with the assumption that all men are good. I, however, do not forget that there are many wicked men. I do not believe in the goodness of the bourgeoisie.

WELLS: I remember the situation with regard to the technical intelligentsia several decades ago. At that time the technical intelligentsia was numerically small, but there was much to do and every engineer, technician and intellectual found his opportunity. That is why the technical intelligentsia was the least revolutionary class. Now, however, there is a superabundance of technical intellectuals, and their mentality has changed very sharply. The skilled man, who would formerly never listen to revolutionary talk, is now greatly interested in it. Recently I was dining with the Royal Society, our great English scientific society. The President's speech was a speech for social planning and scientific control. Thirty years ago, they would not have listened to what I say to them now. Today, the man at the head of the Royal Society holds revolutionary views and insists on the scientific reorganization of human society. Mentality changes. Your class-war propaganda has not kept pace with these facts.

STALIN: Yes, I know this, and this is to be explained by the fact that capitalist society is now in a *cul de sac*. The capitalists are seeking, but cannot find, a way out of this *cul de sac* that would be compatible with the dignity of this class, compatible with the interests of this class. They could, to some extent, crawl out of the crisis on their hands and knees, but they cannot find an exit that would enable them to walk out of it with head raised high, a way out that would not fundamentally disturb the interests of capitalism. This, of course, is realized by wide circles of the technical intelligentsia. A large section of it is beginning to realize the community of its interests with those of the class which is capable of pointing the way out of the *cul de sac*.

WELLS: You of all people know something about revolutions, Mr. Stalin, from the practical side. Do the masses ever rise? Is it not an established truth that all revolutions are made by a minority?

STALIN: To bring about a revolution a leading revolutionary minority is required; but the most talented, devoted and energetic minority would be helpless if it did not rely upon the at least passive support of millions.

WELLS: At least passive? Perhaps sub-conscious?

STALIN: Partly also the semi-instinctive and semiconscious, but without the support of millions, the best minority is impotent.

WELLS: I watch communist propaganda in the West and it seems to me that in modern conditions this propaganda sounds very old-fashioned, because it is insurrectionary propaganda. Propaganda in favour of the violent overthrow of the social system was all very well when it was directed against tyranny. But under modern conditions, when the system is collapsing anyhow, stress should be laid on efficiency, on competence, on productiveness, and not on insurrection. It seems to me that the insurrectionary note is obsolete. The communist propaganda in the West is a nuisance to constructive-minded people.

STALIN: Of course the old system is breaking down, decaying. That is true. But it is also true that new efforts are being made by other methods, by every means, to protect, to save this dying system. You draw a wrong conclusion from a correct postulate. You rightly state that the old world is breaking down. But you are wrong in thinking that it is breaking down of its own accord. No, the substitution of one social system for another is a complicated and long revolutionary process. It is not simply a spontaneous process, but a struggle, it is a process connected with the clash of classes. Capitalism is decaying, but it must not be compared simply with a tree which has decayed to such an extent that it must fall to the ground of its own accord. No, revolution, the substitution of one social system for another, has always been a struggle, a painful and a cruel struggle, a life and death struggle. And every time the people of the new world came into power, they had to defend themselves against the attempts of the old world to restore the old order by force; these people of the new world always had to be on the alert, always had to be ready to repel the attacks of the old world upon the new system.

Yes, you are right when you say that the old social system is breaking down; but it is not breaking down of its own accord. Take Fascism for example. Fascism is a reactionary force which is trying to preserve the old world by means of violence. What will you do

with the fascists? Argue with them? Try to convince them? But this will have no effect upon them at all. Communists do not in the least idealize the methods of violence. But they, the Communists, do not want to be taken by surprise, they cannot count on the old world voluntarily departing from the stage, they see that the old system is violently defending itself, and that is why the Communists say to the working class: Answer violence with violence; do all you can to prevent the old dying order from crushing you, do not permit it to put manacles on your hands, on the hands with which you will overthrow the old system. As you see, the Communists regard the substitution of one social system for another, not simply as a spontaneous and peaceful process, but as a complicated, long and violent process. Communists cannot ignore facts.

WELLS: But look at what is now going on in the capitalist world. The collapse is not a simple one; it is the outbreak of reactionary violence which is degenerating to gangsterism. And it seems to me that when it comes to a conflict with reactionary and unintelligent violence, socialists can appeal to the law, and instead of regarding the police as the enemy they should support them in the fight against the reactionaries. I think that it is useless operating with the methods of the old rigid insurrectionary socialism.

STALIN: The Communists base themselves on rich historical experience which teaches that obsolete classes do not voluntarily abandon the stage of history. Recall the history of England in the seventeenth century. Did not many say that the old social system had decayed? But did it not, nevertheless, require a Cromwell to crush it by force?

WELLS: Cromwell operated on the basis of the constitution and in the name of constitutional order.

STALIN: In the name of the constitution he resorted to violence, beheaded the king, dispersed Parliament, arrested some and beheaded others!

Or take an example from our history. Was it not clear for a long time that the tsarist system was decaying, was breaking down? But how much blood had to be shed in order to overthrow it?

And what about the October Revolution? Were there not plenty of people who knew that we alone, the Bolsheviks, were indicating the only correct way out? Was it not clear that Russian capitalism had decayed? But you know how great was the resistance, how much blood had to be shed in order to defend the October Revolution from all its enemies, internal and external.

Or take France at the end of the eighteenth century. Long before 1789 it was clear to many how rotten the royal power, the feudal system was. But a popular insurrection, a clash of classes was not, could not be avoided. Why? Because the classes which must abandon the stage of history are the last to become convinced that their role is ended. It is impossible to convince them of this. They think that the fissures in the decaying edifice of the old order can be mended, that the tottering edifice of the old order can be repaired and saved. That is why dying classes take to arms and resort to every means to save their existence as a ruling class.

WELLS: But there were not a few lawyers at the head of the Great French Revolution.

STALIN: Do you deny the role of the intelligentsia in revolutionary movements? Was the Great French Revolution a lawyers' revolution and not a popular revolution, which achieved victory by rousing vast masses of the people against feudalism and championed the interests of the Third Estate? And did the lawyers among the leaders of the Great French Revolution act in accordance with the laws of the old order? Did they not introduce new, bourgeois-revolutionary laws?

The rich experience of history teaches that up to now not a single class has voluntarily made way for another class. There is no such precedent in world history. The Communists have learned this lesson of history. Communists would welcome the voluntary departure of the bourgeoisie. But such a turn of affairs is improbable; that is what experience teaches. That is why the Communists want to be prepared for the worst and call upon the working class to be vigilant, to be prepared for battle. Who wants a captain who lulls the vigilance of his army, a captain who does not understand that the enemy will not surrender, that he must be crushed? To be such a captain means deceiving, betraying the working class. That is why I think that what seems to you to be old-fashioned is in fact a measure of revolutionary expediency for the working class.

WELLS: I do not deny that force has to be used, but I think the forms of the struggle should fit as closely as possible to the opportunities presented by the existing laws, which must be defended against reactionary attacks. There is no need to disorganize the old system because it is disorganizing itself enough as it is. That is why it seems to me insurrection against the old order, against the law, is obsolete, old-fashioned. Incidentally, I deliberately exaggerate in order to bring the truth out more clearly. I can formulate my point of view in the following way: first, I am for order; second, I attack the present system in so far as it cannot assure order; third, I think that class war propaganda may detach from socialism just those educated people whom socialism needs.

STALIN: In order to achieve a great object, an important social object, there must be a main force, a bulwark, a revolutionary class. Next it is necessary to organize the assistance of an auxiliary force for this main force; in this case this auxiliary force is the Party, to which the best forces of the intelligentsia belong. Just now you spoke about "educated people." But what educated people did you have in mind? Were there not plenty of educated people on the side of the old order in England in the seventeenth century, in France at the end of the eighteenth century, and in Russia in the epoch of the October Revolution? The old order had in its service many highly educated people who defended the old order, who opposed the new order. Education is a weapon the effect of which be struck down. Of course, the proletariat, socialism, needs is determined by the hands which wield it, by who is to highly educated people. Clearly, simpletons cannot help the proletariat to fight for socialism, to build a new society. I do not underestimate the role of the intelligentsia; on the contrary, I emphasize it. The question is, however, which intelligentsia are we discussing? Because there are different kinds of intelligentsia.

WELLS: There can be no revolution without a radical change in the educational system. It is sufficient to quote two examples: The example of the German Republic, which did not touch the old educational system, and therefore never became a republic; and the example

of the British Labor Party, which lacks the determination to insist on a radical change in the educational system.

STALIN: That is a correct observation.

Permit me now to reply to your three points.

First, the main thing for the revolution is the existence of a social bulwark. This bulwark of the revolution is the working class.

Second, an auxiliary force is required, that which the Communists call a Party. To the Party belong the intelligent workers and those elements of the technical intelligentsia which are closely connected with the working class. The intelligentsia can be strong only if it combines with the working class. If it opposes the working class it becomes a cipher.

Third, political power is required as a lever for change. The new political power creates the new laws, the new order, which is revolutionary order.

I do not stand for any kind of order. I stand for order that corresponds to the interests of the working class. If, however, any of the laws of the old order can be utilized in the interests of the struggle for the new order, the old laws should be utilized. I cannot object to your postulate that the present system should be attacked in so far as it does not insure the necessary order for the people.

And, finally, you are wrong if you think that the Communists are enamored with violence. They would be very pleased to drop violent methods if the ruling class agreed to give way to the working class. But the experience of history speaks against such an assumption.

WELLS: There was a case in the history of England, however, of a class voluntarily handing over power to another class. In the period between 1830 and 1870, the aristocracy, whose influence was still very considerable at the end of the eighteenth century, voluntarily, without a severe struggle, surrendered power to the bourgeoisie, which serves as a sentimental support of the monarchy. Subsequently, this transference of power led to the establishment of the rule of the financial oligarchy.

STALIN: But you have imperceptibly passed from questions of revolution to questions of reform. This is not the same thing. Don't you think that the Chartist movement played a great role in the Reforms in England in the nineteenth century?

WELLS: The Chartists did little and disappeared without leaving a trace.

STALIN: I do not agree with you. The Chartists, and the strike movement which they organized, played a great role; they compelled the ruling classes to make a number of concessions in regard to the franchise, in regard to abolishing the so-called "rotten boroughs," and in regard to some of the points of the "Charter." Chartism played a not unimportant historical role and compelled a section of the ruling classes to make certain concessions, reforms, in order to avert great shocks. Generally speaking, it must be said that of all the ruling classes, the ruling classes of England, both the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, proved to be the cleverest, most flexible from the point of view of their class interests, from the point of view of maintaining their power. Take as an example, say, from modern history, the general strike in England in 1926. The first thing any other

bourgeoisie would have done in the face of such an event, when the General Council of Trade Unions called for a strike, would have been to arrest the trade union leaders. The British bourgeoisie did not do that, and it acted cleverly from the point of view of its own interests. I cannot conceive of such a flexible strategy being employed by the bourgeoisie in the United States, Germany or France. In order to maintain their rule, the ruling classes of Great Britain have never foresworn small concessions, reforms. But it would be a mistake to think that these reforms were revolutionary.

WELLS: You have a higher opinion of the ruling classes of my country than I have. But is there a great difference between a small revolution and a great reform? Is not a reform a small revolution?

STALIN: Owing to pressure from below, the pressure of the masses, the bourgeoisie may sometimes concede certain partial reforms while remaining on the basis of the existing social-economic system. Acting in this way, it calculates that these concessions are necessary in order to preserve its class rule. This is the essence of reform. Revolution, however, means the transference of power from one class to another. That is why it is impossible to describe any reform as revolution. That is why we cannot count on the change of social systems taking place as an imperceptible transition from one system to another by means of reforms, by the ruling class making concessions.

WELLS: I am very grateful to you for this talk which has meant a great deal to me. In explaining things to me you probably called to mind how you had to explain the fundamentals of socialism in the illegal circles before the revolution. At the present time there are in the world only two persons to whose opinion, to whose every word, millions are listening: you and Roosevelt. Others may preach as much as they like; what they say will never be printed or heeded. I cannot yet appreciate what has been done in your country; I only arrived yesterday. But I have already seen the happy faces of healthy men and women and I know that something very considerable is being done here. The contrast with 1920 is astounding.

STALIN: Much more could have been done had we Bolsheviks been cleverer.

WELLS: No, if human beings were cleverer. It would be a good thing to invent a five-year plan for the reconstruction of the human brain which obviously lacks many things needed for a perfect social order. (Laughter).

STALIN: Don't you intend to stay for the Congress of the Soviet Writers' Union?

WELLS: Unfortunately, I have various engagements to fulfill and I can stay in the U. S. S. R. only for a week. I came to see you and I am very satisfied by our talk. But I intend to discuss with such Soviet writers as I can meet the possibility of their affiliating to the P. E. N. club. This is an international organization of writers founded by Galsworthy; after his death I became president. The organization is still weak, but it has branches in many countries, and what is more important, the speeches of its members, are widely reported in the press. It insists upon this free expression of opinion—even of opposition opinion. I hope to discuss this point with Gorky. I do not know if you are prepared yet for that much freedom here.

STALIN: We Bolsheviks call it "self-criticism." It is widely used in the U. S. S. R. If there is anything I can do to help you I shall be glad to do so.

WELLS: (*Expresses thanks.*)

STALIN: (*Expresses thanks for the visit.*)

By July 10, 1934, Stalin had decided that the OGPU needed a new name. Whereupon, the Peoples Commissariat for Internal Affairs or NKVD came into existence. In addition to getting a new title, the operations of the NKVD were greatly expanded.¹ All the experiences of various secret police and other repressive activities of the Soviet Union were consolidated in a single organization. Stalin was now ready to throw the full force of his vengeance against all who had displeased him. The year 1934 marked the beginning of the great purges.²

The following translation originally appeared in *The Slavonic and East European Review* for January 1935. Meisel and Kozera have reprinted it in their collection of Soviet documents.³

EXHIBIT NO. 45

[*Izvestia*, July 11, 1934]

JULY 10, 1934.

The Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R. decrees:

1. To establish the All-Union People's Commissariat for Home [Internal] Affairs and to include in it the United State Political Department (OGPU).

2. The People's Commissariat for Home Affairs is to be charged with the following duties:

- (a) Ensuring of revolutionary order and security of the State.
- (b) Safeguarding of public (socialist) property.
- (c) Registration of civil acts (registration of births, deaths, marriages and divorces).
- (d) Guarding of frontiers.

3. To form the following departments in the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs:

- (a) Department of Security of the State.
- (b) Department of Workers' and Peasants' Police.
- (c) Department of Security of frontiers and of order in the country.
- (d) Department of Fire Defense.
- (e) Department of Correctional and labor camps and labor settlements.
- (f) Department of Civil Acts.
- (g) Administrative and Economic Department.

4. To organize, in the allied republics, republican People's Commissariats for Home Affairs which are to function on the basis of the same Regulations as the All-Union People's Commissariat for Home Affairs, and to establish in the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic, instead of the republican People's Commissariat for Home Affairs, the office of Plenipotentiary Representative of the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs of the U. S. S. R. To organize in

¹ Fainsod, *How Russia is Ruled*, pp. 365-378. Cookridge, *Soviet Spy Net*, pp. 31-32.

² A few who survived the earlier activities of the NKVD have written enlightening accounts of the horrors of life in a slave state. Vladimir Petrov, *Soviet Gold: My Life as a Slave Laborer in the Siberian Mines*, New York, Farrar, Straus, 1949. Tatiana Tchernavin, *Escape From the Soviets*, New York, Dutton, 1934. Vladimir V. Tchernavin, *I Speak for the Silent*, Boston, Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1935.

³ Meisel and Kozera, *Soviet System*, pp. 197-199.

autonomous republics, provinces and regions, local departments of the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs of the allied republics.

5. To abolish the judicial commission of the OGPU.

6. The People's Commissariat for Home Affairs and its local departments are to hand over the papers regarding criminal offenses which are investigated by them, after the investigation has been completed, to the courts in correspondence with their jurisdiction and in accordance with the existing legal procedure.

7. Documents relating to cases investigated by the Department of Security of the State in the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs, are to be handed over to the Supreme Court of the U. S. S. R., and the papers relating to such crimes as treason, espionage and the like, are to be handed over to the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U. S. S. R. or to the Military Tribunals according to their jurisdiction.

8. To form a special Council attached to the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs of the U. S. S. R. which, in accordance with its Statute, shall have power to issue orders regarding administrative deportation, exile, imprisonment in correctional and labor camps for a term not exceeding 5 years and deportation outside the confines of the U. S. S. R.

9. To instruct the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs of the U. S. S. R. to present the Statute of the Pan-Union People's Commissariat for Home Affairs to the Council of People's Commissariat of the U. S. S. R. for confirmation.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the
U. S. S. R.,

M. Kalinin

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the
U. S. S. R.,

A. Yenukidze

At the 16th Bolshevik Party Congress held in June 1930, Stalin had characterized the League of Nations as a "moribund institution." When, however, the U. S. S. R. condescended to join the League on September 18, 1934, this "sick old man of the world" was declared to have received a lifesaving peaceful rejuvenation. Gopner's masterpiece of Aesopian doubletalk is excellently summarized in these two sentences: "The Soviet Union enters the League of Nations with its old policy unchanged. It will continue to fight steadfastly for the maintenance of world peace in the interests of the construction of socialism at home and in the interests of the international proletariat as a whole." What he really means is that the U. S. S. R. needs allies against Germany and Japan. If a promise of "collective security" will induce the western democracies to help the Soviet Union, the latter will in time reward them with full-blown proletarian revolutions.¹

¹ T. A. Taracouzlo, *War and Peace in Soviet Diplomacy*, New York, Macmillan, 1940: "Soviet Detour to Geneva," pp. 187-218; "Words and Deeds," pp. 261-266; "Soviet 'Neutrality,'" pp. 276-279. Bishop (Ed.), *Soviet Foreign Relations*, pp. 122-125. Deverall, *War*, pp. 110-126, 284-298, 550-559.

[EXHIBIT No. 46]

[Inprecorr, September 28, 1934. Pp. 1338-1339].

THE SOVIET UNION IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By S. Gopner (Moscow)

The entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations is the centre point of public interest throughout the world as an event of the greatest international importance. In particular, the interest of those has been aroused who will have to pay for the next imperialist war with their heart's blood, the millions of proletarians, semi-proletarians, and the millions of the lower middle classes throughout the world. The advanced workers of all countries rightly regard the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations as an eloquent proof of the tremendous strengthening of the Soviet Union brought about by the heroic struggle of the Soviet proletariat in a close fighting alliance with the revolutionary workers of all other countries.

How did it come about that 34 capitalist countries, led by France and Great Britain, extended an invitation to the Soviet Union to enter the League of Nations after these very same countries had been making preparations for years for an armed intervention against the Soviet Union?

Every class-conscious worker knows that although the League of Nations inscribed the struggle for the maintenance of world peace on its banners, it was formed in reality to consolidate the gains of the victorious imperialist Powers and to harness all the forces of imperialism in a struggle against the young Soviet Republic which, from the very first moment of its existence was a powerful support to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in all other countries and which has developed into an acute danger to the whole capitalist system. In the history of the first fifteen years of its existence the League of Nations was an open enemy of the Soviet Union and the centre point of all war and blockade plans against the Soviet Union.

However, despite the fact that the struggle of the imperialists against the Soviet Union struck many serious blows against the country of the workers and peasants, the final balance of the struggle showed a big deficit. The heroic struggle of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union against intervention, against blockade, against economic isolation and against the internal counter-revolution, the successful work of socialist construction in town and country, the unswerving policy of peace pursued by the Soviet government, the active support given to the Soviet Union by the revolutionary proletariat in all capitalist countries, and finally the irreconcilable contradictions in the camp of the imperialists themselves defeated all the attempts to form a united imperialist front of intervention against the Soviet Union and made it impossible to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat by the organisation of insurrections within the Soviet Union.

The Soviet government has successfully warded off the menace of imperialist intervention, crushed the class enemy at home, steadfastly avoided all provocations and traps, and utilised every possible opportunity in word and deed to defend the cause of peace. In this way the Soviet government has exposed and foiled numerous anti-

Soviet war plans and has developed into one of the most important obstacles in the way of any imperialist war.

The imperialists have failed in their attempts to impose their will on the 170 millions of working people in the Soviet Union. They have also not succeeded in reconciling the contradictions in their own ranks. On the contrary, the world economic crisis, the Japanese war of aggression in the Far East, and the accession of Hitler to power in Germany have intensified these contradictions to such an extent that a new imperialist world war seems inevitable unless an organised revolutionary intervention makes war impossible.

The latest success of the policy of peace pursued by the Soviet government, which represents one of the forms of revolutionary intervention, is of tremendous importance in the present situation. The entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations offers the international proletariat another lever with which to postpone the outbreak of war, if not to prevent it. The entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations is grist to the mill of those who are fighting for the maintenance of world peace, and every year the outbreak of war is postponed opens up new and bigger prospects of a solution of the war problem with revolutionary proletarian means. However, one must not fall victim for one moment to the illusion that the danger of war is now a thing of the past and that thanks to its altered composition the League of Nations will now be able to guarantee the maintenance of peace.

The uneven development of the economic crisis and the intensification of the contradictions in the ranks of the imperialists have split up the imperialist Powers into two main groups. One of these groups, led by Japan and Germany, is deliberately making for war. In the Far East Japanese imperialism has already opened the ball; it has occupied Manchuria and transformed it into a basis of operations against the Soviet Union under the flag of the "independent State" Manchukuo; it is continuing its military penetration into North China and it is seeking allies amongst all those countries which are inclined to try their luck in a new war, and above all fascist Germany. Fascist Germany, hit earlier and harder by the economic crisis than any other capitalist country, brought to the verge of economic catastrophe by the Hitler movement and jockeyed into complete foreign political isolation in Europe, is arming openly and as rapidly as possible for a war of revenge and openly demonstrate its friendship with Japanese imperialism. Both Japan and Germany have resigned from the League of Nations in order to free themselves from even formal hindrances in the way of their work for the organisation of a new war. Both Germany and Japan are recruiting the warmongers both in their own countries and abroad and both governments are conducting a pro-war campaign with every possible propaganda means. Both Germany and Japan are far advanced in their preparations for war and they are unwilling to wait much longer, because they are well aware that the longer they wait the more difficult their task will become. Both for Japan and Germany, the most rabid of the war-mongering imperialist Powers, the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations undoubtedly means increased foreign political isolation and a diminution of their chances in the organisation of an immediate and successful war.

The other group of imperialist Powers is led by France, and although it has not abandoned its imperialist proclivities, it is horrified by the victory of the revenge party in Germany and would gladly avoid a new imperialist war at the moment. This group has therefore taken the initiative in the invitation of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations. This group wishes to avoid a war at the moment. Attached to it are a number of smaller Powers who fear with justification that in another imperialist war they might very easily lose their independence or perhaps even their existence as separate States altogether. Despite their natural hatred of the proletarian State they have been compelled, by the experience of the past years, to recognise that the Soviet Union is playing a tremendous role in the struggle for the maintenance of world peace. Compelled to realise the real power of the Soviet Union and their own impotence in the face of Japanese and German aggression, a number of member States of the League of Nations have sought the support of the Soviet Union as the only tangible force which can offer resistance both in words and deeds to the blind forces making for the outbreak of a new imperialist war.

The Soviet Union enters the League of Nations with its old policy unchanged. It will continue to fight steadfastly for the maintenance of world peace in the interests of the construction of socialism at home and in the interests of the international proletariat as a whole.

Up to the present the composition of the League of Nations has been exclusively bourgeois and in consequence the League has been exclusively an instrument of imperialist policy. One of the most powerful countries in the world, the Soviet Union, has now joined the League of Nations and, as distinct from all other members of the League, it is a proletarian State.

The Soviet government is not bound in any way by the previous activities of the League of Nations, and inside the League its policy will continue to be one of peace, no matter what difficulties it may have to face and overcome. The success of the continued peace policy of the Soviet Union will depend on the further development of the work of socialist construction at home and on the effective support rendered to it by the international proletariat. This proletarian policy of the Soviet Union is based on real and tangible world forces and not on any pacifist illusions. It is a real and effective policy of peace.

The policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union is the policy of the international proletariat. One of the most important steps in the development of this policy was the entry of the Soviet Union into the bourgeois League of Nations. The entry of the Soviet Union into the League does not mean that the international proletariat is now inclined to recognise the conditions existing in the post-war capitalist world as normal and reasonable and that it thinks that there is no necessity to change them. This policy means nothing more than that the international proletariat is a steadfast defender of the peace of the world and that it sets its face rigorously against all proposals to solve the evils of capitalism by war. The international proletariat is well aware that any imperialist war and any war of intervention against the Soviet Union would bring untold miseries and sufferings in its train for the workers of the world, and that the only just war is the revolutionary war of the proletariat for the final overthrow of capitalism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union has given the whole world an example of the revolutionary solution of the problems of war and economic crisis. The Soviet power was the first to deliver a blow against the continuation of the last world war. It protected the Soviet Union from the blows of the economic crisis and abolished the scourge of unemployment once and for all. The Soviet power not only healed the wounds of the world war, but opened up the path to the victorious construction of a classless socialist society. The Communists of all countries appeal to the workers under capitalism to take this same path.

The entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations takes place at a moment when the class struggle in all capitalist countries is experiencing a tremendous intensification. The broad masses of the workers are rallying to the united front against fascism and war which is being organised by the Communists. In face of the victory of fascism in Germany and Austria and the consequent encouragement of fascism in all other capitalist countries, the advanced workers everywhere are striving to overcome the disruption in the ranks of the working class and to obtain unity of action. One of the most popular slogans which unite the workers, the unemployed, and the masses of the toilers in town and country irrespective of their other political affiliations, as well as great sections of the bourgeois intelligentsia, is the slogan of the defence of the Soviet Union, and the reason for this is that the Soviet Union is one of the most powerful bulwarks of world peace. The united front against fascism merges with the united front against war, because fascism means war. The tremendous changes which have taken place in the relationship of many capitalist countries to the Soviet Union is a result of the recognition of the strength of the Soviet Union, and at the same time the result of the tremendous pressure of the working classes in all capitalist countries on the bourgeois governments.

The revolutionary workers who are fighting under the leadership of the Communist Parties for the establishment of a united working-class front against fascism and war will warmly welcome this new great preventive step of the proletarian State in the struggle against war. In fulfillment of their duty to the proletariat of the Soviet Union and to their fellow-workers all over the world, the workers of each capitalist country will increase their watchfulness, observe their "own" bourgeoisie still more closely, and expose and counter all anti-Soviet plans, no matter from what quarter they may come and irrespective of whether they are openly anti-Soviet or camouflaged by cunning manœuvres. They will close the ranks of the working-class front against the enemy at home and march forward in the conviction that not a new imperialist war, but only the victorious proletarian revolution, can save the world from the economic crisis and from unemployment, from fascist barbarism and war, and that only the Soviets can lead the workers to victory and the triumph of socialism throughout the world.

This 1935 *Reader* is representative of hundreds of texts which the Soviet educational system prepared as anti-American propaganda to be used either at home or abroad. The initials "RSFSR" stand for Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the largest of the 16 federal republics which together constitute the U. S. S. R. (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). It is the republic of the

Great Russian national group, which has from the earliest years dominated both the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government.¹

EXHIBIT No. 47

[Moscow, State Textbook Publishing House, 1935. E. D. Manevich, *Reader: Second Year*. Approved by the Peoples Commissariat of Education of RSFSR. Pp. 23-28, 58-60]

A WORKER'S STORY

The October Revolution holidays were drawing near. The teacher began to tell the children how Lenin led the workers and asked them: "Did anyone ever tell you about Lenin at home?"

Olia raised her hand and said:

"My father told me a great deal about Lenin. He saw Lenin himself."

Then the teacher said:

"Ask your father to come to class and tell us about Lenin. Do you think he will want to come?"

"Of course he will come. I know he won't refuse," answered Olia.

Olia's father really came to class. He got up in front of the class and began to speak:

"Well, young citizens of the Soviet Republic, I hear that you want to know all about Lenin. Well I'll try to tell you all I know.

This happened long ago, about thirty years ago. I was a young chap then, and I worked in a machine factory. I had no father; he was killed by a machine in the factory, I lived with my mother and my younger brother.

We were very poor. The whole family lived in a tiny room in the cellar. The walls were damp, the windows very small. A big brick wall faced the windows, so that not a drop of sunlight ever came into the room. The room was very dark and stuffy.

Every day, early in the morning before the sun rose, a shrill whistle blew. That whistle called the workers to the factory. We would all jump out of bed and rub our eyes. But mother was already up long ago, heating the samovar. We drank some tea without sugar, ate a piece of black bread, and rushed down to the factory. The work was very hard and we had to work ten hours a day. We used to get very little pay, but the bosses grew very rich.

Once the workers in our factory became very angry. They began to demand higher wages. But the boss would not even hear of it. All the workers came out into the factory yard. One of the young workers stepped out and said:

"We won't go back to work until our pay is raised."

We all agreed because everything he said was true. All of a sudden someone shouted: "The cossacks, the cossacks!"

Several mounted cossacks galloped into the yard and began to hit us with horse-whips. I was hit twice on the back. The whip cut right through my shirt and left two bloody marks. Everyone ran away. The cossacks seized about twenty of our workers and threw them into prison.

Once one of the older comrades came over to me and said:

¹ Fainsod, *How Russia is Ruled*, pp. 307-326. Kolarz, *Russia and Her Colonies*, pp. 7-13.

"Come to my house tonight."

I came to him. There were about twenty people in the room. Most of them were workers. Among them was a man with a reddish beard. This man began to talk to us.

"You are poor because the bosses get richer and richer. It won't be easier for you until you get rid of the bosses. Drive them away. Work for yourselves, all together, hand-in-hand."

We answered him:

"What you say is right. But how are we to get rid of the bosses? They have the police on their side. The tsar himself is for them."

Then the man answered:

"First you must get rid of the tsar. In order to do that you must organize into a strong party. If all the workers organize, the tsar won't be able to do anything."

We listened and thought to ourselves: "He is saying the truth."

Only after he left I found out that that man was Lenin himself. That was the first time I saw Lenin.

Twenty years passed after that. War with Germany began. Many people were sent to the war. Some of them would return without an arm or a leg. Some of them did not return at all.

I became a soldier and was sent to the war. For whom did we fight? We fought for the tsar, the landlords, and the bosses. Then somebody began to give the soldiers leaflets.

"Down with the war! Fight against the bosses!" was written in the leaflets.

These leaflets were sent by Lenin.

The war lasted three years. Then we had no more strength left, the workers and the soldiers revolted. We did just as Lenin taught us.

We got rid of the tsar. But we did not know what kind of government we were going to have. Then the Provisional Government was announced. But this Government was not for the workers. This Government was for the bosses. Everybody began to argue: some were for the new Government, some were against it. I saw that if all the workers don't unite, nothing will be done. So I joined the Bolshevik Party. We had a great deal of work to do. We went to all the factories and said to the workers:

"Unite, comrades! The fight is just beginning!"

One day we heard that Lenin had returned from Europe. We all went to meet him. The square was full of workers and soldiers.

Soon the train pulled in. Everyone began to move about and shout.

All of a sudden I saw someone getting on top of the armored car. All the workers began to clap.

I looked . . . it was Lenin himself. Even though many years passed since the time I saw him last, I knew him at once.

He began to talk to us.

"Don't believe the Provisional Government. It is for the bosses. Make a government of your own.

"We don't have to fight against the Germans. We must fight against the landlords and bosses."

Then I thought to myself: "Now we will win. We have our own leader. We know what we are fighting for."

That is how it all turned out. In a few months the Provisional Government was overthrown. We took the land away from the landlords, and the factories away from the bosses.

"Lenin showed us how to make a government of our own. From that time on workers rule the land."

"We don't work for the bosses. We work for ourselves. Now no one can get rich by exploiting others. Everyone must work. He who doesn't work has no place in our country."

"But how did Lenin do everything?" asked one of the children. The worker answered:

"Lenin did not do everything himself. Lenin had a strong Party to help him. Lenin showed us the way. He made our Party strong. Lenin taught us how to fight. And he also taught the children. He said that the children must study and study if they want to be real Communists."

JOSEPH STALIN

Joseph Stalin was born in a little Georgian town in Transcaucasia. Joseph's father was a shoemaker. His name was Jugashvili.

When Joseph was eighteen years old he became a revolutionist. He organized workers' circles. Workers came to study and organize. The police did not allow these circles to meet. The circles had to meet secretly so that the police would not find them.

Joseph had to change his name very often because the police were always looking for him. Sometimes he called himself David, sometimes Coba or Chijikov. Finally he took the name Stalin. This name he kept ever since.

Joseph Stalin was put into prison many times, but he always managed to escape. He was even sent to Siberia. But even here the police could not keep him. He escaped from Siberia four times.

Lenin died, but Lenin's Communist Party remained. Stalin became the leader of the Party. Comrade Stalin took Lenin's place because he was Lenin's best follower. Comrade Stalin is carrying on the great work Lenin started.

In the tsar's time there were not very many factories in Russia. The machinery was not very good. There were no big farms in Russia. There were no tractors or harvester machines. The peasants had to plow the land with a wooden plow.

Our country needed factories. It needed machines. It needed tractors, combines, and harvesters.

Comrade Stalin said we must make a Five-Year Plan to build up factories. He said we must make a Five-Year Plan to build big sovkhozes and kolkhozes. He said we must put the peasant on a tractor and the worker on an automobile. The Communist Party with comrade Stalin at the head made the Five-Year Plan.

Under the good leadership of the Communist Party and Comrade Stalin the workers and peasants finished the Five-Year Plan in four years.

Comrade Stalin showed that he could carry on the great work Lenin started. The workers and peasants in the Soviet Union and all over the world love and respect their great leader, Comrade Stalin.

THE RED ARMY MEN IN THE U. S. S. R.

The Red Army Men defend the Soviet Union against her enemies.
They defend our factories, sovkhozes, and kolkhozes.
They fight for the workers against the bosses.
It is an honor to be a Red Army Man.

A LETTER FROM THE RED ARMY

Dear mother and father!

I want to tell you what we do in the Red Army.

We get up at six o'clock in the morning. We wash and do some exercises. Exercises make us strong. I can lift an eighty pound weight now. After exercises we eat breakfast. Our dining room is very clean. The food is very good.

We study eight hours a day. We study social science. We learn about the great Five-Year Plan. The capitalists in other countries do not want us to finish our Five-Year Plan. They are preparing for a war against us.

But we are learning how to defend the Soviet Union. We will not let the capitalists beat us. We are learning how to shoot.

We are also learning how to use a gas mask. The capitalists will never be able to fight us.

In the evening we read the papers. We often give plays. We have our own orchestra. We also have our own choir. I sing in the choir.

I joined the Komsomols yesterday.

Well, goodbye, dear mother and father. Answer me as soon as possible.

Your son,
Alex.

MINERS' CHILDREN

Willie, Jack, and Mary lived in a mining town in Kentucky. Their father was a miner.

They lived in a little, tumbledown house. The glass in the windows was broken. The wind came in though the broken window. The roof leaked.

Willie, Jack, and Mary never got enough to eat. They ate beans and black bread three times a day.

In the wintertime it was very cold at home. They did not have enough coal to light the stove. Willie had to pick up bits of dry wood and charcoal to light the stove. And Willie's father worked in a coal mine!

One day in December it was very cold. Mary had no winter coat. She could not go to school. Willie and Jack went to school alone.

"Where is Mary?" asked the teacher.

"Mary can't come because it is so very cold, and she has no winter coat," answered Jack.

"Well, why doesn't your mother buy her one?" asked the teacher.

"My mother has no money," said Willie. "Dad gets very little pay. We even haven't got enough to eat."

"Well," said the teacher, "it is because your father is lazy. If he worked harder, he would get more money for his work."

"No, Miss Smith," answered Willie, "it is because the boss is greedy. My dad works very, very hard, but it doesn't do him any good."

"Don't you dare talk back to me, Willie," cried the teacher angrily. "If you do, you will be left back."

1. Where did Mary, Jack, and Willie live?
2. Where is Kentucky?
3. Who was Mary's father?
4. In what kind of house did these children live?
5. Why didn't these children have enough to eat?
6. Why couldn't Mary go to school in the winter?
7. Why couldn't Mary's mother buy her a coat?
8. Why did their father get so very little pay?
9. What did the teacher say about it? Do you think the teacher was right?
10. What did Willie answer the teacher? Do you think Willie was right?

DANNY AND GEORGIE

Danny was a little Negro boy. He lived in Virginia. Virginia is a state in the southern part of the United States.

Danny was eight years old. His mother and father worked in a big mill.

They worked very hard. They would get up before sunrise and come home when the sun set.

In the wintertime Danny went to school. In Virginia the little Negro children are not allowed to go to school with the white children. They go to a separate school.

Danny never had any white friends. He was taught that he mustn't play with the white children. Danny was afraid of the white children.

One day Danny's mother and father came quite late. They both looked very angry.

"It is a shame the way the bosses treat us," said Danny's mother. "We work from early morning till late at night and they want to cut our wages still more."

"We'll see if they dare to cut our wages any more," cried Danny's father. "We'll go on strike, that's what we'll do: tomorrow Wilson is going to come over to our house and we will talk things over."

"Who is Wilson?" asked Danny.

"Wilson is a worker in the mill. We elected him chairman of the strike committee," answered this father.

Next day Wilson came. But he did not come alone. He came with his little son Georgie.

Georgie was about as old as Danny.

Danny stared hard at the visitors. They were white folk. It was the first time that any white folk came to see Danny's parents.

Danny looked at his father. Danny's father and the man Wilson were shaking hands as though they were old friends.

"You, children, go ahead and play while we talk things over," said Danny's mother. She gave each boy a cookie.

Danny didn't know what to do. He wanted to speak to the little white boy, but he was afraid.

The two boys looked at each other for a few seconds without saying anything. Then they smiled and shook hands.

Georgie was the first to speak.

"Our folks are going to have a big strike at the mill. The bosses want to cut their wages. All the workers, both black and white, will join together and show those bosses a thing or two," he said. "But we kids ought to do our share. Let us go tomorrow to the picket line with them."

"Sure," said Danny, "that's just what we'll do."

Danny was very happy. He was glad to have a new friend.

Early next morning the little white boy and the little Negro boy marched hand in hand with all the other black and white workers on the picket line.

Number the lines of a piece of paper from 1 to 8. Fill in the word or words that will make each of the following sentences true.

1. Danny was a (*white boy, Negro boy, girl*).
2. Danny lived in (*New York, England, Virginia*).
3. Virginia is in (*Germany, the United States, Russia*).
4. Danny's parents worked in a (*mill, cotton field, store*).
5. The bosses in the mill wanted to (*cut the workers' wages, raise their wages*).
6. Wilson was a (*white worker, Negro, boss*).
7. The workers decided to (*go on strike, go to work, do nothing*).
8. Danny and Georgie marched on the (*street, picket line, boardwalk*).

At the time that Lavrenti Beria wrote his "true Bolshevik" revision of Transcaucasian history, he was on the way up in the Soviet bureaucratic system. As a partial reward for his efforts to magnify Stalin's role in the matter, he was elevated to highest control of the secret police. In 1953, his own organization liquidated him. Once again, history had to be revised. The editors of the *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia* have requested all who possess a copy of the volume containing the laudatory biographical account of Beria's achievements to cut it out. According to "true Bolshevik" criteria of objective facts, whenever a person falls from the favor of the Kremlin masters, he ceases to exist except as an example of what should never have been in the first place.¹

Transcaucasia comprises that part of the USSR which lies between the Caucasian Mountains on the north and Turkey and Iran on the south. It consists of three Soviet federal republics: Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Tbilisi (formerly called Tiflis) is the capital of Georgia. Stalin was born in the mountain village of Gori, which was located not far from Tbilisi. Beria's role as Bolshevik historian of Transcaucasia was to make Stalin the central figure of numerous episodes which never took place in the history of Georgia and adjoining territories.

¹ Kulski, *Soviet Regime*, pp. 699-707, 743-744.

EXHIBIT No. 48

[Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1949. L. Beria, *On the History of the Bolshevik Organizations in Transcaucasia: A Lecture Delivered at a Meeting of Active Workers of the Tbilisi Party Organization, July 21-22, 1935*. Translated from the Seventh Russian Edition. Pages 7-12].

Comrades!

The study and understanding of the history of our Party is a most important means for the Marxist-Leninist education of the members of the Party and the Young Communist League.

In 1931, Comrade Stalin, in his historic article "Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism," focussed the attention of the Party organizations on the task of studying the history of our Party in a Bolshevik way.

Comrade Stalin wrote at that time of the need:

. . . to raise the questions concerning the history of Bolshevism to the proper level, to put the study of the history of our Party on scientific, Bolshevik lines, and to concentrate attention against the Trotskyite and all other falsifiers of the history of our Party by systematically tearing off their masks.*

This task requires that the teaching of the history of the Party, the study of the anti-Party groupings in the history of our Party and of their methods of struggle against the Party line should be raised to the proper level.

This task requires that Party members should know not only how the Party fought and overcame the Constitutional-Democrats (Cadets) the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks and the Anarchists, but also how the Party fought and overcame the Trotskyites, the "Democratic Centralists," the "Workers' Opposition," the Zinovievites, the Rights, the Rightist-"Leftist" freaks, etc.

To raise Bolshevik vigilance to the proper level and to arm Communists against all enemies of our Party it is necessary that every member of the Party should know the heroic experience of how the Lenin-Stalin Party was built and how it fought; it is necessary that he should know and understand not only the successes and victories of the Party but also how they were won by the Party in the struggle against all the enemies of Leninism.

In view of the victory of Socialism, the enormous cultural and political development of the broad masses of the working people and the intensification of resistance on the part of the remnants of the defeated class enemy, it is essential in every way to raise the level of Marxist-Leninist education and, first and foremost, the level of knowledge of the Bolshevik history of our Party.

The study of the history of the Party must be organized in such a way that it shall not be restricted to a bare description of events and facts in the heroic history of Bolshevism, but provide knowledge of the economic and political situation of the country, give a complete picture of the intricate and multifarious struggle of all classes in pre-revolutionary Russia and of the struggle of the oppressed nations for national liberation under the leadership of the working class and its Bolshevik Party.

The history of the Party must be set forth in such a way as to give the Marxist explanation of the history of our Party's fight against anti-Bolshevik trends and factions within the Party and the working

*J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Eng. ed., Moscow 1947, p. 389.
References are to Russian editions unless otherwise stated.

class, to demonstrate the supreme importance in principle of this struggle for Leninism.

What we need now is that the members of the Party and the Young Communist League should more seriously and deeply study the history of Bolshevism, the history of the Party's struggle against all sorts of anti-Leninist deviations and trends, the concrete situation in which the Party of Lenin and Stalin worked.

The history of our Party must be studied in such a way as will ensure the assimilation of the heroic experience of the Bolsheviks' struggle against the numerous enemies of Leninism and arm the members of the Party and the Young Communist League for the fight against the enemies of the Party, against the survivals of the ideas and views of all the defeated counter-revolutionary, anti-Party groups.

In recent years the Party organizations in Transcaucasia have done considerable work in the propagation and study of the history of the Party. But our achievements in this field are obviously inadequate. *We are lagging behind especially in the Bolshevik analysis and study of the Bolshevik organizations in Transcaucasia and Georgia, in the study of the struggle of the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks for the cause of Lenin and Stalin.*

The Bolsheviks of Transcaucasia have acquired enormous historical experience in the struggle to build the Leninist Party, a struggle which went on for decades under the direct guidance of the leader of our Party, Comrade Stalin.

The whole history of the Transcaucasian Bolshevik organizations and the entire revolutionary movement in Transcaucasia and in Georgia from its inception, have been inseparably associated with the work and name of Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

The question of analyzing and studying the history of the communist organizations in Transcaucasia and in Georgia received the special attention of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Georgia and the Seventh Congress of the communist organizations of Transcaucasia.

At these congresses the mistakes and distortions committed in their works by some communist historians were severely criticized.

In its decisions, the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Georgia gave the following instruction:

Noting the distortions of the history of the Party and the revolutionary movement in Georgia and Transcaucasia occurring in the works of a number of communist historians, the Congress deems it necessary still further to concentrate the attention of all Party organizations of Georgia against attempts to falsify the history of Bolshevism.

After the Congress our organizations took up the work of collecting and analyzing material on the history of the Bolshevik organizations and the revolutionary movement of Transcaucasia in a better way than before.

However, *very little has been done as yet*; a great deal of data and numerous documents have not yet been collected.

To this day the Tbilisi branch of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. (B.) has failed to issue a collection of documents and data on the history of the Party organizations and the revolutionary movement in Transcaucasia, nor has it published a single original work on this subject.

It must be admitted that the history of the Party organizations in Transcaucasia and in Georgia is still far from having been fully investigated and adequately treated.

As for the way in which the struggle of the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks is treated in the writings of Ph. Makharadze (*The History of the Working-Class Movement in Georgia, The Year 1905 in Transcaucasia, The Thirtieth Anniversary of the Tiflis Organization, Outlines of the Revolutionary Movement in Transcaucasia*, and others), it must be said that they contain a number of errors in matters of principle and history; they distort historical facts and events and present a number of points in the history of the Party *dishonestly*.

So far Comrade Makharadze has not taken the trouble to revise his works and correct the mistakes and distortions they contain.

A. Yenukidze and M. Orakhelashvili, since exposed as enemies of the people, smuggled deliberate distortion and falsification of the history of the Transcaucasian organization into their books.

Members of the Party and of the Y. C. L., nonparty workers and collective farmers are showing tremendous interest in the study of the history of the Bolshevik organizations and of the revolutionary movement in Transcaucasia.

The Party organizations are pressing us for historical literature that will correctly present the history of our Party organizations.

Since the Seventh Congress of the Communist Organizations in Transcaucasia and the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Georgia, we have already collected a quantity of data and documents on the history of our Party organizations.

The Transcaucasian Territorial Committee of the C. P. S. U. (B.) and the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Georgia have commissioned me to clarify *several of the questions* (facts and events) concerning the history of the Bolshevik organizations of Transcaucasia and Georgia on the basis of these data and documents.

Stakhanovism is, according to the most official Soviet sources, one of the great Russian inventions of modern time.¹ In reality, it constitutes nothing more than the rediscovery of a labor practice which capitalist management had long ago developed to a high degree of efficiency. On August 31, 1935, Alexei Stakhanov, a coal miner in the Donets region, cut 102 tons of coal in 6 hours, thereby overfulfilling his quota by 14 times.² This extraordinary feat was made possible when the local industrial commissars permitted Stakhanov to work according to well-established techniques of division of labor. Instead of each worker toiling as a jack of all trades, specialization of function was introduced. Workers were now formed into teams on which the several members performed one specific task. In Stakhanov's case, the leader of the team was given credit for the entire accomplishment. For some time, however, Soviet industrial commissars concealed this important fact from the public.

If the Bolshevik leaders had been well informed on advanced production techniques, division of labor would have been adopted at the very outset of the Soviet experiment. Unlike western leaders of management and labor, the Bolshevik authorities were men without experience in matters of industrial production. Furthermore, they completely distrusted those Russian bourgeois experts who could have solved the problem years earlier. Actually, Stalin had as early as the spring of 1934 encouraged workers to overfulfill their production quotas, but without giving them specific directions as to how this could be accomplished.³

¹ Arakelian, *Industrial Management in the U. S. S. R.*, pp. 76-79.

² *History of CPSU(B)*, pp. 338-340.

³ Timasheff, *Great Retreat*, pp. 135-140.

On their side, members of the Russian labor force were by no means seriously inclined to try to excel their fellow workers. They remembered the tragic fate of those Nepmen and kulaks who had, during the first retreat from Socialist competition (1921-28), cooperated with the Bolshevik request for a show of private initiative. However, when Stakhanov together with his fellow employees and their Communist boss' risked the possibility of subsequent purging in order to increase production, Stalin recognized the need of rewarding those people who were effectively preparing the Soviet Union to meet the threat of Nazi aggression.

Overnight, Stakhanov was declared to be a national hero and all Soviet workers were advised to imitate his example.⁴ The very old capitalist technique of incentive pay was introduced with all the fullness of Bolshevik rigor. Stakhanovite achievements were now exploited as justification of higher production quotas for all Soviet labor. The net result was a great increase of hardship for the average worker who did not enjoy the very special labor conditions under which Stakhanov had accomplished his superior task. A reading of official Soviet documents would leave the impression that Stakhanov immediately became the welcomed model of all Soviet workers. Actually, the very opposite was true. In the eyes of ordinary Russians, Stakhanov was regarded chiefly as a symbol of increased Bolshevik tyranny. For a long time to come, intense efforts were made by rank-and-file workers to sabotage what they regarded as another Bolshevik scheme to make life even more difficult.⁵

Since 1940, Soviet authorities have imposed a virtual blackout of statistics dealing with labor productivity. It seems certain, however, that Russian labor productivity still lags far behind that of the United States.⁶

EXHIBIT No. 49

[*The Communist International*, December 20, 1935. Pp. 1543-1545]

THE STAKHANOV MOVEMENT

By J. Stalin

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STAKHANOV MOVEMENT

So much has been said here at this Conference about the Stakhanovites, and said so well, that there is in fact very little left for me to say. But since I have been summoned to the platform, I will have to say a few words.

The Stakhanov movement cannot be regarded as an ordinary movement of working men and women. The Stakhanov movement is a movement of working men and women which will go down in the history of our socialist construction as one of its most glorious pages.

Wherein lies the significance of the Stakhanov movement?

Primarily, in the fact that it is the expression of a new wave of socialist competition, a new and higher stage of socialist competition. Why new, and why higher? Because the Stakhanov movement, as an expression of socialist competition, contrasts favorably with the old stage of socialist competition. In the past, about three years ago, in the period of the first stage of socialist competition, socialist competition was not necessarily connected with new technique. At that time, in fact, we had hardly any new technique. The present stage of socialist competition, the Stakhanov movement, on the other hand, is necessarily connected with new technique. The

⁴ Schwarz, *Labor in the Soviet Union*, pp. 193-199. Walter Citrine, *I Search for Truth in Russia*, New York, Dutton, 1937. At about the very time of Stalin's speech, Citrine, General Secretary of the British Trade Unions Congress, was taking a guided tour of the U. S. S. R. In spite of all sorts of police restrictions, he was able to compile a devastating file of information on piecework, incentive pay and other undesirable working conditions in the Soviet Union.

⁵ Gordon, *Workers*, pp. 406-412.

⁶ *Life*, September 15, 1955, pp. 164-171; *Newsweek*, September 5, 1955, p. 17; *U. S. News & World Report*, September 2, 1955, pp. 28-31, 80-89. Mikhail V. Condoide, *The Soviet Financial System*, Columbus, Ohio State University, Bureau of Business Research, 1951, pp. viii, 157-158.

Stakhanov movement would be inconceivable without a new and higher technique. We have before us people like Comrades Stakhanov, Busygin, Smetanin, Krivonoss, Pronin, the Vinogradovas and many others—new people, working men and women, who have completely mastered the technique of their jobs, have harnessed it and driven ahead. There were no such people, or hardly any such people, three years ago. These are new people, people of a special type.

Further, the Stakhanov movement is a movement of working men and women, which makes it its aim to surpass the present standards of output, to surpass the existing designed capacities, to surpass the existing production plans and estimates. To surpass them—because these standards have already become antiquated for our day, for our new people. This movement is breaking down the old views on technique, it is shattering the old standards of output, the old designed capacities and the old productions plans, and is demanding the creation of new and higher standards of output, designed capacities and production plans. It is destined to produce a revolution in our industry. That is why the Stakhanov movement is at bottom profoundly revolutionary.

It has already been said here that the Stakhanov movement, as an expression of new and higher standards of output, is a model of that high productivity of labor which socialism alone can give and which capitalism cannot give. That is absolutely true. Why was it that capitalism smashed and defeated feudalism? Because it created higher standards of productivity of labor, it enabled society to procure an incomparably greater quantity of products than was the case under the feudal system. Because it made society richer. Why is it that socialism can, should, and certainly will defeat the capitalist system of economy? Because it can furnish higher models of labor, a higher productivity of labor than the capitalist system of economy. Because it can give society more products and can make society richer than the capitalist system of economy can.

Some think that socialism can be consolidated by a certain material equalization of people based on a poor man's standard of living. That is not true. That is a petty-bourgeois idea of socialism. In reality, socialism can succeed only on the basis of a high productivity of labor, higher than under capitalism, on the basis of an abundance of products and of articles of consumption of all kinds, on the basis of a prosperous and cultured life for all members of society. But in order that socialism may achieve this aim and make our Soviet society the most prosperous, the country must have a productivity of labor which surpasses the productivity of labor of the foremost capitalist countries. Without this there can be no question of an abundance of products and of articles of consumption of all kinds. The significance of the Stakhanov movement lies in the fact that it is a movement which is smashing the old standards of output because they are inadequate, which in a number of cases is surpassing the productivity of labor of the foremost capitalist countries, and is thus creating the practical possibility of further consolidating socialism in our country, the possibility of converting our country into the most prosperous of all countries.

But this does not exhaust the significance of the Stakhanov movement. Its significance also consists in the fact that it is preparing the conditions for the transition from socialism to communism.

The principle of socialism is that in a socialist society each works according to his ability and receives articles of consumption, not according to his needs, but according to the work he performs for society. This means that the cultural and technical level of the working class is still not a high one, that the distinction between mental and manual labor persists, that the productivity of labor is still not high enough to ensure an abundance of articles of consumption, and, as a result, society is obliged to distribute articles of consumption, not in accordance with the needs of the members of society, but in accordance with the work they perform for society.

Communism represents a higher stage of development. The principle of communism is that in a communist society each works according to his abilities and receives articles of consumption, not according to the work he performs, but according to his needs as a culturally developed individual. This means that the cultural and technical level of the working class has become high enough to undermine the basis of the distinction between mental labor and manual labor; that the distinction between mental labor and manual labor has already disappeared, while productivity of labor has reached such a high level that it is able to ensure an absolute abundance of articles of consumption, and as a result society is able to distribute these articles according to the needs of its members.

Some think that the elimination of the distinction between mental labor and manual labor can be achieved by a certain cultural and technical equalization of mental and manual workers by lowering the cultural and technical level of engineers and technicians, of mental workers to the level of average skilled workers. That is absolutely untrue. Only petty-bourgeois chatterboxes can conceive communism in this way. In reality, the elimination of the distinction between mental labor and manual labor can be achieved only by raising the cultural and technical level of the working class to the level of engineers and technical workers. It would be absurd to think that this is unfeasible. It is entirely feasible under the Soviet system, where the productive forces of the country are freed from the fetters of capitalism, where labor is freed from the yoke of exploitation, where the working class is in power, and where the younger generation of the working class has every opportunity of obtaining an adequate technical education. There is no reason to doubt that only such a rise in the cultural and technical level of the working class can undermine the basis of the distinction between mental labor and manual labor, that it alone can ensure the high level of productivity of labor and the abundance of articles of consumption which are necessary in order to begin the transition from socialism to communism.

On January 15, 1936, Mikhail N. Tukhachevsky, Marshal of the Soviet Union and Assistant People's Commissar of Defense, presented the following report to the Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R. Eighteen months later, he was shot, along with seven other leading Russian generals, for alleged conspiracy with the Nazis.¹ The absurdity of this charge may be partially judged

¹ Barmine, *One Who Survived*, pp. 5-6. W. G. Krivitsky, *In Stalin's Secret Service*, New York, Harper, 1939, Chapter VII: Why Stalin Shot His Generals. Barmine served as a brigadier general in the Red Army and as a Soviet diplomat. Today he is employed by the Voice of America. Krivitsky was director of the Soviet War Industries Institute until his transfer to the Office of Chief of Soviet Intelligence in Western Europe. In February 1941, he was found dead in a Washington, D. C., hotel room, apparently a victim of the Soviet secret police (NKVD) with which he had broken in 1937. While two earlier attempts made in France had failed, the third time in Washington proved fatal: Hugo Dewar, *Assassins at Large*, London, Wingate, 1951, pp. 85-96.

from the fact that 2 of the 8 generals were Jews. Comrade Grinko, to whom Tukhachevsky refers in his first sentence, was executed in 1938 (this section, exhibit No. 34).

Tukhachevsky was perhaps the most original military thinker ever to serve the Soviet regime.² Being a soldier, he placed greater reliance upon military invasion than upon internal insurrection. It was his misfortune that Stalin favored much less costly techniques of paralyzing the class enemies' will to resist. The latter preferred to fight through the "combat party" within a capitalist country rather than to risk invading it with a combat team.³ With the combat party working to neutralize internal resistance and with Stalin proposing peaceful coexistence and trade agreements from without, the Soviet regime could often spare itself the heavy burdens of military aggression.

Another reason why Tukhachevsky incurred the disfavor of Stalin was his opposition to the latter's reckless action in the 1920 Polish campaign.⁴ Voroshilov and Budenny, on the other hand, went along with Stalin, who was at the time only a military political commissar.⁵ Today, both are alive and hold high offices in the Soviet administration.

Of the fact that Tukhachevsky and other Russian generals had dealings with the Nazis, there can be little doubt.⁶ Stalin himself ordered them to investigate the possibility of a Nazi-Soviet alliance. When the latter did not promptly materialize, the generals had to go. Stalin saw no reason to give them an opportunity to talk out of turn.

EXHIBIT NO. 50

[New York, International Publishers, 1936. M. N. Tukhachevsky, *Sentinel of Peace*. Pp. 3-4, 13-14]

Comrades, the appropriations for military purposes from the consolidated state budget mentioned by Comrade Grinko, of course, constitute no small sum in absolute figures. But it must be borne in mind, first, that the proportion of our military expenditures to the total budget is far less than is the case in the majority of countries. I will not mention those countries which are particularly zealous in their preparations for aggressive war. Second, it must also be borne in mind that from the standpoint of the tasks involved in the practical organization of our defense, this figure is actually a modest and minimal one:

1. THE POSITION IN THE EAST AND WEST

Comrade Molotov pointed out in his report that the Japanese militarists are creeping towards our frontiers, gradually preparing for military action. Comrade Molotov stated that there was information of a military agreement being concluded between Japan and Germany and of a certain connection of Poland with this agreement. Comrade Molotov added:

The fascist rulers of Germany sometimes endeavor to divert the attention of naive people from their plans of conquest with regard to the Soviet Union by referring to the absence of common frontiers between Germany and the U. S. S. R. But we know, on the other hand, that Germany, encouraged by certain foreign powers, is feverishly preparing to occupy a dominant position in the Baltic and has established special relations with Poland, which has fairly extensive common frontiers with the Soviet Union.

² Possony, *Century of Conflict*, pp. 110-117.

³ Philip Selznick, *The Organizational Weapon: A Study of Bolshevik Strategy and Tactics*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1952, Chapter I: The Combat Party. One of the major contributions of Selznick's work is his rejection of the concept of a communist party as a purely political organization and his analysis of the same as a combat party bearing close resemblance to a military combat team.

⁴ Barime, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

⁵ Krivitsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-221.

⁶ Gustav Hilger and Alfred G. Meyer, *The Incompatible Allies: German-Soviet Relations, 1918-41*, New York, Macmillan, 1953, pp. 270-271. Hilger held important German diplomatic posts in the U. S. S. R. from 1918 until the outbreak of the war on June 22, 1941.

I must remind you of the strategical views of the German General Staff, which is now being restored. At the celebrations in honor of the opening of the Military Academy of the German General Staff the inviolability was proclaimed of the strategical principles of the old German General Staff, from Scharnhorst to Count von Schlieffen. As you know, when Schlieffen was working on the preparations for the offensive against France, he in fact prepared to strike his main blow not where Germany had common frontiers with France, but precisely where Germany had no common frontiers with France. On the outbreak of the war the German army passed through the territory of Belgium, violating the latter's neutrality, and invaded France. It goes without saying that under present conditions, when between Germany and us lie certain states which have special relations with the Germans, the German army, if it really wants to, can find means of invading our territory. How it will end is another question, but of this allow me to speak a little later.

* * * * *

6. Improved cultural and living conditions

Considerable expenditures are necessitated by the improvement of the cultural and living conditions of the Red Army. The general rise in the cultural level and the improvement in the conditions of life of the country must, of course, be reflected first and foremost in an improvement in the living conditions of the Red Army.

It should be said that the tsarist barracks we inherited are of a very unattractive kind. Vast sums will still have to be spent on installing water supply, heat, light, etc. We are also building new, modern cantonments, provided with clubs, libraries, dining rooms, and so forth.

We have in the Red Army today about 1,000 clubs alone. We have today a large number of Red Army Houses, and 26 more are in course of construction. Red Army theatres are being built. The Red Army has more than 2,000 libraries with over 12,000,000 books, not counting tens of millions of pamphlets. All these measures are extremely costly. I would add that in order to improve the living conditions of the commanding ranks we are in 1936 building a large number of dwelling houses, with more than 47,000 rooms.

There has been an increase of pay in the Red Army. In 1936 the payroll will increase by 57 per cent.

Comrades, the new recruits that are now called up for the Red Army are on a higher cultural level than was formerly the case. True, the present level of culture still does not satisfy us by a long way. We are demanding far more, and we think that the quality of the recruits, as regards education and culture, will improve from year to year. But even today the young people we receive are more cultured and educated, including foremost Stakhanovites among their number, and they compel our commanders, our political workers, our Party organizations to show far more concern, to pay far more attention to the improvement of their military training.

There can be no doubt that the spirit of organization and discipline of the young men is enhanced when they come into the Red Army, and, as you know, our spirit of discipline is based on the development of a conscientious, but strict and organized discipline. And these young men emerge even better organized—Stakhanovites—and

transplant the knowledge and habits they acquired in the Red Army to the field of production.

But I must say that we in the army are not inclined to lose our heads over our successes, and there is not a year, not a minute, when we might be disposed to rest content with our achievements. Thanks to this, we are improving our work from year to year. Noting our shortcomings, we set about removing them in an organized way, and we are directing our work so as to make still further progress. This work of self-criticism is a guarantee that the military training of the Red Army will achieve a level unattainable by any other state.

I hope, comrades, that this session will endorse the military expenditures announced by Comrade Grinko and, for its part, the Red Army, its entire personnel, and all its Party and non-Party Bolsheviks, will devote all their energies, all their enthusiasm to mastering the complex art of modern fighting and operation, and, headed by our Marshal, Comrade Voroshilov, and guided by our Party and by our leader, Comrade Stalin, should the enemy attack our frontier, they will answer by a blow that will be at once crushing and victorious.

There is a remarkable similarity between certain remarks of Stalin to Roy Howard and contemporary Soviet propaganda. In 1936, the U. S. S. R. was making much of collective security and peaceful coexistence.¹ At the same time, Stalin and other Bolshevik propagandists callously accused the capitalist nations of warlike intentions. Here he referred to the fears of the non-Communist nations that the U. S. S. R. was promoting Marxist revolutions as a tragic-comic misunderstanding. According to Stalin, such revolutions would occur by spontaneous combustion. He also made it clear that he would never tolerate the presence of a single subversive in his country. If the United States preferred to be less security minded, that was its concern.

EXHIBIT No. 51

[*The Communist*, April 1936. Pp. 337, 339-343.]

ROY HOWARD'S INTERVIEW WITH JOSEPH STALIN

[We are publishing the text, in full, of the interview that Roy Howard, Chairman of the Board of the Scripps-Howard publications, had with Comrade Stalin, because of its tremendous world political importance. This document is a challenge which living socialism flings at decaying capitalism.]

It is significant that in releasing his version of the interview to the press, Mr. Howard completely omitted all reference to the issue of Soviet democracy—an "oversight" in regard to a point which stabs at the hollow pretensions to democracy on the part of capitalist countries, and which reveals that the Soviet Union alone enjoys genuine, proletarian democracy. The omission is especially significant in that the full text as here published shows that the interviewer did pose questions to Comrade Stalin in regard to individual freedom, the new Soviet Constitution, and Soviet democracy, and that Comrade Stalin's replies constitute a masterly, compelling section of the interview.—EDITORS.]

* * * * *

HOWARD: What situation or condition, in your opinion, furnishes the chief war menace today?

STALIN: Capitalism.

HOWARD: In which specific manifestation of capitalism?

STALIN: In its imperialistic, annexationist manifestations.

¹ Barghoorn, *Soviet Image*, pp. 7-18. Barghoorn's work contains an excellent analysis of the communist doctrine of capitalist encirclement through the years.

You remember how the first world war broke out. It broke out as a result of the desire to redivide the world.

Today the background is the same. There are capitalist states which consider themselves cheated, during previous redivisions of spheres of influence, territories, sources of raw materials, markets, etc., and which would again desire to redivide them to their own advantage.

Capitalism in its imperialistic stage is a system which regards war as a legitimate method for solution of international disputes—a method which is legitimate in fact if not legally so.

HOWARD: May there not be an element of danger in the genuine fear existing in what you term capitalistic countries, of intent on the part of the Soviet Union to force its political theories on other nations?

STALIN: There is no justification for such fears. If you think that the people of the Soviet Union have any desire themselves, and, moreover, by force, to alter the face of surrounding states, then you are badly mistaken.

The people of the Soviet Union naturally desire that the face of surrounding states should change, but this is the business of surrounding states themselves. I fail to see what dangers surrounding states can see in the ideas of the Soviet people if these states are really firmly seated in their saddles.

HOWARD: You appreciate, no doubt, Mr. Stalin, that much of the world had long entertained a different impression.

STALIN: This a product of misunderstanding.

HOWARD: A tragic misunderstanding?

STALIN: No, comic. Or perhaps tragic-comic.

You see, we Marxists believe that revolution will occur in other countries, as well. But it will occur at a time when it will be considered possible or necessary by revolutionaries of those countries. Exported revolution is nonsense. Each country, if it so desires, will make its own revolution. And if no such desire exists, no revolution will occur.

For instance, our country wanted to effect a revolution, and did effect it, and now we are building a new classless society. But to assert that we desire to bring about revolution in other countries, by interfering with their lives, is to speak of something which does not exist and which we never preach.

HOWARD: At the time of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U. S. S. R. and U. S. A., President Roosevelt and Litvinov exchanged identical notes concerning the question of propaganda. Paragraph four of Litvinov's letter to President Roosevelt says that the Soviet government undertakes "not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—which has as an aim the overthrow or preparation for the overthrow of, or bringing about by force, of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions." Why, Mr. Stalin, did Litvinov sign this letter in compliance with the terms of paragraph four if it is incompatible with the interests of the Soviet Union or beyond its control?

STALIN: Execution of the obligation of the paragraph which you quoted is within our control.

We have been carrying out and will carry out these obligations. According to our constitution, political emigres have the right to

reside on our territory. We accord them the right of asylum, the same as the United States accords the right of asylum to political emigres.

It is entirely obvious that when Litvinov signed this letter, he assumed that obligations contained in it have a reciprocal character.

Do you, Mr. Howard, regard it as conflicting with the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreement if there are Russian whiteguard emigres in U. S. territory conducting propaganda against the Soviets and in favor of capitalism and receiving material assistance from American citizens and sometimes representing terroristic groups?

Obviously these emigres enjoy the right of asylum existing also in the U. S. So far as we are concerned we would never tolerate a single terrorist in our territory regardless against whom he would contemplate his crimes. Apparently the right of asylum receives broader interpretation in the U. S. A. than in our country.

Well, we don't complain. Perhaps you would object that we sympathize with those political emigres arriving in our territory. But are there no American citizens sympathizing with whiteguard emigres who conduct propaganda in favor of capitalism, against the Soviets? Then what does the point involve? The point is not to assist these persons, not to finance their activities. The point is that officials of both countries should not interfere in the internal affairs of the other country.

Our officials are honestly carrying out this obligation. If any one of them is guilty, let us be informed. If things should go too far and deportation of all whiteguard emigres from the United States were demanded, this would be an attempt against the right of asylum promulgated in both the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R.

Here we must recognize a certain reasonable limit for claims and counter-claims. Litvinov signed his letter not in private capacity but as representative of the state, just as did President Roosevelt. Their agreement represents an agreement between two states. Signing this agreement both Litvinov and President Roosevelt as the representatives of two states have in mind the activities of the agents of those states who should not and will not interfere in each other's internal affairs.

The right of asylum promulgated by both countries could not be affected by this agreement. Within this framework the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreement should be interpreted as an agreement between representatives of two states.

HOWARD: Did not Browder and Darcy, American Communists, appearing before the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in Moscow last summer appeal for the overthrow by force of the American government?

STALIN: I admit that I do not recall the speeches of Comrades Browder and Darcy. I do not even recall of what they spoke. It is possible that they said something of this nature. But it was not the Soviet people who created the American Communist Party. It was created by Americans. It legally exists in the U. S. A., it nominates its candidates in the elections, including Presidential elections.

If Comrades Browder and Darcy once made a speech in Moscow, then at home, in the U. S. A., they made similar and doubtlessly even more determined speeches, hundreds of times.

American Communists have the opportunity to preach freely their ideas. It would be absolutely wrong to hold the Soviet government responsible for activities of the American Communists.

HOWARD: But in this instance, is it not a fact that their activities took place on Soviet soil contrary to the terms of paragraph 4 of the agreement between Roosevelt and Litvinov?

STALIN: In what do the activities of the Communist Parties consist? In what ways can they manifest themselves?

These activities usually consist in the organization of working masses, in organizing meetings, demonstrations, strikes, etc. It is absolutely clear that American Communists cannot perform this in Soviet territory. The American workers are not in the U. S. S. R.

HOWARD: I take it that the gist of your thought then is that an interpretation can be made which will safeguard and continue good relations between our countries?

STALIN: Yes, absolutely.

HOWARD: Admittedly communism has not been achieved in Russia. State socialism has been built. Have not fascism in Italy and National Socialism in Germany claimed that they have attained similar results? Have not both been achieved at the price of privation and personal liberty sacrificed for the good of the state?

STALIN: The term "state socialism" is not precise. Under this term many understand an order under which a certain part of the wealth, sometimes a quite considerable part, passes into state ownership or under its control while in the great majority of cases the ownership of plants, factories, and land remains in private hands.

Many understand "state socialism" in this way. Sometimes a system is concealed behind this term in which the capitalist state, in the interests of preparation for the conduct of war, takes upon itself the maintenance of a certain number of private enterprises.

The society which we have built can in no way be termed "state socialism."

Our Soviet society is socialist because private ownership of factories, plants, land, banks, and means of transportation has been abolished in our country and replaced by public ownership. The social organization which we have created can be termed a Soviet, socialist organization which has not yet been quite completed, but is in its root a socialist organization of society. The foundation of this society is public ownership: state ownership, namely, ownership by the entire people as well as cooperative-collective farm property.

Neither Italian fascism nor German national "socialism" have anything in common with such a society, primarily because private ownership of factories, plants, lands, banks, means of transportation, etc., remain untouched there, and, therefore, capitalism in Germany and Italy remains in full force.

Yes, you are right that we have not yet built a communist society. It is not so easy to build such a society.

The difference between a socialist and communist society is probably known to you. A certain inequality in regard to property still exists in a socialist society. But in a socialist society there is no unemployment, no exploitation, no oppression of nationalities. In a socialist society, everybody is obliged to work even though he is remunerated for his labor and not yet according to his needs, but according to the quantity and quality of the labor expended.

Therefore, wages still exist, and unequally differentiated wages at that. Only when we succeed in creating such an order under which people receive for their labor from the society not according to the quantity and quality of labor, but according to their needs, will it be possible to say that we have built up a communist society.

You say that in order to build our socialist society we sacrifice personal liberty and suffer privations. In your question appears the notion that socialist society negates personal liberty.

This is incorrect. Of course, in order to build something new, one has to economize, accumulate means, temporarily limit one's requirements, borrow from others. If you want to build a new house, you save money temporarily and limit your requirements, otherwise you might not build your house.

This is all the more when the upbuilding of a whole new human society is concerned. It was necessary, temporarily, to limit certain requirements, accumulate necessary means, strain forces. We acted precisely in this way and built a socialist society.

But we built this society not for the curbing of personal liberty, but in order that human personalities should really feel free. We built it for the sake of real personal liberty, liberty without quotation marks.

It is difficult for me to imagine what "personal liberty" the unemployed can have who go hungry and cannot find utilization of their labor.

Real liberty exists only there where exploitation has been annihilated, where no oppression of some peoples by others exists, where there is no unemployment and pauperism, where a person does not tremble because tomorrow he may lose his job, home, and bread. Only in such a society is real, and not illusory, personal and every other liberty possible.

Hitler's encouragement of large families was by no means the least important reason for the Bolshevik change of attitude toward unrestricted abortions. In 1934, abortions in the city of Moscow exceeded births by 3 to 1 (this section, exhibits No. 23 and 24). Despite some Government action the 1935 ratio remained 2 to 1. As a result, severe penalties were introduced in June 1936. For an entire month previous to the adoption of the antiabortion decree, extensive propaganda against bourgeois "free love" and in favor of "true Bolshevik" stable family life prepared the Russian people for the officially reversed Government position. Children now had to learn to obey even old-fashioned and anti-Communist parents. Despite their lack of correct ideology, the latter could contribute much to the stable social order which the U. S. S. R. needed in order to advance Socialist construction and to prepare for Nazi aggression.

The text of the June 27, 1936, decree appeared in the *Moscow Daily News*. The latter had begun publication on October 5, 1930, with Anna Louise Strong as managing editor. Translations of the two *Pravda* articles are reprinted from Rudolf Schlesinger, *Changing Attitudes in Soviet Russia*.¹ Dr. Schlesinger has performed a valuable service in compiling translations of Bolshevik articles and decrees on family life from 1915 to 1946. The merit of this collection cannot be vitiated by his personal opinions, expressed in this and other books, to the effect that Marxism is progressive and that the Bolshevik leaders introduced elementary democratic reforms.²

¹ Rudolf Schlesinger, *Changing Attitudes in Soviet Russia: The Family in the U. S. S. R.*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949, pp. 251-254, 266-269.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 4. Rudolf Schlesinger, *The Spirit of Post-War Russia*, London, Dennis Dobson, 1947, pp. 176, 185.

EXHIBIT No. 52

[*Pravda*, May 28, 1936. Discussion of the Law on Abolition of Legal Abortion, etc.]

The published draft of the law prohibiting abortion and providing material assistance to mothers has provoked a lively reaction throughout the country. It is being heatedly discussed by tens of millions of people and there is no doubt that it will serve as a further strengthening of the Soviet family. Parents' responsibility for the education of their children will be increased and a blow will be dealt at the lighthearted, negligent attitude towards marriage.

When we speak of strengthening the Soviet family, we are speaking precisely of the struggle against the survivals of a bourgeois attitude towards marriage, women and children. So-called "free love" and all disorderly sex life are bourgeois through and through, and have nothing to do with either socialist principles or the ethics and standards of conduct of the Soviet citizen. Socialist doctrine shows this, and it is proved by life itself.

The *élite* of our country, the best of the Soviet youth, are as a rule also excellent family men who dearly love their children. And *vice versa*: the man who does not take marriage seriously, and abandons his children to the whims of fate, is usually also a bad worker and a poor member of society.

Fatherhood and motherhood have long been virtues in this country. This can be seen at the first glance, without searching enquiry. Go through the parks and streets of Moscow or of any other town in the Soviet Union on a holiday, and you will see not a few young men walking with pink-cheeked, well-fed babies in their arms.

The rise in the standard of living has brought the joy of parenthood within the reach of all adults. The Soviet land cannot complain of too low a birth-rate. The birth-rate is rising steadily, and the mortality rate is as steadily going down.

The great Utopians, More, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Cabet, who dreamed of a happy new society invariably devoted much space in their utopias to the children. Observing the crimes and sordidness of capitalism which was strangling the working women and depriving the children of their childhood and the adults of the joy of parenthood, the Utopians opposed this poor and gloomy reality with a beautiful dream of a life in which the children were treated with the utmost love and the grownups regained the delight of being parents. This love of children and this joy of parenthood have been given to men by the Soviet reality. Not on an imaginary isle of Utopia, but in this real and great country of ours the working people have found the bliss of being free and living a full life.

More than once the enemies of the people suggested to us the foul and poisonous idea of liquidating the family and disrupting marriage. The bourgeoisie has tried to use it as a weapon in the struggle against socialist progress. It is enough to recall with what persistence they spread the slander about the "nationalization of women." And during the great move to collectivize the villages, the *kulaks* again broadcast this favourite bourgeois allegation. The *kulaks* used it to scare the peasants: "In the collective farms you will all sleep under the same 30-yard-wide blanket."

The bourgeois who establishes his family order with the aid of a knout, the bourgeois for whom his own family is but a thin veneer

covering prostitution and sexual debauchery, naturally thought that everyone would fall for his lie about "free love" in the country where the exploitation of man by man has been abolished and women have been liberated. But he failed. This weapon, too, was shattered by the stubborn facts of Soviet reality.

It is impossible even to compare the present state of the family with that which obtained before the Soviet régime—so great has been the improvement towards greater stability and, above all, greater humanity and goodness. The single fact that millions of women have become economically independent and are no longer at the mercy of men's whims, speaks volumes. Compare, for instance, the modern woman collective farmer who sometimes earns more than her husband, with the pre-revolutionary peasant woman who completely depended on her husband and was a slave in the household. Has not this fundamentally altered family relations, has it not rationalized and strengthened the family? The very motives for setting up a family, for getting married, have changed for the better, have been cleansed of atavistic and barbaric elements. Marriage has ceased to be a matter of sell-and-buy. Nowadays a girl from a collective farm is not given away (or should we say "sold away"?) by her father, for she is now her own mistress, and no one can give her away. She will marry the man she loves.

About the position of peasant women in the past Comrade Stalin spoke wonderfully at the conference of the "Pyatisotnitsi": "Indeed, just consider what women were in the past. As long as a woman was unmarried, she was looked upon, so to speak, as the lowest of the toilers. She worked for her father, slaved ceaselessly, and still her father would tell her reprovingly that he was feeding her. After she was married, she would work for her husband, she would do all the work he forced her to, and still her husband would reproach her with: 'I am feeding you.' In the village the woman was the lowest of the toilers."

Such was the past. There is no doubt that the free woman of our time values and loves her family differently. The collective farm system, by making peasant women independent, has strengthened the family in the rural areas in every way. The same can be seen in the towns, where the raising of the cultural level and of the workers' standard of living inevitably leads to a stabilization and regularization of family relations.

There is no point in denying that in towns and villages there are still men and women whose attitude towards family and children is superficial and devil-may-care. Marriage and divorce are, of course, private affairs—but the State cannot allow anyone to mock at women or to abandon his children to the mercy of fate. The irresponsible profligate who gets married five times a year cannot enjoy the respect of Soviet youth. Nor can a girl who flutters from one marriage into the next with the swiftness of a butterfly enjoy respect. Men and women of this sort merely deserve social contempt. Marriage is a serious, responsible business and one that must not be approached lightheartedly.

The toilers of our land have paid with their blood for the right to a life of joy, and a life of joy implies the right to have one's own family and healthy, happy children. Millions of workers beyond the frontiers of our land are still deprived of this joy, for there unem-

ployment, hunger and helpless poverty are rampant. Old maids and elderly bachelors, a rare thing in our country, are frequent in the West, and that is no accident.

We alone have all the conditions under which a working woman can fulfil her duties as a citizen and as a mother responsible for the birth and early upbringing of her children.

A woman without children merits our pity, for she does not know the full joy of life. Our Soviet women, full-blooded citizens of the freest country in the world, have been given the bliss of motherhood. We must safeguard our family and raise and rear healthy Soviet heroes!

The project, which is imbued with deep respect and consideration for family, motherhood and children, also raises fatherhood to a high, historic standing. In the Soviet land, "father" is a respected calling. It does not mean "master" in the old sense of the word. It designates a Soviet citizen, the builder of a new life, the raiser of a new generation.

The bourgeois who has survived in Soviet society and who regards marriage as a legal form of the prostitution which the Soviet land has liquidated, is unworthy of the name of a Soviet father, of a Soviet citizen. He wants neither children nor a wife-companion. In the casual manner of a "fellow-traveller" he looks for a prostitute, and if things do not go smoothly, he easily abandons her, drives her to abortion, to a crime. Don Juanism is an evil by-product of serfdom, and it has survived into the present day, even in Soviet life.

Comrade Gurov, a worker in the ball-bearing factory, rightly declared: "A father who evades his paternal duties is a destroyer of the family."

Social education is being widely developed in this country. The State is coming to the aid of the family. But the State in no wise relieves the mother or the father of their care of the children. Under Soviet conditions the father is the social educator. He has to prepare good Soviet citizens: that is his duty, that is also his pride—and the Soviet land has heard many proud declarations by fathers and mothers about the sons and daughters they gave to the Soviet fatherland, about gallant pilots and parachutists, engineers, doctors, teachers.

With what pride did Anton Strikh, collective farmer in an Ukrainian village, say: "My wife Fyodora and I have eight children. One is a motor mechanic, another a teacher, the third is about to finish his course at a technical college, the fourth is a Red Army commander, the rest are at school. How can we help being happy, being able to rejoice in such falcons!"

The family of the Kostelnikovs, too, are justified in their pride, a family which has raised sons firmly bound to each other by love and friendship, who from their own midst could produce the man to take the place of their hero-son who died.

A man who cowardly and basely abandons his children, shuns his responsibility, hides in corners and puts all the paternal duties on the mother's shoulders, shames the name of a Soviet citizen. Evading the payment of alimony is not a weakness, though it is treated with such leniency by some of our institutions. It is a crime, and not only the man who befouls the name of Soviet citizen, but all those who protect him are guilty of his crime.

But he who sees the fulfilment of his paternal duties in the punctual payment of alimony cannot walk with proudly lifted head and call himself a worthy Soviet citizen. The Soviet family is not a ledger in which money-payment testifies virtue. A Soviet child has a right to a real father, an educator and friend. A father who abandons his children is guilty both before them and before the socialist State which has entrusted the children to his care. An irresponsible attitude towards marriage and the family is a bad recommendation as a citizen.

Socialism provides every toiler with a happy, beautiful life. For the first time in history it creates for the workers a possibility of fatherhood and motherhood in the fullest sense of the word. It therefore makes serious demands on mother and father. A bourgeois attitude towards the family cannot be tolerated.

The published law-project and its widespread discussion are signs of a new socialist morality, imbued with force, confidence and vitality. It lies in the flowering and enrichment of human personality, in love for Man. In the light of this morality, the mother wears a new face, and so does the father. "Paternal pride"—these words sound real only in the Soviet land, because a father who has raised new builders of socialism can feel a worthy citizen of his country.

EXHIBIT No. 53

[Pravda, June 9, 1936. The Father]

The Socialist October Revolution in the U. S. S. R. laid the foundations of the complete and final liberation of woman. It gave women complete equality of rights in all sections of political, social and family life. "Husband and wife are as one flesh. The husband is the wife's master. The wife is not to leave the husband." Such were the fundamental tenets of Russian prerevolutionary legislation. Article 179 of the Civil Code of the Russian Empire simply describes the powers of the husband and father as "unlimited".

The bourgeois revolutions overthrew despotic monarchs. But not one of them dared to touch the despotism of paternal power in the family. Bourgeois democracy respectfully stopped short before this power, sanctified by the most ancient Civil Codes.

In the eyes of bourgeois law the father is first of all the custodian and embodiment of private property. He is the owner of the family property, the sole master of the estate, the house and the whole of the movable and immobile inventory. The wife and the children are included in this inventory.

It is true that the father, too, has his duties—in capitalist society he must "keep" his wife and feed his children. But bourgeois law thoughtfully watches over the rights of the rich father and takes a very mild view of his duties.

By depriving the workers of any property and making them into its hired slaves, capitalism in fact destroys both the rights and the duties of the husband for the vast majority of the population. Capitalism altogether destroys the family of the workers. The *patria potestas* of an unemployed person is so much hollow sound. A father who cannot feed his children, give them an elementary education, provide for their future and bring them up, loses not only his "rights" but also all the pride and happiness of fatherhood. Many

millions in the capitalist countries are in this state. What can be worse than the situation of a worker who after a vain search for work comes home to meet his hungry children and exhausted wife! He himself is hungry, tired, worn out. But hardest of all is the oppressive awareness of the impossibility of fulfilling the duties of a father.

The Soviet country holds no such grim scenes. While abolishing the slavery laws on the unlimited power of the father in the family, the Socialist Revolution has at the same time given all workers a chance of fatherhood. The Soviet marriage in which husband and wife have equal rights is not built on private property. Nor is it simply a legal formality for satisfying sexual desires, as wrote Hugo, the bourgeois philosopher whom Marx ridiculed. The Soviet marriage opens up the truly spiritual side of marriage, its moral beauty which is beyond the reach of capitalist society. It reveals man striving for the development of the better sides of his personality. And without deep and serious love, without the bliss of motherhood and fatherhood, the personality of both individual and society is incomplete. Communism makes for whole and happy men.

To strengthen and develop the Soviet family is one of the main tasks of Soviet democracy. People who think that by relieving the father of his former slave-driving rights the Socialist Revolution has at the same time relieved him of his duties towards the family, of his responsibility for the family, are completely in the grip of bourgeois notions. The projected law on the prohibition of abortions, assistance to expectant mothers, development of the network of maternity homes, etc., issued by the government, declares an irresponsible attitude towards the family and family duties to be incompatible with Soviet democracy and Soviet morals. This point has not been questioned in the widespread discussions of the project which are at present going on all over the country.

EXHIBIT No. 54

[*Moscow Daily News*, June 28, 1936. Pages 1, 4]

**On the Prohibition of Abortions,
Increase of Material Aid to Women Giving Birth,
Establishment of State Aid to Large Families,
Broadening of the Network of Maternity Homes, Nurseries, and
Kindergartens,
Strengthening of the Criminal Penalty for Non-Payment of Alimony,
and on Certain Changes in the Legislation on Divorces**

The October Socialist Revolution which laid the foundation for the abolition of all class exploitation, for the abolition of the classes themselves, at the same time laid the foundation for the complete and final emancipation of women.

In no country in the world does woman enjoy as complete equality in all branches of political, social, and family life as in the USSR.

In no country in the world does woman, as a mother and a citizen who bears the great and responsible duty of giving birth to and bringing up citizens, enjoy the same respect and protection of the law as in the USSR.

However, the economic breakdown of the country which took place during the first years after the Civil War and the armed intervention, and the inadequate cultural level of the women inherited from the prerevolutionary epoch did not enable them at once to make full use of the rights accorded to them by the law and to perform, without fear of the future, their duties as citizens and mothers responsible for the birth and early education of their children. In this connection the Soviet power permitted on Nov. 18, 1920, the practice of abortions (artificial interruption of pregnancy) for women so long as, as the Peoples Commissariat of Health and the Peoples Commissariat of Justice wrote, "the moral heritages of the past and the difficult economic conditions of the present still force a section of the women to submit to this operation." (Code of laws, No. 90, p. 471.)

Back in 1913 Lenin wrote that class-conscious workers are "unquestionable enemies of neo-Malthusianism, this tendency for the philistine couple, pigeon-brained and selfish, who murmur fearfully: May God help us to keep our own bodies and souls together; as for children it is best to be without them."

But while rebelling against abortions as a social evil Lenin considered the mere legislative banning of abortions clearly inadequate to combat them. Moreover, he pointed out that under conditions of capitalism these laws only reflect the "hypocrisy of the ruling classes" as they "do not heal the sores of capitalism but make them particularly malignant, particularly painful to the oppressed masses." (Volume 16, pp. 498-499.)

Only under conditions of socialism, where exploitation of man by man does not exist and where woman is an equal member of society while the progressing improvement of the material well-being of the toilers constitutes a law of social development, is it possible seriously to organize the struggle against abortions, by prohibitive laws as well as by other means.

The abolition of capitalist exploitation in the U.S.S.R, the growth of the material well-being and the gigantic growth of the political and cultural level of the toilers make it possible to raise the question of a revision of the decision of the Peoples Commissariats of Health and Justice of Nov. 18, 1920.

Necessary material provision for women and their children, state aid to large families, the utmost development of the network of maternity homes, nurseries, kindergartens, legislative establishment of a minimum of sums which the father of a child must pay for its upkeep when husband and wife live apart, on the one hand, and prohibition of abortions on the other, coupled with an increase in the penalty for wilful non-payment of the means for the maintenance of the children, awarded by a court, and the introduction of certain changes in the legislation on divorces for the purpose of combating a lightminded attitude towards the family and family obligations—such are the roads which must be followed in order to solve this important problem affecting the entire population. In this respect, the Soviet Government responds to numerous statements made by toiling women.

In connection with the above and taking into consideration certain remarks made by citizens during the discussion of the draft, the CEC and the Council of Peoples Commissars of the U.S.S.R. DECIDE:

I. ON PROHIBITION OF ABORTIONS

1. In view of the proven harm of abortions, to forbid the performance of abortions both in hospitals and special health institutions, and in the homes of doctors and private homes of pregnant women. The performance of abortions shall be allowed exclusively in those cases when the continuation of pregnancy endangers the life or threatens serious injury to the health of the pregnant woman and equally when a serious disease of the parents can be inherited, and only under hospital or maternity home conditions.

2. For the performance of abortions outside a hospital or in a hospital under conditions violating the above provisions, the doctor performing the abortion shall be criminally punishable to the extent of one to two years of imprisonment, while for the performance of abortions under unsanitary conditions or by persons who have no special medical education a criminal penalty of no less than three years' imprisonment shall be fixed.

3. For compelling a woman to undergo an abortion, a criminal penalty of two years' imprisonment shall be fixed.

4. In relation to pregnant women undergoing an abortion in violation of the said prohibition, to establish as a criminal penalty a social reprimand, and in the event of a repetition of the violation of the law on the prohibition of abortions, a fine up to 300 rubles.

II. ON INCREASING MATERIAL AID BY THE STATE TO WOMEN GIVING BIRTH AND ON ESTABLISHING STATE AID TO LARGE FAMILIES

5. In order to improve the material position of mothers, both working women and employees insured in the organs of social insurance, to increase the allowance issued from the state social insurance funds for the purpose of procuring the necessary articles of infant care, from 32 rubles to 45 rubles.

6. To increase the allowance issued to the mother for nursing the infant, from five rubles to 10 rubles a month.

7. In relation to uninsured toiling women—members of cooperative arts and enterprises—to establish that the said allowances be issued by the cooperative mutual aid funds on the same basis.

8. To abolish the limitation fixed by the code of labor laws for women employees (Article 132), making them equal to working women in regard to the length of the leave accorded prior to and after childbirth (56 days prior to and 56 days after childbirth).

9. To establish a criminal penalty for refusal to employ women for reasons of pregnancy, for reducing their wages on the same grounds, providing in the law the obligation of preserving for the pregnant woman, while transferring her to lighter work, her former wages based on earnings for the last six months' work.

10. To establish a state allowance for mothers of large families—for those having six children, an annual allowance of 2,000 rubles for five years for each subsequent child from the day of its birth, while for mothers having 10 children one state allowance of 5,000 rubles on the birth of each subsequent child and an annual allowance of 3,000 rubles for a period of four years following the child's first birthday. To extend this article of the law also to those families who at the moment of the publication of the law have the required number of children.

* * * * *

VIII. ON MORE SEVERE PENALTY FOR NONPAYMENT OF ALIMONY AND ALTERATIONS IN THE LEGISLATION ON DIVORCE

27. To amend the existing laws on marriage, family and guardianship, with the aim of combating light-minded attitudes toward the family and family obligations, and to introduce in divorce proceedings the personal attendance at ZAGS (Civil Registry Bureau) of both divorcees and the entry into the passports of the divorcees of the fact of divorce.

28. To increase the fees for registration of divorce as follows: 50 rubles for the first divorce, 150 rubles for the second, and 300 rubles each for the third and subsequent divorces.

29. To allot in court judgment on alimony one-fourth of the wages of the defendant for the maintenance of one child; one-third for the maintenance of two children, and 50 percent of the wages of the defendant for the maintenance of three or more children.

30. Payments to collective farm women to be made in workdays on the same basis.

If the mother receiving alimony is a collective farm woman and works with the defendant on the same collective farm, the management of the collective farm in calculating the workdays shall directly enter the corresponding share of the workdays earned by the father (if there are children) to the account of the mother. If the mother works on another collective farm, this entry in favor of the mother of the corresponding share of the workdays earned by the father shall be deducted on behalf of the mother in the final accounting of the workdays, by the management of the collective farm where the father works.

31. To raise to two years imprisonment the penalty for non payment of funds awarded by court for the maintenance of children, the search for persons refusing to pay alimony to be made at their expense.

M. KALININ.

Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R.

V. MOLOTOV.

Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars of the U. S. S. R.

I. UNSCHLICHT.

Acting Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R.

June 27, 1936,

Kremlin, Moscow.

Many millions of words have been written about the Soviet use of terror which, so far as the purges were concerned, reached its peak during the years 1936-38.¹ As was to be expected, official Communist sources justify all the blood-letting and all the slave labor as socialist retribution against wreckers, spies, collaborators with the class enemy and the like.² Buried in the center of the following article, an adequate explanation can be found in this single sentence: "The Trotsky-Zinoviev bandits raised their criminal hand against Comrade Stalin." It made little difference whether Stalin's innumerable victims were guilty of any fault

¹ Alexander Weissberg, *The Accused*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1951. Victor Kravchenko, *I Chose Justice*, New York, Scribner's 1950. Eleanor Lipper, *Eleven Years in Soviet Prison Camps*, Chicago, Regnery, 1951. Alexander Orlov, *The Secret History of Stalin's Crimes*, New York, Random House, 1953. The books by Kravchenko and Orlov were written by high ranking members of the Soviet bureaucracy. Those by Weissberg and Lipper tell the story of two victims who survived the great purge.

² *Report of Court Proceedings in the Cases of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre* (August 1936), *Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre* (January 1937); *Anti-Soviet "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites"* (March 1938), Moscow, People's Commissariat of Justice of the U. S. S. R. Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, *The Permanent Purge*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1956.

at all. The only relevant fact was the vozhd's iron determination to establish monolithic unity in the U. S. S. R.

Some western writers have tended to surround the Soviet use of terror with unnecessary mystery. For example, the answer to the question why people confess to impossible deeds can be found in the fact that only those who are prepared to confess are ever brought to public "trail." More intractable victims simply disappear from sight. Secondly, Bolshevik methods of extracting "confessions" are by far the most effective known to man. While the Soviet secret police has never hesitated to utilize the most brutal forms of physical violence, it has more frequently relied upon subtler methods of breaking its victims.³ Its techniques of torture are not less frightful because they are more prolonged. Only those who have never experienced the effect of deprivation of sleep over a protracted period of time can underestimate its power to crush the human spirit.⁴

Soviet public trials of the "enemies of socialist society" are held for one reason alone: education of those who have not yet been trapped. There is no question of an honest hearing, but only of a public demonstration of what must be avoided in order to stay alive. It is significant that the accused never confess to any collaboration which might prove embarrassing to those who are currently in power.⁵

In 1938, an American committee published a detailed critique of the trial discussed in the following article.⁶ Quite a different line was taken by Upton Sinclair in his exchange of letters with Eugene Lyons. According to Sinclair, no physical or moral enslavement that Stalin could impose was to be compared with that which would result from liberation of the Soviet masses by predatory capitalist powers.⁷

EXHIBIT No. 55

[*Inprecorr*, October 3, 1936. Pp. 1239-1242]

THE LEIPZIG ANTI-COMMUNIST TRIAL AND THE TERRORIST VERMIN IN THE DOCK IN MOSCOW

By P. Lang

The reactionary reformist leaders and their press, who took the Trotsky-Zinoviev gang under their wings, are in a cleft stick, and have now to defend themselves against the indignation of the members of their own organisations. Not a single worker, not a single man of common sense, whatever his political opinions, can remain blind to the real significance of the behaviour of Citrine, Bauer and Co., who rose in defence, not of one or the other kind of legal procedure, but of a crowd of despicable terrorists, and who tried to get off scot-free convicted counter-revolutionary criminals, working hand in glove with the Gestapo.

But this is not all. The immediate results of this protection of these base terrorists can already been seen, their chief organiser, the head provocateur, Trotsky, is using the protection which is being afforded him, not only by the Secret Police, but also by the reactionary reformist leaders, in order to give voice to open threats against the leaders of the Bolshevik party and the Soviet government, in order to call openly for revenge.

Can any one of the Trotsky's apologists plausibly declare, he does not know in what way this bankrupt counter-revolutionary, who

³ Arthur Koestler, *Darkness At Noon*, New York, Modern Library, 1941. Victor Serge, *The Case of Comrade Tulayev*, New York, Doubleday, 1950.

⁴ F. Beck and W. Godin, *Russian Purge and the Extraction of Confession*. Translated by Eric Mosbacher and David Porter, New York, Viking, 1951, pp. 53, 185. This book reviews many theories which have been offered in explanation of Soviet confessions. Valentin Gonzalez and Julian Gorkin, *El Campesino: Life and Death in Soviet Russia*. Translated by Ilsa Borea, New York, Putnam's Sons, 1952, pp. 143-144, 153-155. See also Scholmer, *Vorkuta*, p. 9.

⁵ Lyons, *Stalin*, p. 249. Kulski, *Soviet Regime*, pp. 703-704. Dewar, *Assassins*, p. 177.

⁶ *Not Guilty: Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials*, New York, Harper, 1938.

⁷ Upton Sinclair and Eugene Lyons, *Terror in Russia? Two Views*, New York, Smith, 1938, p. 55.

keeps up a hole-and-corner connection with the Gestapo, intends to revenge himself on the great and powerful Soviet people?

In order to absolve themselves from responsibility for shielding the Trotzky-Zinoviev terrorists, the reactionary leaders of reformism are trying by all means in their power to slander the Soviet court and to cast doubt on the correctness of its judgment. In their cynical insolence they go so far as to make foul allusions to an alleged resemblance between this honest judgment against Trotzkyist Gestapo agents, convicted of the most dastardly crimes, and the hangman's trial in Leipzig, which was staged for the provocative purpose of transferring the responsibility on to the Communists, for crimes which the Hitler government had committed itself.

While the reactionary leaders indulge in these slanderous allusions, they do not mention what, in their opinion, is the "resemblance" between "Leipzig" and "Moscow." This is only to be expected. For nothing would strike such a telling blow against the Trotzkyists as an even fairly conscientious contrasting of these two trials. The slanderers know this. So they try, by means of resorting to crass lies, to slink away with their tails between their legs, hoping that some of the mud they have slung will stick.

But they will not get away with it.

The workers must catch the slanderers red-handed, and say to them: You worthy gentlemen make ambiguous allusions, which because of this ambiguity are doubly base, in the hope that in this way you will succeed in covering up your disgraceful role as the advocates of low-down murderers. All right. But be so good as to remember how, three years ago, on September 23, 1933, at his first appearance before the fascist hangman's court, Comrade Dimitrov became, instead of the accused, the threatening accuser of the fascist incendiaries and provocateurs? Be so good as to convince yourselves that an accurate parallel between the honest proletarian court and the provocative fascist one will only serve to throw into the most brilliant relief your wicked attitude, which is directed towards the splitting of the united front and, above all, to the sabotage of proletarian solidarity in the matter of aid for the Spanish people.

In the Leipzig hangman's court, and at the Moscow trial, two worlds at war with one another stood face to face. On one side of the picture—and without the slightest claim to mercy, Sir Walter Citrine!—the accursed world of exploitation and oppression, in the form of its most reactionary and morally depraved elements, in the form of fascism. On the other side, the world of Socialism, which has opened up for humanity the possibility of a magnificent and productive life, a life of freedom and joy.

In Leipzig fascism, the most pitiless enemy of human progress and civilisation, the incarnation of the most barbaric and uncontrolled obscurantism, sat in the chair of judgment. In the dock in Leipzig sat the great proletarian fighter, physically tormented in the fascist jails, bearing on his arms deep imprints of fetters, but in spite of all this the inflexible, inexorable and passionate accuser of fascism. He had fallen into the hands of the blood-thirsty fascist beast, because the working-class of Germany had temporarily suffered a heavy defeat, because German Social Democracy had paved the way for fascism, and the Communist Party was not yet strong enough to lead the masses in a decisive and victorious battle against fascism.

In Moscow, Socialism was sitting in judgment. Socialism, organised into a state in which all forms of exploitation of man by man have already been abolished into a state which, thanks to the self-sacrificing and relentless struggle of the workers of the Soviet Union, led by the Bolshevik Party under the great Stalin, has become the most homogeneous, strongest and most powerful state in the world.

In the dock sat the dregs and remnants of the exploiting class, which has already been completely crushed in open battle, men decayed and rotten, who have nothing to give to the present and no perspective to offer for the future.

The Leipzig court, like the burning of the Reichstag itself, was an act of provocation. It was designed to transfer the blame for the fire on to the Communists, to cover up the real criminals, to justify the unheard-of terror-methods of the fascist hangmen, and to provide the pretext for another wave of bestial terror against the working class, for the continued destruction of the best representatives of the German people.

The Moscow trial was an open act of protection for the Soviet people, which was designed to clear the Soviet earth of Trotzky-Zinoviev terrorist bandits, who carried on the business of the Gestapo, under the cover of Marxism, and even with the help of the party-membership book.

In Leipzig the most cynical liars, who went in deadly fear of even the most elementary truths, sat in the judgment seat. The same lying, underhand types, who were convicted only too often of the most miserable hypocrisies and deceptions, sat in the dock in Moscow. It is thus no wonder that the preliminary examination as well as the trial itself, in Leipzig and Moscow, went entirely different ways, even from a purely legal point of view.

Leipzig the undaunted proletarian fighter for truth sat in the dock.

"I admit," Comrade Dimitrov told the judge to his face, "that I use sharp and brutal words. . . . but my words . . . are open and honest. I can say with a clear conscience that before this court, and thus to the whole world as well, I have told the absolute truth in all questions."

It needed an inflexible, revolutionary character, it needed an unconquerable proletarian will, steeled in untiring class struggle among the working masses, to carry off the victory in this fight for truth in face of a fascist court. And Comrade Dimitrov gained a full and complete victory.

All efforts of the police commissars, of the examining magistrate, of the prosecutor, of the official fascist counsel for the defence, of the court, of all the witnesses, with Goebbels and Goering at their head, were directed to the one end: to stop Comrade Dimitrov's mouth, ears and eyes, to let him grope about in darkness, and to deprive him of all possibility of speech. He was subjected in prison to the most cruel treatment; he was kept for months on end in fetters; an attempt was made to saddle him with forged documents planted on him by the fascist police when his house was searched; he was completely isolated from the outside world; not one political document sent to him by friends was delivered to him; he was forbidden to call witnesses, whose honest testimony would have been dangerous for the provocateurs; they tried to give him as his defence a political agent of the fascist hangmen; a whole pack of false witnesses, primed by the state prosecution, was let loose against him; fascist M. P.'s and

journalists, police officials and provocateurs of a Trotskyist-fascist tendency (as for example the witness Karwahne, who, before he became a national-socialist M. P. had belonged to the Katz Trotskyist group in Germany), political spies and common criminals, and finally, too, members of the Hitler government, Goering and Goebbels. In the cross-examination of the witnesses Dimitrov was innumerable times forbidden to speak. At the moments which became most embarrassing for the provocateurs he was forcibly removed from the court; he was forbidden to ask verbal questions, and forced to submit them in writing, to be examined first by the authorities; Goering tried to intimidate him by the threat that he would settle with him privately. Even during his final speech he was interrupted at least thirty times and prevented from continuing; he was forbidden to support his statements by reference to articles which appeared in the official organ of the national-socialists, the "Voelkischer Beobachter"; he was not even allowed to quote the text of the accusation, which towards the end of the trial had become a document which convicted its authors of provocation; finally, he was forbidden to conclude his speech of accusation and was forced to put forward his propositions in the shortest possible form. All this was not able to spare the fascist court a scandal and a disgrace unknown even in the annals of bourgeois justice; even in their abbreviated form the propositions, put forward by Comrade Dimitrov at the end of his concluding speech as a résumé of the whole trial, are tantamount to a political death sentence against the fascist regime.

In complete contrast to the fascist court, the Soviet court was interested in nothing so much as in exposing with the utmost care the true picture of the criminal activity of the Trotsky-Zinoviev centre, and especially of those among its members who had a long road of crime behind them, on which they set out by means of inner party counter-revolutionary struggle, and ended in cooperation with the gestapo.

They ended with banditry and terror.

Those of the accused who had before been members of the Communist Party could not refrain from telling the court how cynically they had betrayed the confidence of the Party, which had appealed to them many times to give up the road of counter-revolutionary struggle against the Soviet power.

Not for one year, but for ten years, the courts of party control and later the examining officials and the officials of the court have been trying to extract from these people the most elementary truth about their views, plans and actions.

Again and again these men have come forward with hypocritical, deceptive words, in which they were supposed to reveal "truthfully" their previous crimes against the Soviet power, and promised to make an end to these crimes once and for all. This false, perfidious, treacherous, lying "truth," was such a dangerous weapon in the hands of the Trotsky-Zinoviev gang, because the vile terrorists did not only use it to escape punishment for crimes already committed, but to prepare new criminal deeds.

The Trotsky-Zinoviev adventurers, however, did not use the opportunities to reform which were allowed them by the party, and later by the proletarian court, in order to call a halt, and to give up their criminal road, but on the contrary used more and

more insulting methods in order to evade the watchfulness of the party and the Soviet state. They sank lower and lower, they became bandits of the counter-revolutionary underworld, who knew no limits in their bloody plans, who conspired closely with the Gestapo. But one and a half years after the dastardly murder of Sergei Kirov by the Trotzky-Zinoviev centre, the hour struck, when the devilish plot was completely disclosed, and its participants understood, that now lies would no longer save them. Under the pressure of indisputable proof, they began bit by bit to admit the truth about the disgraceful deeds they had committed. And although they only admitted those established facts which it was no longer possible to deny, the proofs brought forward against them were so incontrovertible, that at the drawing up of the indictment the facts of the despicable criminal activity of the terrorists were sufficiently revealed.

To reveal the whole truth to the whole people in open sessions, to subject the causes for suspicion to a rigid examination, to establish with absolute objectivity the part played in the crimes by each single one of the accused, to reveal the aims and motives by which they were guided, to determine the degree of guilt of each one of them of the crimes committed, this was the task by which the Supreme Court of Justice was faced.

It is known to the whole world, that it performed this task, without in any way limiting the rights of the accused to defend themselves, without preventing them from refuting the causes for suspicion, and bringing forward counter-proofs, without hindering them in their explanations, or protests.

It is a fact that not a single request which the accused made of the court, was passed over unconsidered. It is a fact that not one question put by the accused, was rejected by the judges. It is a fact that not in one statement, not even in the case of obvious repetitions, were the accused interrupted by the judges. It is a fact that the accused made full use of this right, and could build up their defence speeches with absolute freedom, and tell the court whatever they wished in whatever form they thought necessary.

It is thus no wonder that the prominent English lawyer, D. N. Pritt, K. C., described what he saw personally in Moscow at the trial of the Trotzky-Zinoviev terrorist centre, as "truly remarkable."

In Leipzig, amid the unrestrainedly arbitrary action of the fascist court, Dimitrov succeeded in overthrowing the charge fabricated against him by Hitler fascism. He revealed the true picture of the Reichstag fire.

In Moscow, when all the accused in the affair of the Trotzky-Zinoviev terrorist centre not only had the formal right to defence, but also every opportunity to make practical use of this possibility, incontrovertible proof was brought of the guilt of all the accused of the serious crime they had committed against the Soviet people, against the international proletariat, against the whole of humanity.

Before the Leipzig court stood Comrade Dimitrov, the class-enemy himself admitted, as the "incarnated programme of the Communist International." A truly Leninist-Stalinist determination was needed, and a loyalty to principles which hesitated in face of no trial, in order to carry on such an untiring fight against the fascist court, to laugh at the pitfalls placed there with cynical arbitrariness, and to turn the dock into a revolutionary tribune from the height of

which a thundering oration sounded to the whole world, on the fundamentals, the programme and the tactics of Communism.

What programme, on the other hand, had the representatives of the interests of the exploiting class, which has been crushed in the Soviet Union, to offer as they sat in the dock at Moscow?

The Trotzky-Zinoviev bandits had raised their criminal hand against Comrade Stalin, because he is the greatest leader and organiser of the victories of socialism, because for the whole of mankind he is the symbol of Socialism, which is victorious over a sixth of the earth's surface. They had murdered Kirov, the brilliant fighter in the cause of the liberation of the working class, for Socialism. They used the most despicable methods in their struggle against Comrade Stalin and his closest colleagues, because the victory of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the cultural and economic achievements of the land of Socialism, the joy and happiness of the Soviet people, roused a violent hatred in them, and the desire to revenge themselves on the Soviet people for their own miserable bankruptcy.

Because all their plans were bound up with the hope that Socialist construction would fail, the Trotzky-Zinoviev bandits could only have a programme whose aim was to reinstate capitalism in the Soviet Union. Fundamentally, this actually was their inner-political programme.

As they felt themselves quite powerless to overthrow the Soviet regime, the Trotzky-Zinoviev pack of mad dogs set their hope on a defeat of the Soviet Union, if it should be attacked by fascist states. Counter-revolutionary defeatism—that was its foreign political programme.

This was the actual ground on which the Trotzky-Zinoviev counter-revolutionaries met the fascists. This is the reason why international reaction, with its violent campaign against the judgment of the Trotzky-Zinoviev bandits, continues to give Trotzky active support.

The whole attitude of Comrade Dimitrov in face of the enemy was imbued with Leninist-Stalinist faith in the creative forces of the proletariat, in the revolutionary character of its class instinct. Spurred on by the consciousness of his increasing living contact with the masses, he takes up the struggle against the whole monstrously constructed machine of fascist provocation and lies, of fascist terror. In the masses is hidden the centre of strength, their victory is certain! "Mass work, mass struggle, mass resistance, united front, no adventures—that is the alpha and omega of Communist tactics!" cries Dimitrov from the fascist court.

Before the Soviet court, on the other hand, a band of murderers, despised and condemned by the broadest masses of the people of the Soviet Union, sat in the dock. The chiefs of this gang had taken up the open struggle against the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union, under the hypocritical pretext that this task would be impossible, and would lead to collapse and the destruction of the Soviet state. The rebuff dealt out to them by the working class was full of revulsion and anger.

When, therefore, in spite of their prophecies and their counter-revolutionary activities, the victory of Socialism had been achieved on all fronts, and the cultural and material level of the workers began to rise more and more rapidly, the traitors had to admit that, with the

liquidation of the exploiting class, all hope had vanished forever for them of finding supporters in the Soviet Union, or of establishing contact of any kind with the masses.

Having become the irreconcilable enemies of the Soviet people, the Trotzky-Zinoviev renegades hid from them their true programme, which could only result in the re-establishment of capitalism in the Soviet state, and its transformation into a colony of the predatory imperialist powers; neither did they dare to show themselves in their true colours to the peoples of other countries.

Before the fascist court Comrade Dimitrov fully refuted the provocative charge constructed by Hitler against the C. P. of Germany. He declared loudly and categorically that the Communists absolutely reject the use of individual terror. In his first written petition to the examining authorities, and then straightaway in his first speech before the court, he declared that, as a follower of the doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, he was an emphatic opponent of individual terror and putsch tactics:

These actions are irreconcilable with Communist principles and the methods of mass activity, with the economic and political mass struggle. They are merely harmful to the movement for the emancipation of the proletariat, to the cause of Communism.

At the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, Comrade Dimitrov, with the passion of a true fighter for Communism, attacked all those, and in the first place the German fascists, for whom political, individual terror is a weapon for the attainment of their undemocratic aims.

The Trotzky-Zinoviev gang, which was completely crushed in open class struggle, and had no prospect of ever again being able to emerge from its counter-revolutionary illegality, had resort in its despair and hatred, to the most despicable methods, in the struggle against the Soviet government and the leaders of the C. P. S. U., to attempted political assassinations.

"Remove Stalin." This slogan is openly put forward in the press by Trotzky, because he thinks he is out of the reach of the Soviet court, in complete safety. "Heads have the characteristic that they do not grow on again," thus the traitor Kamenev and the gang which supports him take up this Trotzkyist parole for the murder of Comrade Stalin. The more rapidly Socialism grows and prospers in the Soviet Union, the higher the victorious banner of Lenin and Stalin is raised, the more furious become these vile terrorists against the Soviet power and the Soviet people, the more desperately do the Trotzkyist-fascist murderers attempt to direct their blow against that genius and leader of the peoples, the great Stalin, who has guided the Soviet people to a joyful and happy life, against Comrade Stalin, against his fellow-fighters, the best men of our famous epoch, against the Central Committee of the party of Lenin and Stalin, they go forward to an attack on the existence of the Soviet state, against the life of the Soviet people, against the face of Socialism in the Soviet Union and in the whole world.

At the Leipzig trial Comrade Dimitrov was only able to gain his historical moral victory over the forces of darkness and reaction, because in his whole struggle he combined in an exemplary manner Leninist-Stalinist adherence to principles with undaunted personal courage. The heroic stand made by Comrade Dimitrov, the moral

greatness to which each one of his speeches bears witness, caused not only the advanced sections of the workers, but also those people who previously had regarded Communism with prejudice and mistrust, to follow the course of his struggle with breathless attention. Courage in face of death, as Comrade Dimitrov once said, is not personal heroism, but a quality of the revolutionary proletariat, of every true Communist. This quality grows and becomes steel in untiring work among the masses, in the continual overcoming of the difficulties and dangers of the daily struggle.

His example awoke in the masses the will to fight against the most bitter enemy of the workers, against fascism. In the whole world the mass movement for Dimitrov is growing. To this movement every honest element of international public opinion is gravitating. This international solidarity finds expression in the most manifold and ever more resolute forms. It is becoming a really enormous force, directed against the Reichstag incendiaries. Leipzig is becoming, instead of an anti-Communist trial, a magnificent antifascist demonstration and miserable fiasco for fascism.

Hitler fascism was shown to be hopelessly isolated in the whole world. The mask was torn from the faces of the incendiaries. They were the objects of universal indignation and contempt. Fascism was threatened by the danger that this wave of general indignation would react on Germany and undermine its demagogic influence even among its own Storm Troops. Hitler had no alternative but to give up his provocative plans. There was nothing left for him to do but to deport the prisoners.

The degenerates sitting in the dock of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, fascist murderers, insolent provocateurs, incurable criminals, gave evidence of such deep moral degradation, as is seldom to be found in purely criminal offenders. Trotzky, Zinoviev, Kamenev looked upon the tools who carried out their bloody plans, as venal rabble, whom it was advisable at the first opportunity for safety's sake to put out of the way.

The leader of the terrorist group demanded of Bogdan, who was entrusted with the carrying out of their plans, that he should at once make the attempt to assassinate Stalin, and when he suspected that Bogdan was hesitating, he gave him the choice either of committing suicide, or of being fully prepared to be murdered himself.

The leaders of the Leningrad terrorist groups, who had murdered Comrade Kirov, were treacherously left in the lurch by Zinoviev and Kamenev, although it was directly under their orders that this murder had been carried out. In the incredibly underhand obituary article for Kirov, a document that Zinoviev wrote with a hand stained by the murdered Kirov's blood, he does not only dissociate himself from the criminals, whom he himself had commissioned to the vile murder, but he himself describes his creatures as blackguards. Finally, Trotzky dissociates himself from the whole gang, including Zinoviev and Kamenev, once it is captured and foiled. He is prepared to go to any lengths of provocations and forgeries in order to avoid the judgment of the Soviet people, to let his gang bear the whole responsibility for the vile and shameful deeds performed under his immediate direction.

The foul air of the Gestapo reeked from the dock in the Trotzky-Zinoviev trial.

When in March 1933, the Hitler police laid hand on Comrade Dimitrov, the forces of the German proletariat, which was exposed to the blows of the bloody fascist dictatorship, were split and disorganised. In other countries, too, the prospect of the establishment of a broad antifascist front was still very distant.

In such a situation Comrade Dimitrov raised his powerful voice from the fascist prison, and called for resolute, unified fighting action of the working masses against fascism and the fascist danger.

In the written declaration which he submitted at the preliminary examination, instead of the protocol of the examination, which he did not sign, he emphasised that the whole policy of the Communist Party of Germany is directed to the formation of a proletarian united front for the protection of the interests and rights of the workers in the fight against fascism.

He shows the whole world the example of a Communist, who under the most difficult conditions raises high the banner of the antifascist struggle. He tears to pieces the lying arguments put forward by the social-democratic leaders against a common fight with the Communists. He strikes breaches in the wall of the mutual estrangement of the Communist and Social Democratic workers, raised by reformist attempts to split the ranks of the proletariat. He shows the middle classes and all antifascists that the working class marches in the foremost ranks against fascist barbarism for the real progress of humanity.

The attitude to the Leipzig trial divided all countries of the world into two inimical camps: every honest, upright, progressive element came down on the side of Comrade Dimitrov; all forces of reaction and obscurantism on the side of the fascist court.

What is the attitude of the social forces after the judgment of the Supreme Court against the Trotzky-Zinoviev terrorists?

A decisive factor in this connection is that those people take up their stand against the judgment and on the side of Trotzky, Zinoviev, etc., who sat in the chair of judgment in Leipzig, i. e., the fascists. They were the first to hasten to the aid of the murderers when they were caught. That this aid, in accordance with the whole situation, was given secretly in counterrevolutionary illegality, does not in the least diminish its importance. On the contrary, Trotzkyism will only succeed in playing its part as the vanguard of the fascist counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, insofar as it is able to disguise its bloc with the fascists.

After the trial the "Voelkischer Beobachter" published a picture of Trotzky, and underneath it, in heavy print, his life history, in which Trotzky is praised as the "eternal revolutionary," who since his youth has been devoted in his "service to the revolution." The Hitler press spreads the nonsensical scandal, started by the Denikin vermin, that the Trotzky-Zinoviev trial was staged by the Soviet government "in order more successfully to cover conspiratorially its chief agent abroad, Trotzky." The Trotzky-Zinoviev bandits who were condemned to death had been transported, it stated, "from prison by special train to the Baikal."

As well as the fascists, the reactionary leaders of reformism took up the cudgels for the Trotzky-Zinoviev centre.

During the Leipzig trial, the reformist leaders were not in a position to come out into the open with their struggle against proletarian

solidarity, so rapidly did the avalanche of mass sympathy for the heroic anti-fascist fighters grow. Now these leaders intend to take their revenge on the workers among their followers. How? Firstly, a Jesuit appeal to the middle classes through sentimental pity for the Gestapo agents who have been shot. Secondly, in contrast to the situation during the Leipzig trial, they, as well as the fascists, do not come out into the open, but put on various disguises. Hitler's followers and their accomplices no longer send forward a Goering or a Goebbels, but appear under the mask of "Marxists" who were alleged, owing to an unfortunate coincidence, to have been in the service of the Gestapo. The reactionary leaders of reformism for their part do not appear openly as supporters of the splitting of the working class in the interests of the bourgeoisie, and as opponents of international solidarity, but put on the mask of supporters of the unity of the working class, who pretend to be disturbed, lest the shooting of Hitler's agents in Moscow should endanger the struggle of the Spanish people against the fascist rebellion.

To these arguments, which the reformist advocates of the terrorists have in common with the fascists, they add another of their own. As follows: "Assuming," they say, "that the vile counter revolutionary deeds of the Trotzky-Zinoviev bandits are irrefutably proven," "Let us assume," writes *Otto Bauer*, "that the confessions are really true, that Trotzky, Zinoviev, and Kamenev really allied themselves with the Gestapo to assassinate the leading men of the Soviet regime." All the same, according to Bauer, the Soviet power should have glossed over these crimes. Why? Because, as *Otto Bauer* cunningly says, one should take into consideration "however that may be: *in any case* (emphasis in the original.—P. L.) it (that, which the trial revealed) presented a terrible picture."

Such advice, Bauer, in conjunction with the "Daily Herald" gives to the Soviet Union!

Citrine tries to present the case as though he wanted to save the Trotzky-Zinoviev terrorists in the name of the Spanish revolution. But that is a lie. On the day after sending the insolent telegram to the Council of People's Commissars, he spoke at the session of the Executive of the British Labour Party against the proposal, to demand of the British government that it support the Spanish republic against the fascist rebels, who are receiving every possible support from the fascist governments.

The behaviour of *Citrine* and others is a direct blow at the heroic struggle of the Spanish people, for if the Spanish people were to follow such bad advice as the reactionary Socialist leaders are bold enough to give to the leaders of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the Spanish republic would be doomed to defeat." (*Dimitrov*.)

Otto Bauer maintains in his article that his attempt to slander the Soviet court was dictated by anxiety for the safety of the Soviet Union. This is not true. When he wrote his article he knew, that the first violin in the chorus of slander against the judgment of the Soviet court was being played by German fascism, which is building a bloc of fascist states for war against the Soviet Union. He knew too, that the President of the Second International, *de Brouckere*, had written an article in support of his disgraceful attitude, in which he repeats the vile, Trotzky-Zinoviev libel that "the Soviet Union is governed by police despotism."

The campaign, let loose by the reformist leaders in defence of the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorists, in reality aims not at the maintenance but the splitting of proletarian unity, and of the international united fighting front which is forming in defence of the heroic Spanish people. No excuses can diminish the significance of the fact that all sworn enemies of the unity of the working class and the People's Front, all enemies of democracy, of Socialism and the Soviet Union, have followed the example of the official representatives of the L. S. I. and the I. F. T. U. in letting loose a fresh campaign of slander against the Soviet Union.

But the fight for the proletarian united front in the separate countries and internationally has made such strides since the Leipzig trial that no underhand manœuvres on the part of the reformist leaders will succeed in destroying it. This is proved by the fury with which German fascism in Nuremberg attacked the People's Front, and it is proved as well by the growing resistance of the reactionary reformist leaders against the formation of a united front.

Comrade Dimitrov spoke in the dock about the resistance of the reactionary leaders of social democracy against unity of action of the working class, when, over the heads of the judges, he analysed to the German workers why they had been unable to prevent Hitler's advance to power.

The same direction was followed up, after thorough analysis and examination, by the Seventh World Congress, when it decided the tactics of the Communist International, and emphasised in Comrade Dimitrov's report:

The aid which the Communists offer the revolutionary section of the social democrats will be more effective, in so far as they combat that reactionary section of social democracy which is in alliance with the bourgeoisie.

The millions of supporters of unity in the ranks of the Labour and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions must make an end of present conditions, and put an end to the boldness of the opponents of proletarian unity and the slanderers of the land of Socialist construction, in speaking in the name of their organisations. All workers, without regard to political opinions, are under the obligation to increase their efforts tenfold for the formation of a proletarian united front, and an anti-fascist People's Front against the enemy of the unity of the proletariat, who come forward under the hypocritical guise of their friends.

The reformist enemies of proletarian unity maintain that the Moscow trial would put difficulties in the way of the formation of the United Front. This is not true. The blow struck against the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorists is a component part of the anti-fascist struggle of the international working class, and promotes the consolidation of unity in their ranks. The unmasking of these enemies of the working-class movement and those who maliciously try to split its ranks, such as Trotsky, results in the eyes of the workers being opened about all renegades and double-dealers, in whatever disguise they may appear. All workers, and above all the social-democratic workers, have a vital interest in learning to distinguish their real friends from their disguised enemies; in learning to unmask the agents of the class enemy and to drive them promptly and ruthlessly from their ranks. It is in the interests of all workers, and especially the social-democratic workers, to make the test in the

practical school of class struggle, which of their leaders who profess to be the enemies of splits in the ranks of the workers are in reality supporters of proletarian unity, and which of them, while paying lip-service to unity, are merely playing a hypocritical double game.

The masses of the workers, filled with enthusiasm for the magnificent achievements of Socialism in the land of the Soviets, will answer the vile allusions of the reactionary reformist leaders which were received with such triumph by the fascists, with the assurance that, in spite of obstacles, they will carry the banner of proletarian unity, which was so heroically unfolded by Comrade Dimitrov in Leipzig, untiringly further and further onwards.

In his speech on the characteristics of the 1936 Constitution of the Soviet Union, Stalin concluded with some particularly caustic comments about liberal critics. If the latter did not like his dictatorship of the proletariat, that was just too bad for them.¹ As for such bourgeois nonsense as freedom of political parties and fundamental principles of democracy, let everybody understand that the new constitution changed nothing. Nevertheless, some "liberals" hailed this 1936 masterpiece of Aesopian doubletalk as the most democratic document ever composed.²

EXHIBIT No. 56

[*Inprecorr*, November 28, 1936. Pp. 1395, 1399]

THE DRAFT NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE U. S. S. R.—REPORT OF COMRADE STALIN'S SPEECH AT THE ALL-UNION SOVIET CONGRESS

(The following is a telegraphic summary of the speech delivered by Comrade Stalin at the All-Union Soviet Congress convened to discuss and finally adopt the Draft New Constitution of the U. S. S. R.)

* * * * *

The fourth group of critics attacking the Draft New Constitution describe it as "swing to the right," as "renunciation of a dictatorship of the proletariat," as "liquidation of the Bolshevik regime." "The Bolsheviks have swung to the right, it is a fact," they say in various voices. Certain Polish and some American newspapers display a particular zeal in this respect. What can be said about these critics, if they can be so styled?

If they interpret the expansion of the base of the dictatorship of the working class and the transformation of that dictatorship into a more flexible, and consequently more powerful, system of state guidance of society, not as a strengthening of the dictatorship of the working class, but as its weakening or even its renunciation, then it is permissible to ask, "Do these gentlemen know what the dictatorship of the working class is?" If they describe the legislative enact-

¹ Steinberg (Ed.), *Verdict of Three Decades*, pp. 228-229. Neumann, *European and Comparative Government*, p. 514.

² Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization?*, New York, Scribner's, 1938, vol. II, 1150-1151. This work constitutes a major encyclopaedia of Soviet and pro-Soviet documentation. In his testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Igor Bogolepov declared that he had passed on to the Webbs memoranda on Soviet detention camps which had been prepared by the Russian Secret Police. After his flight from Soviet rule, Bogolepov discovered that the memoranda which he had personally written for the Webbs were published verbatim. See *Institute of Pacific Relations*, hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on Judiciary, U. S. Senate, 82d Cong., 2d sess., pt. 13, April 7, 1952, 4519.

ment of the victory of socialism, of the successes of industrialisation, collectivisation and democratisation as "swing to the right," then it is permissible to ask "Do these gentlemen know the difference between left and right?" (General laughter and applause.)

There can be no doubt that these gentlemen have become completely muddled in their criticism of the Draft Constitution, and being muddled, they confuse right with left.

Finally, there is one more group of critics. Whereas the preceding group puts the charge that the Draft Constitution renounces the dictatorship of the working class, this group, on the other hand, puts the charge that the draft makes no change in the existing position in the U. S. S. R., that it leaves the dictatorship of the working class intact, does not provide for the freedom of political parties and preserves the present leading position of the Communist Party in the U. S. S. R. At the same time, this group of critics believes that the absence of freedom for parties in the U. S. S. R. is an indication of the violation of fundamental principles of democracy.

I must admit that the Draft New Constitution really does leave in force the regime of the dictatorship of the working class and also leaves unchanged the present leading position of the Communist Party in the U. S. S. R. (Loud applause.)

If our venerable critics regard this as a shortcoming of the Draft Constitution, this can only be regretted. We Bolsheviks, however, consider this as a merit of the Draft Constitution. As for the freedom of various political parties, we here adhere to somewhat different views. A party is part of a class. Its vanguard section. Several parties, and consequently freedom of parties, can only exist in a society where there are antagonistic classes whose interests are hostile and irreconcilable, where there are, say, capitalists and workers, landlords and peasants, kulaks and poor peasants, and so on. But in the U. S. S. R. there are no longer such classes as capitalists, landlords, kulaks and so on. There are only two classes in the U. S. S. R., workers and peasants, whose interests are not only not antagonistic, but on the contrary, are amicable. Consequently, in the U. S. S. R. there is no ground for the existence of several parties, nor therefore, for the existence of freedom for such parties.

In the U. S. S. R. there are grounds for only one party, the Communist Party. In the U. S. S. R. only one party can exist, the Communist Party, a party which boldly defends the interests of workers and peasants to the very end. And there can hardly be any doubts about the fact that it defends the interests of these classes not so badly. (Loud applause.)

They talk about democracy, but what is democracy? Democracy in capitalist countries where there are antagonistic classes is, in the last analysis, democracy for the strong, democracy for a propertied minority. Democracy in the U. S. S. R., on the other hand, is democracy for the toilers, is democracy for all. But from this it follows that the principles of democracy are violated, not by the draft of a new Constitution of the U. S. S. R., but by bourgeois constitutions. This is why I think that the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. is the only thoroughly democratic Constitution in the world. This is how the matter stands with regard to bourgeois criticism of the Draft New Constitution of the U. S. S. R.

In 1932, Stalin introduced the era of "Socialist realism" in Soviet literature. While its original meaning has been considerably altered, Socialist realism still remains the correct slogan for Russian writers.¹ For the first few years, Socialist realism concentrated upon extolling the beauties of heavy industry and collective farming. Then, in 1934, came the great change. Patriotism and love of Russian traditions were suddenly restored to favor. Since that year, Socialist realism has had to reconcile two major themes: Russian nationalism and Socialist collectivization.²

The year 1937 was most propitious for the proper development of Soviet culture. It marked the 20th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution and the 100th anniversary of the death of Russia's greatest literary personage, Alexander Pushkin. The following articles adequately describe how the Soviet regime rediscovered some of the glories of czarist tradition. They also indicate how Communists in the western democracies can exploit similar traditions in their respective countries.

EXHIBIT No. 57

[*The Communist International*, March 1937. Pp. 251-254]

PUSHKIN ANNIVERSARY DAYS IN THE U. S. S. R.

The hundredth anniversary of the death of the great Russian poet Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin has been widely celebrated by the people throughout the whole Soviet Union. There was not a single school, factory, or collective farm where Pushkin's verses were not recited during these days, or where ardent and impassioned speeches were not made in honor of the poet's memory.

To appreciate the importance of Pushkin in Russian literature one must recall the times in which he lived and wrote.

Pushkin's poetic genius matured and developed in the years of the most violent European reaction, in the years when the Russia of feudalism and serfdom had begun to play the despicable role of the gendarme of Europe. Ten years after Pushkin's death Marx and Engels wrote that "Pope and Tsar, Metternich and Guizot," had united in a holy war against the specter of communism. The Russian tsars, Alexander I and Nicholas I, were, however, trusty allies of the militant obscurantist, Metternich, while Pushkin was yet alive. The oppressive burden of the autocracy held back both the economic and cultural development of Russia.

The crowned ignoramuses, Paul I, Alexander I, and Nicholas I, were themselves far from being masters of their native tongue. The role of literature to their minds consisted in praising the autocracy in high-flown language, and consolidating the basis of the monarchy in the minds of the people. They tried to surround themselves with a court circle of flattering poets ready to model themselves on the French classicism of the days of Louis XIV.

The tragic death of Pushkin was no accident. He fell the victim of a vile court intrigue, struck by the bullet of the society adventurer D'Anthes in a duel arranged with the consent of Tsar Nicholas I himself. Pushkin, the bard of liberty, and friend of the Decembrists; the daring innovator, who had taken as the subject of his poetry, not the dubious exploits of the tsars, but the real life of the Russian people; the free-thinker, materialist, disciple of the French Encyclopedists, and enemy of the orthodox Pharisees, was a thorn in the flesh of the tsar and the court nobility. Nicholas I did not succeed

¹ Struve, *Soviet Russian Literature*, pp. 368-372.

² Miliukov, *Outlines of Russian Culture*, II, 117-121. Kulskl, *Soviet Regime*, Chapter II: Russian Nationalism.

in taming or buying over Pushkin—but he succeeded in destroying him physically at the age of 37, at the height of his creative power.

The many-sidedness of Pushkin's genius was amazing. He was at the same time a lyric poet, a prose writer, a dramatist, a critic, and a historian. He chose his themes from the Russian life of his own time, from popular tradition and folk tales and from history.

Pushkin's role in literature was primarily that of *the founder of Russian realism*. He broke definitely with the pseudo-classical traditions of the Russian writers of the eighteenth century and with the hazy sentimentalism of his immediate predecessors, Zhurovski and Karamzin, and unfolded in his writings a broad multicolored picture of life in all its manifestations, and with all its contradictions. In his novel and poem *Eugene Onegin* which the great Russian critic Belinski called an "encyclopedia of Russian life"; in his short stories *Tales of Belkin*; and in his tale *Dubrovski*—a passionate criticism of the Russian nobility is combined with a joyous optimism. While in *Dubrovski* exposing the tyranny of the landed aristocracy, depicting in vivid satirical colors the high society of St. Petersburg; in *Eugene Onegin* ridiculing the imbecility of the country life of the nobility, and in *The Stationmaster*, taking up the cudgels for the lowly petty official, Pushkin at the same time believed in the healthy creative power of the people, and created positive characters, distinguished for their originality and moral strength. (Vladimir Dubrovski in the story of the same name, and Tatyana in *Onegin*.)

There is profound realism also in those writings of Pushkin's, the sources of which he took from history. While recognizing the importance of the individual in history—the progressive role of Peter I, for example—Pushkin made the people, the masses of the people, the real hero of his historical works. The tragic fate of the Russian people, enslaved, oppressed by feudal lord and tsar, rallying its forces with incredible effort to repel the foreign invasion of Pole and Lithuanian—this is the theme of his historic tragedy *Boris Godunov*. For a long time Pushkin was attracted by the personality of Pugachev, the leader of the peasant revolt in the Urals in the reign of Catherine II. The powerful and tragic figure of this peasant rebel has been immortalized by Pushkin in his tale *The Captain's Daughter*.

Shakespeare played a tremendous role in the creative development of Pushkin, in forming him as a great artist and realist. "Being firmly convinced that the wornout forms of our theater need to be shaped anew, I have constructed my tragedy on the model of our father Shakespeare," Pushkin wrote of this tragedy *Boris Godunov*. But the creative principles of Shakespeare were applied by Pushkin not only to his dramatic works. Pushkin called on all writers to study Shakespeare—as he himself studied him—for the creation of many-sided, profound and vivid characters, writing in this connection:

"Shakespeare's characters are not simply, like Moliere's, types of some particular passion, some particular vice; they are living beings, with many passions and many vices. Circumstances develop before the eyes of the spectator their manifold and many-sided characters. Moliere's 'Avare' is a miser and nothing more; Shakespeare's Shylock is a miser and also a shrewd, vindictive, witty man with a father's feelings. Moliere's Tartuffe dangles after the wife of his benefactor—from hypocrisy; he takes his estate into his charge—from hypocrisy; he asks for a glass of water—from hypocrisy. Shake-

speare's hypocrite pronounces court sentence with pompous severity, but justly; he justifies his harshness with the thoughtful utterances of a statesman; he beguiles innocence by powerful, captivating sophistries, by a ridiculous mixture of piety and gallantry. Angelo is a hypocrite because his public deeds belie his secret passions. And what depth there is in this character!"

Pushkin had a great admiration for the realistic types of Shakespeare and studied artistic realism from him. It is characteristic that Marx's love for Shakespeare was also due to this matchless quality of the great English dramatist. In a letter to Lassalle, Marx reproaches him for not realistically "Shakespearizing" his hero in his play *Franz von Sickingen*, but "Schillerizing" him idealistically. Marx and Engels, who learned Russian in order to study the specific features of Russian economy at first hand, availed themselves of their knowledge of the language to read Pushkin in the original. Among other things they used to quote from *Eugene Onegin* the political and economic moralizations of this ruined young nobleman, made in the spirit of Adam Smith.

Pushkin played an equally important role as the *creator of the Russian literary language*. Pushkin freed the Russian language from a large number of foreign words and phrases, with which the aristocrats of the time interspersed their speech, and also from Slavonic archaisms which reactionary patriotic writers artificially tried to preserve in the Russian language. Eagerly inbibing the songs and tales of peasants, boldly culling new riches of language from the treasury of oral folk poetry, Pushkin stood out as a champion of simplicity, clarity, and naturalness in the language of literature. "Brevity and conciseness," he wrote, "are the first merits of prose." *The language of Pushkin, formed by him from the speech of the people, became the language of literary Russian, the language in which the Russian people speak to this day.*

Pushkin's work had a great influence on all subsequent Russian literature. Its various sides were developed later by the greatest writers of the nineteenth century. The conciseness and clarity of his prose, the brilliantly realistic craftsmanship of his delineation of characters, served as models for the novels of Tolstoi and Turgenev. His sympathy with the oppressed and despised "little people," which found expression, for example, in the story *The Stationmaster* became a source of inspiration for Gogol and Dostoyevski. From the satirical *History of the Village of Gorkukhin*, in which Pushkin stigmatized serfdom, sprang the deathless satires of Saltykov Shchedrin. It was from Pushkin that Nekrassov learned the art of political, civic poetry.

Maxim Gorky, father of socialist literature, also learned a lot from Pushkin; Gorky, the first classic of socialist humanism, who hurled in the face of the dark monster of Russian tsarism, living its last days, the bold words: "There is a proud ring in the words, 'human beings.'"

It was in the works of Pushkin that, for the first time in Russian history, for the first time in Russian culture, the words "human being" began to have a proud ring. *Pushkin was the first writer in Russian literature to proclaim the principles of humanism, freedom, the independence of the individual, the right of every human being to happiness.* In his political verses he hurled a

bold challenge at the autocracy, serfdom, and official obscurantism, loudly proclaiming his sympathy with the Decembrists in his poems "To Chadayev," and the "Message to Siberia," and in his poem "The Village" describing with sorrow and indignation the horrors of feudal oppression. "I wish to sing of freedom to the world, to strike at vice on royal thrones," he proclaimed in his youthful revolutionary poem "Freedom."

Humanity and love of mankind permeate all Pushkin's writings. From his youthful poems, in which he sings of unrebelling joy, youth and love, to his great and maturest works, in which great personalities, great experiences and great passions come into play—everywhere Pushkin tried, in his own words, "to rouse worthy feelings by my lyre." Pushkin understood "worthy feelings" to mean, above all, feelings inspiring men to *battle* against evil, reaction and oppression.

Pushkin loved his people, loved mankind, far beyond the boundaries of his vast native land, and worked indefatigably to wed the Russian people to the culture of Western Europe. He carried the action of his poems and plays into England, Germany, Spain. In his writings we find many echoes of all the important manifestations of world literature. It is sufficient to recall his little tragedy *The Strong Guest*, in which he gives his own original version of one of the oldest figures of world literature, Don Juan.

Pushkin studied all the leading trends of European thought, and took a keen interest in all the movement of liberation in Western Europe. His library contained the works of Saint Simon, the thirty-five volumes of the French Encyclopedia, the works of Voltaire, Diderot, Holbach and Rousseau, and books on the history of the French and English revolutions. He followed with tense interest the struggle of the Greek people for freedom from Turkish domination. He wrote one of his best poems on the death of Riego, leader of the revolutionary action of the Spanish people in 1820.

The internationalism of Pushkin, which was one of the most striking features of his humanitarian outlook, manifested itself not only with regard to the peoples of Western Europe. He was the first Russian writer for whom the national minorities who peopled old Russia were not "foreigners," the object of chauvinistic contempt, but a source of diverse poetic themes. Cherkeses, Gypsies, Tatars, Finns, Kalmuks, Ukrainians, Georgians, all appear in his writings. In his poem "Epitaph" he wrote the prophetic words:

My fame will spread throughout great Russia's land,
And all shall speak my name in Russia's tongues,
The proud descendant of the Slavs, the Finns, Tungus
As yet untamed, and Kalmuk, lover of the steppe.

And so it has come to pass. Pushkin is known and loved by all the peoples of the U. S. S. R. At the celebration meeting held in Moscow in honor of the poet's memory the above verse was recited on the stage of the Bolshoi Theatre in the Tungus, Kalmuk, Ukrainian, Uzbek and many other languages.

The peoples of the U. S. S. R. know Pushkin well. They love Pushkin as did Lenin, about whom N. K. Krupskaya writes in her reminiscences: "I brought Pushkin, Lermontov and Nekrassov with me to Siberia. Vladimir Ilyich placed them beside his bed along

with Hegel, and read them over and over again in the evenings. He loved Pushkin best of all."

The reading public of the Soviet Union knows and loves Pushkin as he could not have been known and loved in tsarist Russia. Not only did Pushkin suffer all through his life from perpetual persecution and harrying, which made him cry out with chagrin in one of his letters to his wife: "It was the devil's idea to have me born in Russia with a soul and talent"; not only did the autocracy find a way of putting an end to a poet it had no use for—but even after his death it endeavored to create an abyss between him and the people. Official commentators and literary historians falsified his work; they concealed from the people the true content of his writings, consigned to oblivion the most revolutionary of them, and tried to represent the poet as a Christian and a loyal subject. At the time of the Pushkin jubilee in 1899, the centenary of the poet's birth, the following characteristic incident occurred. The municipal council of the town of Serpukhov, in reply to an application from the director of local high school to have a school named after Pushkin opened in the town, decided: "that in view of the fact that Pushkin never did anything particular for Serpukhov, the application of the high school director be rejected." The administration of one of the Russian railways issued the following order forbidding its employees to celebrate Pushkin's memory: "Mr. Pushkin never served in the Ministry of Transport, and to honor his memory is the business of writers and not of railway employees."

Only the people of the happy country of socialism, who have been freed from capitalist slavery and barbarism, could really understand and appreciate Pushkin. The great October socialist revolution, which has given rise in the Soviet Union to such an unprecedented growth of culture, was the first to bring the treasury of Russian and world literature within the reach of every worker, every peasant, all those whom tsarism had kept in darkness and ignorance.

Pushkin is near and dear to the hearts of the people of the U. S. S. R. who understand and love his joyous spirit, his noble humanitarian aspirations, his love of mankind, his sympathy with the exploited, his hatred of the exploiters. The name of Pushkin has become to them the emblem of socialist culture, the emblem of a new and happy life. The recollection of the tragic fate of Pushkin rallies them in their hatred for the fascist obscurantists, who have far outdone the lackeys of Nicholas I in their raging vandalism.

During the Pushkin celebrations, words written by Pushkin more than 100 years ago were repeated throughout the Soviet Union, words that still today have the potency of a battle cry calling men to fight for the freedom and happiness of the peoples against oppression and barbarism:

"Hail to the Muses, hail to Reason,
Hail to the sunshine, and away with darkness!"

EXHIBIT No. 58

*[Inprecorr, February 13, 1937. Pp. 193-195]***ALEXANDER PUSHKIN—A CLASSICAL PEOPLE'S POET****On the Hundredth Anniversary of his Death, February 10, 1837****By Hugo Huppert**

In the social life of the Soviet Union the great memorial celebration for Alexander Pushkin, the great Russian poet who died a hundred years ago, is a demonstration in favour of popularity and truth in art, a demonstration of the Leninist teaching concerning the cultural heritage taken over by the revolutionary proletariat.

Pushkin is the great classic writer of Russia and the real father of Russian literature, the real creator of Russian as a literary language. The world famous chain of Russian literary realism begins with Pushkin and proceeds over Lermontov, Gogol, Turgeniev, Nekrassov, Gontsharov, Saltykov-Shtshedrin to Leo Tolstoi and Maxim Gorki. It was Maxim Gorki who in his own art linked up the heritage of Pushkin with the Soviet epoch and proceeded further to socialist realism. The main features of Pushkin's art are a true popularity, a closeness to the people, realistic truth, a richness of ideas and an incomparable beauty of literary expression. It is precisely these qualities coupled with an unequalled graphic creative power which make Pushkin a highly popular "contemporary of the Soviet world."

The appropriation, mastery and critical treatment of everything of lasting value in the cultural heritage of the class societies of the past—this fundamental Leninist thesis of our cultural revolution, has led in its magnificent realisation in the Soviet society to the Soviet Union becoming the most important promoter and patron of all the real classical poets of world literature. To quote but one example amongst many, there is no country in the world which more often performs Shakespeare than the Soviet Union, or in which his heritage is more carefully cultivated. However, the steadfast internationalism of the Leninist cultural revolution is completely in harmony with a deep love for the cultural values produced by the Russian people, and the present Pushkin celebrations show clearly and convincingly that the positive, real and popular value of a great national literature finds its worthy and authentic heirs in the masses of the people under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat.

Since the socialist October Revolution, Pushkin's works have been issued in complete and individual editions to a total of twelve and a half million copies, and they have also been translated into most of the languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The new popular and academic Pushkin editions which have been prepared by the Soviet Union for the anniversary celebrations 1936-37 total almost thirteen and a half million copies. Amongst these complete editions are the following which were begun in 1936 and will be completed in 1937: an eighteen volume edition of 450,000 sets issued by the Academy of Science, a six volume edition of 600,000 sets issued by the State Publishing House for Belles-Lettres, and a six volume edition of 150,000 sets issued by the publishing house "Academia." 8,400,000 copies of individual editions of Pushkin's works will appear

in 1937, including two million copies with particularly beautiful decorations. Further, a number of Pushkin biographies will appear this year, including a popular one by W. Kirpotin in an edition of half a million copies. A three volume edition of Pushkin's works, specially translated into German, is being prepared by the Moscow Co-operative Publishing House for Foreign-born Workers.

In honour of the great poet, the Soviet government and the Communist Party initiated a Pushkin Committee of the Soviet Union as early as the end of 1935 in order that the great preparations for celebrating the anniversary of his death should be worthily organised. A resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, adopted on December 16, 1935, declared the celebrations for Pushkin to be of a State and public character in the land of developing socialism. By decree Maxim Gorki was appointed the chairman of the Pushkin Committee, whose members consisted of the most prominent authors, academicians and politicians in the Soviet Union. A little while ago the Soviet government appointed a number of new members to the committee whose ranks had been sadly depleted by the deaths of Maxim Gorki and the academician Karpinsky. In all the Republics and Autonomous Districts of the Union special national Pushkin Committees have been appointed and are working in conjunction with the Union Committee. A great Pushkin Anniversary Exhibition is being opened in the building of the Moscow Historical Museum. This exhibition has been organised by the Council of People's Commissars with the assistance of the Academy of Science, the All-Union Committee for Artistic Affairs, and the Central State Archives Administration. The Council of People's Commissars has also arranged for the erection of a number of Pushkin monuments, including a gigantic one in Leningrad. The All-Union Committee is protecting all those spots and places intimately connected with Pushkin and regarding them as national monuments. The programmes of almost all theatres throughout the Union and in the National Republics contain performances of Pushkin's drama, and the State Administration for Cinematography has ordered the making of a number of films of various works of Pushkin. Particularly interesting is the enormous number of performances, recitations and study circles which are being arranged amongst factory workers, peasants in the collectivised villages, students, members of the Young Communist League, and men of the Red Army, and in the urban and rural amateur dramatic and other societies. The Soviet press is full of such reports every day. This real demonstration on the part of the masses of the people in the Soviet Union is of double significance at a time when fascism in Germany is deleting the classical poets Goethe, Schiller and Heine from the school books and robbing their most talented successors in our own time, such as Thomas Mann, of their citizenship.

Only in one country in the world, where literature has really become the common property of the broadest masses of the people, could celebrations for a poet, dead a hundred years, take on such a wide mass character as we can now observe in the Soviet Union. Pushkin has become one of the central themes in the whole of the Soviet press and throughout the theatre, concert, cinema and picture world in the Soviet Union, and his works are now the most important subject of critical and historical writing. The popularity of this classical poet in the life of Soviet society is unexampled

and quite new in its degree, intensity, nature and significance. This historic fact once again confirms the world significance of the Soviet Union as the one unshakable upholder of cultural values. The Soviet Union has inscribed on its banners the defence "of everything of value in the development of thousands of years of human thought and human culture" (Lenin.) It defends these immortal values against fascist barbarism, against falsification, proscription, murder and the stake.

* * * * *

In Pushkin's poetic creation we find the most perfect artistic reflection of that period of Russian history in which aristocratic revolutionaries were in the van of the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed masses of the people. Pushkin gave eloquent expression to the ideas and the moods of the Decabrist movement, although he never formally belonged to it. In one of his essays on Tolstoi Lenin wrote the following highly significant passage:

"If we are dealing with a really great artist, we shall find that his works reflect at least one or two essential facets of the revolution." (Tolstoi in the *Mirror of Marxism*.)

This axiom of Lenin reveals its full validity in the case of Pushkin. As a brilliant representative of both the strength and the weakness of that aristocratic rebellion he gave form both to their idealistic flights and to their fear of the mass movement, both to their daring and to their isolation. Even after their defeat he remained impervious to the suggestions of the reaction and turned his interest to the movements of the people in history, movements which originated as a revolutionary protest against autocracy and serfdom. Stepan Razin, Emilian Pugatchev and the later peasant revolutionaries of Russia and Western Europe held his attention ceaselessly, and the history of the French Revolution was always the subject of intense study. Pushkin rejected violence as a method of political action and he condemned the fierce cruelty which always showed itself in peasant wars in all periods. However, at the same time he regarded the outburst of mass anger they revealed as the inevitable result of oppression on the part of feudal governments and feudal authorities.

The conflict between Pushkin and the Russian aristocracy from whose ranks he sprang, his opposition to the social system of feudalism and serfdom, and his opposition to the Tsarist regime—sometimes very violent opposition—and to the courtly society in which he always remained a stranger, were all motivated by the world of ideas created by the philosophical and political rationalism of the bourgeois revolution in France. However, it would be quite wrong to assume from this that Pushkin was a Russian representative of the bourgeois revolution itself or a pioneer of the young Russian bourgeoisie. He was under the influence of the bourgeois philosophers and economists of his day, but he did not grasp the progressive side of capitalist industrialisation. In the new economic forms—for instance in England—he could see nothing but inhuman exploitation, the grubby dominance of wealth, and the degradation of everything spiritual and moral by the brute force of mechanised production and market interests. His protest against serfdom, feudalism and Tsarist absolutism—in constant reciprocal influence on his abhorrence of the inhuman form of capitalist exploitation—

is the determining factor in Pushkin's humanism, his respect for the human dignity of the oppressed and exploited, and his deep regard for the character and the ideas of the peasant masses of the people.

Pushkin's poetry was popular in the best sense. It remained always essentially independent of the conventional and orthodox ideas of his surroundings. He sketched a picture of contemporary Russian reality free of all pro-Tsarist palliation, and although he can by no means be regarded as a steadfast Decabrist poet he nevertheless gave expression to the revolutionary protest and the urge to freedom of the best spirits of his age in the fullest and most valid form. His style was popular in the best sense, understood by all, and imbued with the desire for noble simplicity. The roots of his simplicity were embedded in the masses of the people. He studied the rich language of the Russian peasant and drew widely on its concrete imagery and from the rich stuff of folklore without, however, in any way giving his own work artificial simplicity. On the contrary, his simplicity and his lack of affectation directly aid the richness of his thought; they give clarity of expression to clarity of content. As a thoroughly idealistic and philosophical artist who pointed the way forwards and stood by his work with full responsibility, he succeeded in incorporating the everyday life of the toiling people, "prosaic" reality and its antagonisms, faithfully into the orbit of his art; the life and sufferings of the peasant serfs, the cruel methods of repression used to hold them in submission, and the troubled world of the artisans, handicraftsmen and lower officials. Pushkin, the first realist in Russian literature, addressed himself to the masses of the people, whom he joyfully served, above the heads of the Tsarist government, the bureaucracy and the world of courtiers. In his creative world we find always optimism, an optimistic attitude towards the victory of reason and freedom, and the future happiness of all.

Socialism has since abolished the exploitation of man by man. Socialism fulfills the material conditions necessary for the happy development of individuality which appeared to Pushkin, as a lover of freedom, to be the highest goal of mankind. The Stalinist Constitution, set in force by the Eighth Soviet Congress, registers the magnificent achievements of two decades of revolutionary struggle. This noble monument of humanism and democracy documents the sublimest ideas, feelings and hopes of countless generations as a living reality. Pushkin was one of its earliest heralds. The hundredth anniversary of his death will be an unexampled manifestation of flourishing and fructifying socialist culture.

Other than the date of its reissuance, there is nothing especially significant about the following excerpt. In this 1937 speech, Stalin was once more exploiting his favorite excuse for the failure of the Bolshevik regime to bring the "blessings" of the Communist utopia to the peoples of the Soviet Union. On this particular occasion, capitalist encirclement was offered as a justification of the great purge of those who had displeased the *vozhd*. What is significant is the fact that the CPUSA decided to redistribute this speech in the month in which World War II ended. Thus, the CPUSA reaffirmed its faith in the most basic concept of the class struggle. It also made clear that Stalin would continue to blame all internal crises of the U. S. S. R. upon the "warmongering imperialist powers." Exhibits for the postwar period will amply prove these accusations.

EXHIBIT No. 59

[New York, New Century Publishers, August 1945. Joseph Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*. Pp. 7, 9, 15, 17-19]

NOTE

This pamphlet contains the text of the report by Joseph Stalin, General Secretary, to the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on March 3, 1937, together with his concluding speech in reply to the discussion, delivered March 5, 1937.

* * * * *

2: Capitalist Encirclement

What are these facts which our Party comrades forgot, or which they simply did not notice?

They forgot that Soviet power has conquered only one-sixth of the world, that five-sixths of the world is in possession of capitalist powers. They forgot that the Soviet Union is in the conditions of capitalist encirclement. It is an accepted thing to talk loosely about capitalist encirclement, but people do not want to ponder upon what sort of thing this capitalist encirclement is.

Capitalist encirclement—that is no empty phrase; that is a very real and unpleasant feature. Capitalist encirclement means that here is one country, the Soviet Union, which has established the socialist order on its own territory and besides this there are many countries, bourgeois countries, which continue to carry on a capitalist mode of life and which surround the Soviet Union, waiting for an opportunity to attack it, break it, or at any rate to undermine its power and weaken it.

Our comrades forgot this fundamental fact. But it is that precisely which determines the basis of relations between the capitalist encirclement and the Soviet Union.

* * * * *

Is it not clear that as long as capitalist encirclement exists there will be wreckers, spies, diversionists and murderers in our country, sent behind our lines by the agents of foreign states?

Our Party comrades forgot about all this, and having forgotten were caught unaware.

* * * * *

4: The Seamy Side of Economic Success

Such are the basic facts from the sphere of our international and internal situation, about which many of our Party comrades forgot, or which they did not notice.

This is why our people were taken by surprise by the events of the last few years as regards wrecking and diversion.

It may be asked: But why did our people not notice all this, why did they forget about all this? Where did all this forgetfulness, blindness, carelessness and complacency come from?

Is it an organic defect in the work of our people? No, it is not an organic defect. It is a temporary phenomenon which can be rapidly liquidated by some efforts on the part of our people.

Then what is the matter?

The matter is that our Party comrades have been totally absorbed in economic work in recent years, have been engrossed to the limit in

economic successes, and being engrossed in all these things forgot about all else, threw aside all else.

The matter is that being carried away by economic successes they began to regard this as the beginning and end of everything, and simply gave up paying attention to such things as the international position of the Soviet Union, capitalist encirclement, strengthening of the political work of the Party, struggle against wrecking, etc., supposing all these questions to be second-rate and even third-rate matters.

* * * * *

Capitalist encirclement? A mere bagatelle! What significance can some capitalist encirclement or other have if we fulfill and surpass our economic plans? The new forms of wrecking, the struggle against Trotskyism? Mere details! What significance can all these trifles have when we fulfill and surpass our economic plans? The Party statutes, the election of Party organs, the reporting of the Party leaders to the mass of the Party members—is there really any need for all this? Is it worth while worrying about all these trifles at all if our economy grows and the material situation of the workers and peasants becomes ever better and better? Mere details! We overfulfill the plans, our Party is not bad, the Central Committee of the Party is also not bad—what else do we need? They are funny people sitting there in Moscow in the Central Committee of the Party. They invent some kind of questions, talk about some wrecking or other, don't sleep themselves and don't let other people sleep.

This is an example plain to see of how easily and "simply" some of our inexperienced comrades are infected with political blindness as the result of a dizzying rapture in economic successes.

Such are the dangers connected with successes, with achievements.

Such are the reasons why our Party comrades are carried away by economic successes, have forgotten facts of an international and internal character which are of real importance for the Soviet Union, and have not noticed a whole series of dangers surrounding our country.

* * * * *

4. It should be remembered and never forgotten that as long as capitalist encirclement exists there will be wreckers, diversions, spies, terrorists, sent behind the frontiers of the Soviet Union by the intelligence services of foreign states; this should be remembered and a struggle should be carried on against those comrades who underestimate the significance of the fact of capitalist encirclement, who underestimate the strength and significance of wrecking.

It should be explained to our Party comrades that no economic successes whatsoever, no matter how great they are, can annul the fact of capitalist encirclement and the results arising therefrom.

One year after Stalin had explained all his domestic problems in terms of capitalist encirclement to the "top brass" of the Bolshevik Party, he undertook this paternal clarification for rank and file comrades.¹ Dutifully, the *Daily Worker* reprinted his excuse as a source of enlightenment to Stalin's disciples on this side of the sea. Now that the Bolshevik revolution was over 20 years old, there was

¹David J. Dallin, *Russia and Post-War Europe*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1943, pp. 133-134.

no internal reason why Soviet socialism had not yet passed into the final stage of the classless Communist society. There was, however, one perennial external reason: capitalist nations still existed.

EXHIBIT No. 60

[*Daily Worker*, February 17, 1938. Pp. 2]

**STALIN'S REPLY ON QUESTION OF VICTORY AND DEFENDING
SOCIALISM IN THE U. S. S. R.—A LETTER FROM COMRADE
IVANOV AND COMRADE STALIN'S REPLY**

(Wireless to the *Daily Worker*)

MOSCOW, Feb. 16.—Following is the text of the exchange of letters between Joseph Stalin, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Ivan Philipovich Ivanov, staff propagandist of the Manturovsk district committee of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, Kursk Region:

IVANOV'S LETTER

To Comrade Stalin, from Ivan Philipovich Ivanov, staff propagandist of the Manturovsk district committee of the Young Communist League, Kursk Region.

Dear Comrade STALIN: I earnestly request you to explain the following question: In the local districts here, and even in the regional committee of the Young Communist League, a two-fold conception prevails about the final victory of Socialism in our country, that is, the first group of contradictions is confused with the second. In your works on the destiny of Socialism in the U. S. S. R., you speak of two groups of contradictions—internal and external.

As for the first group of contradictions, of course we have solved them—within the country Socialism is victorious. I would like to receive a reply on the second group of contradictions, that is, those between the land of Socialism and capitalism. You point out that the final victory of Socialism implies the solution of the external contradictions, that we must be fully guaranteed against intervention, and consequently, against the restoration of capitalism. But this group of contradictions can be solved only by the efforts of the workers of all countries.

Besides, Comrade Lenin taught us that "we can achieve final victory only on a world scale, only by the joint efforts of the workers of all countries."

While attending the seminary for staff propagandists at the regional committee of the Y. C. L., basing myself on your works, I said that the final victory of Socialism is possible only on a world scale; but the leading regional committee workers—Urozhenko [first secretary of the regional committee] and Kazelkov [propaganda instructor]—characterized my statement as a Trotskyist deviation.

I began to read to them passages from your works on this question, but Urozhenko ordered me to close the book and said, "Comrade Stalin said this in 1926, but we are now in 1938; at that time we did not have final victory, but now we have it and there is now no need for us to worry at all about intervention and restoration." Then he went on to say, "We have now the final victory of socialism and the full guarantee against intervention and the restoration of capitalism." And so I was looked upon as an abettor of Trotskyism and

removed from propaganda work, and the question was raised whether I was fit to remain in the Y. C. L.

Please, Comrade Stalin, will you explain whether or not we yet have the final victory of Socialism. Perhaps there is additional contemporary material on this question connected with recent changes that I have not yet come across.

Also I think that Urozhenko's statement that Comrade Stalin's works on this question are somewhat out-of-date is an anti-Bolshevik one. Are the leading workers of the regional committee right in looking upon me as a Trotzkyist? I feel very much hurt and offended over this.

I hope, Comrade Stalin, that you will grant my request and reply to: Manturovsk District, Kursk Region, First Zasemsky Village Soviet, Ivan Philipovich Ivanov.

[Signed]: I. Ivanov. Jan. 18, 1938.

STALIN'S REPLY

To Comrade IVAN PHILIPOVICH IVANOV: Of course you are right, Comrade Ivanov, and your ideological opponents, Comrades Urozhenko and Kazelkov, are wrong.

And for the following reasons:

Undoubtedly the question of the victory of Socialism in one country, in this case of our country, has two different sides.

The first side of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country embraces the problem of the mutual relations between the classes in our country. This concerns the sphere of internal relations. Can the working class of our country overcome the contradictions with our peasantry and establish an alliance, a collaboration with them? Can the working class of our country in alliance with our peasantry smash the bourgeoisie of our country, deprive it of the land, factories, mines, etc., and by its own efforts build a new, classless society, a complete Socialist society?

These are the problems connected with the first side of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country.

Leninism answers these problems in the affirmative. Lenin teaches that "we have all that is necessary for building a complete Socialist society." Hence we can and must by our own efforts overcome our bourgeoisie and build a Socialist society. Trotzky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and those other gentlemen who later became spies and agents of fascism, denied that it was possible to build Socialism in our country unless the victory of the Socialist revolution was first achieved in other countries, in the capitalist countries. As a matter of fact, these gentlemen wanted to turn our country back to the path of bourgeois development, and they concealed their apostasy by hypocritically talking about the "victory of the revolution" in other countries. This was precisely the point of controversy between our Party and these gentlemen. Our country's subsequent course of development proved that the Party was right and that Trotzky and Company were wrong. For during this period we succeeded in liquidating our bourgeoisie, in establishing fraternal collaboration with our peasantry, and in building, in the main, Socialist society, notwithstanding the fact that the Socialist revolution has not yet been victorious in other countries.

This is the position in regard to the first side of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country.

I think, Comrade Ivanov, that it is not this side of the question that is the point of controversy between you and Comrades Urozhenko and Kazelkov.

The second side of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country embraces the problem of mutual relations between our country and the other countries, capitalist countries; the problem of the mutual relations between the working class of our country and the bourgeoisie of other countries. This concerns the sphere of external, international relations. Can the victorious Socialism of one country which is encircled by many strong capitalist countries, regard itself as being fully guaranteed against the danger of military invasion—intervention—and hence, against attempts to restore capitalism in our country? Can our working class and our peasantry, by their own efforts, without the serious assistance of the working class in capitalist countries, overcome the bourgeoisie of other countries in the same way as we overcame our own bourgeoisie? In other words: can we regard the victory of Socialism in our country as final, that is, as being free from the danger of military attack and of attempts to restore capitalism, assuming that Socialism is victorious only in one country and that the capitalist encirclement continues to exist?

These are the problems connected with the second side of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country.

Leninism answers these problems in the negative. Leninism teaches that "the final victory of Socialism, in the sense of the full guarantee against the restoration of bourgeois relations, is possible only on an international scale." (Resolution of the 14th convention of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.) This means that the serious assistance of the international proletariat is a force without which the problem of the final victory of Socialism in one country cannot be solved. This, of course, does not mean that we must sit with folded arms and wait for assistance from outside. On the contrary, the assistance of the international proletariat must be combined with our work to strengthen the defense of our country, to strengthen the Red Army and the Red Navy, to mobilize the whole country for the purpose of resisting military attack and attempts to restore bourgeois relations.

This is what Lenin says on this score: "We are living not merely in a state, but in a system of states, and it is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately, one or the other must conquer. Meanwhile, a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable. This means that if the proletariat, as the ruling class, wants to and will rule, it must prove this also by military organization." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 24, P. 122, Russian edition.) And further: "We are surrounded by people, classes and governments which openly express their hatred for us. We must remember that we are at all times but a hair's breadth from invasion." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 27, P. 117, Russian edition.)

This is said sharply and strongly, but honestly and truthfully, without embellishment, as Lenin was able to speak.

On the basis of these premises, Stalin stated in *Problems of Leninism* that "the final victory of Socialism is the full guarantee

against attempts at intervention, and that means against restoration, for any serious attempt at restoration can take place only with serious support from outside, only with the support of international capital. Hence the support of our revolution by the workers of all countries, and still more, the victory of the workers in at least several countries, is a necessary condition for fully guaranteeing the first victorious country against attempts at intervention and restoration, a necessary condition for the final victory of Socialism." *Problems of Leninism*, 1937 Russian edition, P. 134), *Leninism*, Vol. I, by Joseph Stalin, P. 299.—Editor.)

Indeed it would be ridiculous and stupid to close our eyes to the capitalist encirclement and to think that our external enemies, the fascists, for example, will not, if the opportunity arises, make an attempt at a military attack upon the U. S. S. R. Only blind braggarts or masked enemies who desire to lull the vigilance of our people can think like that. No less ridiculous would it be to deny that, in the event of the slightest success of military intervention, the interventionists would try to destroy the Soviet system in the districts they occupied and restore the bourgeois system. Did not Denikin and Kolchak restore the bourgeois system in the districts they occupied? Are the fascists any better than Denikin or Kolchak? Only blockheads or masked enemies who by their boastfulness want to conceal their hostility and are striving to demobilize the people, can deny the danger of military intervention and of attempts at restoration as long as the capitalist encirclement exists. Can the victory of Socialism in one country be regarded as final if this country is encircled by capitalism, and if it is not fully guaranteed against the danger of intervention and restoration? Clearly it cannot.

This is the position in regard to the question of the victory of Socialism in one country.

It follows that this question contains two different problems: (a) the problem of the internal relations in our country, that is, the problem of overcoming our bourgeoisie and building complete Socialism, and (b) the problem of the external relations of our country, that is, the problem of completely insuring our country against the dangers of military intervention and restoration. We have already solved the first problem, for our bourgeoisie has already been liquidated and Socialism has already been built in the main. This is what we call the victory of Socialism, or to be more exact, the victory of Socialist construction in one country. We could say that this victory is final if our country were situated on an island and if it were not surrounded by numerous other capitalist countries. But as we are living not on an island, but "in a system of states," a considerable number of which are hostile to the land of Socialism and create the danger of intervention and restoration, we say openly and honestly that the victory of Socialism in our country is not yet final. But from this it follows that the second problem is not yet solved and that it has yet to be solved. More than that, the second problem cannot be solved in the way that we solved the first problem, that is, solely by the efforts of our country. The second problem can be solved only by combining the serious efforts of the international proletariat with the still more serious efforts of the whole of our Soviet people. The international proletarian ties between the working class of the U. S. S. R. and

the working class in bourgeois countries must be increased and strengthened; the political assistance of the working class in the bourgeois countries for the working class of our country must be organized in the event of a military attack on our country; and also every assistance of the working class of our country for the working class in bourgeois countries must be organized; our Red Army, Red Navy, Red Air Fleet and the Chemical and Air Defense Society must be increased and strengthened to the utmost. The whole of our people must be kept in a state of mobilization and preparedness in the face of the danger of military attack, so that no "accident" and no tricks on the part of our external enemies may take us by surprise. . . .

From your letter it is evident that Comrade Urozhenko adheres to different and not quite Leninist conceptions. He asserts, it appears, that "we now have the final victory of Socialism and full guarantee against intervention and restoration of capitalism." There cannot be the slightest doubt that Comrade Urozhenko is fundamentally wrong. Comrade Urozhenko's assertion can be explained only by his failure to understand the surrounding reality and his ignorance of the elementary propositions of Leninism, or by the empty boastfulness of a conceited young bureaucrat. If it is true that "we have full guarantees against intervention and the restoration of capitalism," then why do we need a strong Red Army, Red Navy, Red Air Fleet, a strong Chemical and Air Defense Society, more and stronger ties with the international proletariat? Would it not be better to spend the billions that now go for the purpose of strengthening the Red Army on other needs and to reduce the Red Army to the utmost, or even to dissolve it altogether? People like Comrade Urozhenko, even if subjectively they are loyal to our cause, are objectively dangerous to it because by their boastfulness they, willingly or unwillingly—it makes no difference!—lull the vigilance of our people, demobilize the workers and peasants and help the enemies to take us by surprise in the event of international complications.

As for the fact that it appears that you, Comrade Ivanov, have been "removed from propaganda work and the question has been raised of your fitness to remain in the Y. C. L.," you have nothing to fear. If the people in the regional committee of the Y. C. L. really want to imitate Chekhov's Sergeant Prishibeyev, you can be sure that they will lose in this game. Prishibeyevs are not liked in our country.

Now you can judge whether the passage from the book *Problems of Leninism* on the victory of Socialism in one country is out-of-date or not. I myself would very much like it to be out-of-date. I would like unpleasant things like the capitalist encirclement, the danger of military attack, the danger of the restoration of capitalism, etc., to be things of the past. Unfortunately, however, these unpleasant things still exist.

(Signed) J. STALIN.

FEBRUARY 12, 1938.

With the publication of the official history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1938, "true Bolshevik" revision of historical method attained its pinnacle of perfection. Stalin was the principal author.¹ The "history" contains nothing that had not received his complete approval. From his vantage position at the top of the Communist bureaucracy, the Kremlin lord and master contemplated the work of his days of destruction and saw that it was good. All the millions who had starved in the manmade famine of 1932-33, all the millions who had perished or still hopelessly languished in Soviet slave labor camps, all the hundreds of thousands who had succumbed to purging in NKVD cellars had been sacrificed for the well-being of the dictatorship of the proletariat.² Their devoted vozhd had seen to it that there were, for a time, fewer but, of course, much better Russians.

Tragic as was the fate of Stalin's innumerable victims, it cannot be our principal concern in reading this work. What really matters is his assurance that the past is significant only insofar as it is a guide to the future. As can be learned from other exhibits contained in part I and from exhibits included in part II (Communist Activities in the United States), Communists all over the world must imitate the example of the CPSU (B) as it developed under Stalin's command. Those who would be genuine Communists must not be bound by the letter of any Marxist document. Rather, they must learn from the deeds of successful Bolsheviks how to reject theory and to enrich themselves with the knowledge of correct Stalinist practice. As Dimitrov explained at the Seventh World Congress (sec. C, exhibit No. 14), only those who were willing to follow the lead of the greatest friend the human race has ever had are worthy to be called true revolutionaries.

This *History of the CPSU (B)* is by far the most effective program of world enslavement that has yet been composed. Unless we are very fortunate, many millions of human beings must still perish because of its predictions and its pledge of "peaceful" Socialist construction.

EXHIBIT No. 61

[New York International Publishers, 1939. *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course*. Edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B). Authorized by the Central Committee of the CPSU (B). Pp. 19-21, 32-38, 70-71, 73-75, 149, 167-169, 267, 273-275, 353-356]

INTRODUCTION

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) has traversed a long and glorious road, leading from the first tiny Marxist circles and groups that appeared in Russia in the eighties of the past century to the great Party of the Bolsheviks, which now directs the first Socialist State of Workers and Peasants in the world.

The C. P. S. U. (B.) grew up on the basis of the working-class movement in prerevolutionary Russia; it sprang from the Marxist circles and groups which had established connection with the working-class movement and imparted to it a Socialist consciousness. The C. P. S. U. (B.) has always been guided by the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism. In the new conditions of the era of imperialism, imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions, its leaders further developed the teachings of Marx and Engels and raised them to a new level.

The C. P. S. U. (B.) grew and gained strength in a fight over fundamental principles waged against the petty-bourgeois parties within the working-class movement—the Socialist-Revolutionaries (and earlier

¹ Foster, *History of CPUSA*, p. 381.

² Victor Kravchenko, *I Chose Freedom*, New York, Scribner's 1946, Chapter XIX: While History Is Edited. Manning, *Ukraine Under the Soviets*, pp. 93-107. Special Report No. 4, Select Committee on Communist Aggression, House of Representatives, December 31, 1954, pp. 17-20.

still, against their predecessors, the Narodniks), the Mensheviks, Anarchists and bourgeois nationalists of all shades—and, within the Party itself, against the Menshevik, opportunist trends—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, nationalist deviators and other anti-Leninist groups.

The C. P. S. U. (B.) gained strength and became tempered in the revolutionary struggle against all enemies of the working class and of all working people—against landlords, capitalists, kulaks, wreckers, spies, against all the hirelings of the surrounding capitalist states.

The history of the C. P. S. U. (B.) is the history of three revolutions: the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905, the bourgeois-democratic revolution of February 1917, and the Socialist revolution of October 1917.

The history of the C. P. S. U. (B.) is the history of the overthrow of tsardom, of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists; it is the history of the rout of the armed foreign intervention during the Civil War; it is the history of the building of the Soviet state and of Socialist society in our country.

The study of the history of the C. P. S. U. (B.) enriches us with the experience of the fight for Socialism waged by the workers and peasants of our country.

The study of the history of the C. P. S. U. (B.), the history of the struggle of our Party against all enemies of Marxism-Leninism, against all enemies of the working people, helps us to *master Bolshevism* and sharpens our political vigilance.

The study of the heroic history of the Bolshevik Party arms us with a knowledge of the laws of social development and of the political struggle, with a knowledge of the motive forces of revolution.

The study of the history of the C. P. S. U. (B.) strengthens our certainty of the ultimate victory of the great cause of the Party of Lenin-Stalin, the victory of Communism throughout the world.

This book sets forth briefly the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

CHAPTER 1. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CREATION OF A SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY IN RUSSIA (1883–1901)

* * * * *

2. *Narodism (Populism) and Marxism in Russia. Plekhanov and his "Emancipation of Labour" group. Plekhanov's fight against Narodism. Spread of Marxism in Russia*

Prior to the appearance of the Marxist groups revolutionary work in Russia was carried on by the Narodniks (Populists), who were opponents of Marxism.

The first Russian Marxist group arose in 1883. This was the "Emancipation of Labour" group formed by G. V. Plekhanov abroad, in Geneva, where he had been obliged to take refuge from the persecution of the tsarist government for his revolutionary activities.

Previously Plekhanov had himself been a Narodnik. But having studied Marxism while abroad, he broke with Narodism and became an outstanding propagandist of Marxism.

The "Emancipation of Labour" group did a great deal to disseminate Marxism in Russia. They translated works of Marx and

Engels into Russian—*The Communist Manifesto, Wage-Labour and Capital, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, etc.—had them printed abroad and circulated them secretly in Russia. Plekhanov, Zasulich, Axelrod and other members of this group also wrote a number of works explaining the teachings of Marx and Engels, the ideas of *scientific Socialism*.

Marx and Engels, the great teachers of the proletariat, were the first to explain that, contrary to the opinion of the utopian Socialists, Socialism was not the invention of dreamers (utopians), but the inevitable outcome of the development of modern capitalist society. They showed that the capitalist system would fall, just as serfdom had fallen, and that capitalism was creating its own gravediggers in the person of the proletariat. They showed that only the class struggle of the proletariat, only the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, would rid humanity of capitalism and exploitation.

Marx and Engels taught the proletariat to be conscious of its own strength, to be conscious of its class interests and to unite for a determined struggle against the bourgeoisie. Marx and Engels discovered the laws of development of capitalist society and proved scientifically that the development of capitalist society, and the class struggle going on within it, must inevitably lead to the fall of capitalism, to the victory of the proletariat, to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*.

Marx and Engels taught that it was impossible to get rid of the power of capital and to convert capitalist property into public property by peaceful means, and that the working class could achieve this only by revolutionary violence against the bourgeoisie, by a *proletarian revolution*, by establishing its own political rule—the dictatorship of the proletariat—which must crush the resistance of the exploiters and create a new, classless, Communist society.

Marx and Engels taught that the industrial proletariat is the most revolutionary and therefore the most advanced class in capitalist society, and that only a class like the proletariat could rally around itself all the forces discontented with capitalism and lead them in the storming of capitalism. But in order to vanquish the old world and create a new, classless society, the proletariat must have its own working-class party, which Marx and Engels called the Communist Party.

It was to the dissemination of the views of Marx and Engels that the first Russian Marxist group, Plekhanov's "Emancipation of Labour" group, devoted itself.

The "Emancipation of Labour" group raised the banner of Marxism in the Russian press abroad at a time when no Social-Democratic movement in Russia yet existed. It was first necessary to prepare the theoretical, ideological ground for such a movement. The chief ideological obstacle to the spread of Marxism and of the Social-Democratic movement was the Narodnik views which at that time prevailed among the advanced workers and the revolutionary-minded intelligentsia.

As capitalism developed in Russia the working class became a powerful and advanced force that was capable of waging an organized revolutionary struggle. But the leading role of the working class was not understood by the Narodniks. The Russian Narodniks erroneously held that the principal revolutionary force was not the working

class, but the peasantry, and that the rule of the tsar and the landlords could be overthrown by means of peasant revolts alone. The Narodniks did not know the working class and did not realize that the peasants alone were incapable of vanquishing tsardom and the landlords without an alliance with the working class and without its guidance. The Narodniks did not understand that the working class was the most revolutionary and the most advanced class of society.

The Narodniks first endeavoured to rouse the peasants for a struggle against the tsarist government. With this purpose in view, young revolutionary intellectuals donned peasant garb and flocked to the countryside—"to the people," as it used to be called. Hence the term "Narodnik," from the word *narod*, the people. But they found no backing among the peasantry, for they did not have a proper knowledge or understanding of the peasants either. The majority of them were arrested by the police. Thereupon the Narodniks decided to continue the struggle against the tsarist autocracy single-handed, without the people, and this led to even more serious mistakes.

A secret Narodnik society known as "Narodnaya Volya" ("People's Will") began to plot the assassination of the tsar. On March 1, 1881, members of the "Narodnaya Volya" succeeded in killing Tsar Alexander II with a bomb. But the people did not benefit from this in any way. The assassination of individuals could not bring about the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy or the abolition of the landlord class. The assassinated tsar was replaced by another, Alexander III, under whom the conditions of the workers and peasants became still worse.

The method of combating tsardom chosen by the Narodniks, namely, by the assassination of individuals, by individual terrorism, was wrong and detrimental to the revolution. The policy of individual terrorism was based on the erroneous Narodnik theory of active "heroes" and a passive "mob," which awaited exploits from the "heroes." This false theory maintained that it is only outstanding individuals who make history, while the masses, the people, the class, the "mob," as the Narodnik writers contemptuously called them, are incapable of conscious, organized activity and can only blindly follow the "heroes." For this reason the Narodniks abandoned mass revolutionary work among the peasantry and the working class and changed to individual terrorism. They induced one of the most prominent revolutionaries of the time, Stepan Khalturin, to give up his work of organizing a revolutionary workers' union and to devote himself entirely to terrorism.

By these assassinations of individual representatives of the class of exploiters, assassinations that were of no benefit to the revolution, the Narodniks diverted the attention of the working people from the struggle against that class as a whole. They hampered the development of the revolutionary initiative and activity of the working class and the peasantry.

The Narodniks prevented the working class from understanding its leading role in the revolution and retarded the creation of an independent party of the working class.

Although the Narodniks' secret organization had been smashed by the tsarist government, Narodnik views continued to persist for a long time among the revolutionary-minded intelligentsia. The surviving

Narodniks stubbornly resisted the spread of Marxism in Russia and hampered the organization of the working class.

Marxism in Russia could therefore grow and gain strength only by combating Narodism.

The "Emancipation of Labour" group launched a fight against the erroneous views of the Narodniks and showed how greatly their views and methods of struggle were prejudicing the working-class movement.

In his writings directed against the Narodniks, Plekhanov showed that their views had nothing in common with scientific Socialism, even though they called themselves Socialists.

Plekhanov was the first to give a Marxist criticism of the erroneous views of the Narodniks. Delivering well-aimed blows at the Narodnik views, Plekhanov at the same time developed a brilliant defence of the Marxist views.

What were the major errors of the Narodniks which Plekhanov hammered at with such destructive effect?

First, the Narodniks asserted that capitalism was something "accidental" in Russia, that it would not develop, and that therefore the proletariat would not grow and develop either.

Secondly, the Narodniks did not regard the working class as the foremost class in the revolution. They dreamed of attaining Socialism without the proletariat. They considered that the principal revolutionary force was the peasantry—led by the intelligentsia—and the peasant commune, which they regarded as the embryo and foundation of Socialism.

Thirdly, the Narodniks' view of the whole course of human history was erroneous and harmful. They neither knew nor understood the laws of the economic and political development of society. In this respect they were quite backward. According to them, history was made not by classes, and not by the struggle of classes, but by outstanding individuals—"heroes"—who were blindly followed by the masses, the "mob," the people, the classes.

In combating and exposing the Narodniks Plekhanov wrote a number of Marxist works which were instrumental in rearing and educating the Marxists in Russia. Such works of his as *Socialism and the Political Struggle*, *Our Differences*, *On the Development of the Monistic View of History* cleared the way for the victory of Marxism in Russia.

In his works Plekhanov expounded the basic principles of Marxism. Of particular importance was his *On the Development of the Monistic View of History*, published in 1895. Lenin said that this book served to "rear a whole generation of Russian Marxists." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. XIV, p. 347.)

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4. *Lenin's struggle against Narodism and "Legal Marxism."* *Lenin's idea of an alliance of the working class and the peasantry. First Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party*

Although Plekhanov had already in the eighties dealt the chief blow to the Narodnik system of views, at the beginning of the nineties Narodnik views still found sympathy among certain sections of the revolutionary youth. Some of them continued to hold that Russia could avoid the capitalist path of development and that the principal

role in the revolution would be played by the peasantry, and not by the working class. The Narodniks that still remained did their utmost to prevent the spread of Marxism in Russia, fought the Marxists and endeavoured to discredit them in every way. Narodism had to be completely *smashed* ideologically if the further spread of Marxism and the creation of a Social-Democratic party were to be assured.

This task was performed by Lenin.

In his book, *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight Against the Social-Democrats* (1894), Lenin thoroughly exposed the true character of the Narodniks, showing that they were false "friends of the people" actually working against the people.

Essentially, the Narodniks of the nineties had long ago renounced all revolutionary struggle against the tsarist government. The liberal Narodniks preached reconciliation with the tsarist government. "They think," Lenin wrote in reference to the Narodniks of that period, "that if they simply plead with this government nicely enough and humbly enough, it will put everything right." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 413.)*

The Narodniks of the nineties shut their eyes to the condition of the poor peasants, to the class struggle in the countryside, and to the exploitation of the poor peasants by the kulaks, and sang praises to the development of kulak farming. As a matter of fact they voiced the interests of the kulaks.

At the same time, the Narodniks in their periodicals baited the Marxists. They deliberately distorted and falsified the views of the Russian Marxists and claimed that the latter desired the ruin of the countryside and wanted "every muzhik to be stewed in the factory kettle." Lenin exposed the falsity of the Narodnik criticism and pointed out that it was not a matter of the "wishes" of the Marxists, but of the fact that capitalism was actually developing in Russia and that this development was inevitably accompanied by a growth of the proletariat. And the proletariat would be the gravedigger of the capitalist system.

Lenin showed that it was the Marxists and not the Narodniks who were the real friends of the people, that it was the Marxists who wanted to throw off the capitalist and landlord yoke, to destroy tsardom.

In his book, *What the "Friends of the People" Are*, Lenin for the first time advanced the idea of a revolutionary alliance of the workers and peasants as the principal means of overthrowing tsardom, the landlords and the bourgeoisie.

In a number of his writings during this period Lenin criticized the methods of political struggle employed by the principal Narodnik group, the "Narodnaya Volya," and later by the successors of the Narodniks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries—especially the tactics of individual terrorism. Lenin considered these tactics harmful to the revolutionary movement, for they substituted the struggle of individual heroes for the struggle of the masses. They signified a lack of confidence in the revolutionary movement of the people.

In the book, *What the "Friends of the People" Are*, Lenin outlined the main tasks of the Russian Marxists. In his opinion, the

*Quotations from English translations of Lenin and Stalin have been checked with the original and the translations in some cases revised.—Tr.

first duty of the Russian Marxists was to weld the disunited Marxist circles into a united Socialist workers' party. He further pointed out that it would be the working class of Russia, in alliance with the peasantry, that would overthrow the tsarist autocracy, after which the Russian proletariat, in alliance with the labouring and exploited masses, would, along with the proletariat of other countries, take the straight road of open political struggle to the victorious Communist revolution.

Thus, over forty years ago, Lenin correctly pointed out to the working class its path of struggle, defined its role as the foremost revolutionary force in society, and that of the peasantry as the ally of the working class.

The struggle waged by Lenin and his followers against Narodism led to the latter's complete ideological defeat already in the nineties.

Of immense significance, too, was Lenin's struggle against "legal Marxism." It usually happens with big social movements in history that transient "fellow-travelers" fasten on them. The "*legal Marxists*," as they were called, were such fellow-travelers. Marxism began to spread widely throughout Russia; and so we found bourgeois intellectuals decking themselves out in a Marxist garb. They published their articles in newspapers and periodicals that were legal, that is, allowed by the tsarist government. That is why they came to be called "legal Marxists."

After their own fashion, they too fought Narodism. But they tried to make use of this fight and of the banner of Marxism in order to subordinate and adapt the working-class movement to the interests of bourgeois society, to the interests of the bourgeoisie. They cut out the very core of Marxism; namely, the doctrine of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. One prominent legal Marxist, Peter Struve, extolled the bourgeoisie, and instead of calling for a revolutionary struggle against capitalism, urged that "we acknowledge our lack of culture and go to capitalism for schooling."

In the fight against the Narodniks, Lenin considered it permissible to come to a temporary agreement with the "legal Marxists" in order to use them against the Narodniks, as, for example, for the joint publication of a collection of articles directed against the Narodniks. At the same time, however, Lenin was unsparing in his criticism of the "legal Marxists" and exposed their liberal bourgeois nature.

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CHAPTER 2. FORMATION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY. APPEARANCE OF THE BOLSHEVIK AND THE MENSHEVIK GROUPS WITHIN THE PARTY (1901-4)

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2. *Lenin's plan for the building of a Marxist party. Opportunism of the "Economists."* "*Iskra's*" fight for Lenin's plan. Lenin's book "*What Is To Be Done?*" *Ideological foundations of the Marxist party*

Notwithstanding the fact that the First Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Party had been held in 1898, and that it had announced the formation of the Party, no real party was as yet created. There was no party program or party rules. The Central Committee

of the Party elected at the First Congress was arrested and never replaced, for there was nobody to replace it. Worse still, the ideological confusion and lack of organizational cohesion of the Party became even more marked after the First Congress.

While the years 1884-94 were a period of victory over Narodism and of ideological preparation for the formation of a Social-Democratic Party, and the years 1894-98 a period in which an attempt, although unsuccessful, was made to weld the separate Marxist organizations into a Social-Democratic Party, the period immediately following 1898 was one of increased ideological and organizational confusion within the Party. The victory gained by the Marxists over Narodism and the revolutionary actions of the working class, which proved that the Marxists were right, stimulated the sympathy of the revolutionary youth for Marxism. Marxism became the fashion. This resulted in an influx into the Marxist organizations of throngs of young revolutionary intellectuals, who were weak in theory and inexperienced in political organization, and who had only a vague, and for the most part, incorrect, idea of Marxism, derived from the opportunist writings of the "legal Marxists" with which the press was filled. This resulted in the lowering of the theoretical and political standard of the Marxist organizations, in their infection with the "legal Marxist" opportunist tendencies, and in the aggravation of ideological confusion, political vacillation, and organizational chaos.

The rising tide of the working-class movement and the obvious proximity of revolution demanded a united and centralized party of the working class which would be capable of leading the revolutionary movement. But the local Party organizations, the local committees, groups, and circles were in such a deplorable state, and their organizational disunity and ideological discord so profound, that the task of creating such a party was one of immense difficulty.

The difficulty lay not only in the fact that the Party had to be built under the fire of savage persecution by the tsarist government, which every now and then robbed the organizations of their finest workers whom it condemned to exile, imprisonment, and penal servitude, but also in the fact that a large number of the local committees and their members would have nothing to do with anything but their local, petty practical activities, did not realize the harm caused by the absence of organizational and ideological unity in the Party, were accustomed to the disunity and ideological confusion that prevailed within it, and believed that they could get along quite well without a united centralized party.

If a centralized party was to be created, this backwardness, inertia, and narrow outlook of the local bodies had to be overcome.

But this was not all. There was a fairly large group of people within the Party who had their own press—the *Rabochaya Mysl* (*Workers' Thought*) in Russia and *Rabocheye Delo* (*Workers' Cause*) abroad—and who were trying to justify on theoretical grounds the lack of organizational cohesion and the ideological confusion within the Party, frequently even lauding such a state of affairs, and holding that the plan for creating a united and centralized political party of the working class was unnecessary and artificial.

These were the "Economists" and their followers.

Before a united political party of the proletariat could be created, the "Economists" had to be defeated.

It was to this task and to the building of a working-class party that Lenin addressed himself.

How to begin the building of a united party of the working class was a question on which opinions differed. Some thought that the building of the Party should be begun by summoning the Second Congress of the Party, which would unite the local organizations and create the Party. Lenin was opposed to this. He held that before convening a congress it was necessary to make the aims and objects of the Party clear, to ascertain what sort of a party was wanted, to effect an ideological demarcation from the "Economists," to tell the Party honestly and frankly that there existed two different opinions regarding the aims and objects of the Party—the opinion of the "Economists" and the opinion of the revolutionary Social-Democrats—to start a wide campaign in the press in favour of the views of revolutionary Social-Democracy—just as the "Economists" were conducting a campaign in their own press in favour of their own views—and to give the local organizations the opportunity to make a deliberate choice between these two trends. Only after this indispensable preliminary work had been done could a Party Congress be summoned.

Lenin put it plainly:

"Before we can unite, and in order that we may unite, we must first of all draw firm and definite lines of demarcation." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 45.)

Lenin accordingly held that the building of a political party of the working class should be begun by the founding of a militant political newspaper on an all-Russian scale, which would carry on propaganda and agitation in favour of the views of revolutionary Social-Democracy—that the establishment of such a newspaper should be the first step in the building of the Party.

In his well-known article, "Where to Begin?" Lenin outlined a concrete plan for the building of the Party, a plan which was later expanded in his famous work *What Is To Be Done?*

"In our opinion," wrote Lenin in this article, "the starting point of our activities, the first practical step towards creating the organization desired,* finally, the main thread following which we would be able to develop, deepen and expand that organization unswervingly, should be the establishment of a political newspaper on an all-Russian scale. . . . Without it we cannot systematically carry on that all-embracing propaganda and agitation, consistent in principle, which form the chief and constant task of Social-Democrats in general, and the particularly urgent task of the present moment when interest in politics, in questions of Socialism, has been aroused among the widest sections of the population." (*Ibid.*, p. 19.)

Lenin considered that such a newspaper would serve not only to weld the Party ideologically, but also to unite the local bodies within the Party organizationally. The network of agents and correspondents of the newspaper, representing the local organizations, would provide a skeleton around which the Party could be built up organizationally. For, Lenin said, "a newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but also a collective organizer."

"This network of agents," writes Lenin in the same article, "will form the skeleton of precisely the organization we need, namely, one that is sufficiently large to embrace the whole country, sufficiently wide and many sided to effect a strict and detailed division of labour; sufficiently tried and tempered to be able

*That is, the formation of a party.—*Ed.*

unswervingly to carry on *its own* work under all circumstances, at all 'turns' and in all contingencies; sufficiently flexible to be able to avoid open battle against an enemy of overwhelming strength, when he has concentrated all his forces at one spot, and yet able to take advantage of the awkwardness of this enemy and to attack him whenever and wherever least expected." (*Ibid.*, pp. 21-2.)

Iskra was to be such a newspaper.

And *Iskra* did indeed become such a political newspaper on an all-Russian scale which prepared the way for the ideological and organizational consolidation of the Party.

As to the structure and composition of the Party itself, Lenin considered that it should consist of two parts: a) a close circle of regular cadres of leaving Party workers, chiefly professional revolutionaries, that is, Party workers free from all occupation except Party work and possessing the necessary minimum of theoretical knowledge, political experience, organizational practice, and the art of combating the tsarist police and of eluding them; and b) a broad network of local Party organizations and a large number of Party members enjoying the sympathy and support of hundreds of thousands of working people.

"I assert," Lenin wrote, "1) that no revolutionary movement can endure without a stable organization of leaders that maintains continuity; 2) that the wider the masses spontaneously drawn into the struggle . . . the more urgent the need of such an organization, and the more solid this organization must be . . . 3) that such an organization must consist chiefly of people professionally engaged in revolutionary activity; 4) that in an autocratic state the more we *confine* the membership of such organization to people who are professionally engaged in revolutionary activity and who have been professionally trained in the art of combating the political police, the more difficult will it be to wipe out such an organization, and 5) the *greater* will be the number of people of the working class and of the other classes of society who will be able to join the movement and perform active work in it." (*Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.)

As to the character of the Party that was being built up and its role in relation to the working class, as well as its aims and objects, Lenin held that the Party should form the vanguard of the working class, that it should be the guiding force of the working-class movement, coordinating and directing the class struggle of the proletariat. The ultimate goal of the Party was the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism. Its immediate aim was the overthrow of tsardom and the establishment of a democratic order. And inasmuch as the overthrow of capitalism was impossible without the preliminary overthrow of tsardom, the principal task of the Party at the given moment was to rouse the working class and the whole people for a struggle against tsardom, to develop a revolutionary movement of the people against it, and to overthrow it as the first and serious obstacle in the path of Socialism.

"History," Lenin wrote, "has now confronted us with an immediate task which is the *most revolutionary* of all the *immediate* tasks that confront the proletariat of any country. The fulfilment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark not only of European but also (it may now be said) of Asiatic reaction would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat." (*Ibid.*, p. 50.)

And further:

"We must bear in mind that the struggle with the government for partial demands, the winning of partial concessions, are only petty skirmishes with the enemy, petty encounters on the outposts, whereas the decisive engagement is still to come. Before us, in all its strength, stands the enemy's fortress, which is raining shot and shell upon us and mowing down our best fighters. We must

capture this fortress; and we shall capture it if we unite all the forces of the awakening proletariat with all the forces of the Russian revolutionaries into one party, which will attract all that is alive and honest in Russia. And only then will the great prophecy of Pyotr Alexeyev, the Russian worker revolutionary, be fulfilled: 'the muscular arm of the working millions will be lifted, and the yoke of despotism, guarded by the soldiers' bayonets, will be smashed to atoms!'" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. IV, p. 59.)

Such was Lenin's plan for the creation of a party of the working class in autocratic tsarist Russia.

The "Economists" showed no delay in launching an attack on Lenin's plan.

They asserted that the general political struggle against tsardom was a matter for all classes, but primarily for the bourgeoisie, and that therefore it was of no serious interest to the working class, for the chief interest of the workers lay in the economic struggle against the employers for higher wages, better working conditions, etc. The primary and immediate aim of the Social-Democrats should therefore be not a political struggle against tsardom, and not the overthrow of tsardom, but the organization of the "economic struggle of the workers against the employers and the government." By the economic struggle against the government they meant a struggle for better factory legislation. The "Economists" claimed that in this way it would be possible "to lend the economic struggle itself a political character."

The "Economists" no longer dared openly to contest the need for a political party of the working class. But they considered that it should not be the guiding force of the working-class movement, that it should not interfere in the spontaneous movement of the working class, let alone direct it, but that it should follow in the wake of this movement, study it, and draw lessons from it.

The "Economists" furthermore asserted that the role of the conscious element in the working-class movement, the organizing and directing role of Socialist consciousness and Socialist theory, was insignificant, or almost insignificant; that the Social-Democrats should not elevate the minds of the workers to the level of Socialist consciousness, but, on the contrary, should adjust themselves and descend to the level of the average, or even of the more backward sections of the working class, and that the Social-Democrats should not try to impart a Socialist consciousness to the working class, but should wait until the spontaneous movement of the working class arrived of itself at a Socialist consciousness.

As regards Lenin's plan for the organization of the Party, the "Economists" regarded it almost as an act of violence against the spontaneous movement.

In the columns of *Iskra*, and especially in his celebrated work *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin launched a vehement attack against this opportunist philosophy of the "Economists" and demolished it.

1) Lenin showed that to divert the working class from the general political struggle against tsardom and to confine its task to that of the economic struggle against the employers and the government, while leaving both employers and government intact, meant to condemn the workers to eternal slavery. The economic struggle of the workers against the employers and the government was a trade union struggle for better terms in the sale of their labour power to the capitalists. The workers, however, wanted to fight not only for better terms in

the sale of their labour power to the capitalists, but also for the abolition of the capitalist system itself which condemned them to sell their labour power to the capitalists and to suffer exploitation. But the workers could not develop their struggle against capitalism, their struggle for Socialism to the full, as long as the path of the working-class movement was barred by tsardom, that watchdog of capitalism. It was, therefore, the immediate task of the Party and of the working class to remove tsardom from the path and thus clear the way to Socialism.

2) Lenin showed that to extol the spontaneous process in the working-class movement, to deny that the Party had a leading role to play, to reduce its role to that of a recorder of events, meant to preach *khvostism* (following in the tail), to preach the conversion of the Party into a tail-piece of the spontaneous process, into a passive force of the movement, capable only of contemplating the spontaneous process and allowing events to take their own course. To advocate this meant working for the destruction of the Party, that is, leaving the working class without a party—that is, leaving the working class unarmed. But to leave the working class unarmed when it was faced by such enemies as tsardom, which was armed to the teeth, and the bourgeoisie, which was organized on modern lines and had its own party to direct its struggle against the working class, meant to betray the working class.

3) Lenin showed that to bow in worship of the spontaneous working-class movement and to belittle the importance of consciousness, of Socialist consciousness and Socialist theory, meant, in the first place, to insult the workers, who were drawn to consciousness as to light; in the second place, to lower the value of theory in the eyes of the Party, that is, to deprecate the instrument which helped the Party to understand the present and foresee the future; and, in the third place, it meant to sink completely and irrevocably into the bog of opportunism.

"Without a revolutionary theory," Lenin said, "there can be no revolutionary movement. . . . The role of vanguard can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 47, 48.)

4) Lenin showed that the "Economists" were deceiving the working class when they asserted that a Socialist ideology could arise from the spontaneous movement of the working class, for in reality the Socialist ideology arises not from the spontaneous movement, but from science. By denying the necessity of imparting a Socialist consciousness to the working class, the "Economists" were clearing the way for bourgeois ideology, facilitating its introduction and dissemination among the working class, and, consequently, they were burying the idea of union between the working-class movement and Socialism, thus helping the bourgeoisie.

"All worship of the spontaneity of the labour movement," Lenin said, "all belittling of the role of 'the conscious element,' of the role of the party of Social-Democracy, means, altogether irrespective of whether the belittler likes it or not, strengthening the influence of the bourgeois ideology among the workers." (*Ibid.*, p. 61.)

And further:

"The only choice is: either the bourgeois or the Socialist ideology. There is no middle course. . . . Hence to belittle the Socialist ideology in any way, to turn away from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen the bourgeois ideology." (*Ibid.*, p. 62.)

5) Summing up all these mistakes of the "Economists," Lenin came to the conclusion that they did not want a party of social revolution for the emancipation of the working class from capitalism, but a party of "social reform," which presupposed the preservation of capitalist rule, and that, consequently, the "Economists" were reformists who were betraying the fundamental interests of the proletariat.

6) Lastly, Lenin showed that "Economism" was not an accidental phenomenon in Russia, but that the "Economists" were an instrument of bourgeois influence upon the working class, that they had allies in the West-European Social-Democratic parties in the person of the revisionists, the followers of the opportunist Bernstein. The opportunist trend in Social-Democratic parties was gaining strength in Western Europe; on the plea of "freedom to criticize" Marx, it demanded a "revision" of the Marxist doctrine (hence the term "revisionism"); it demanded renunciation of the revolution, of Socialism and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin showed that the Russian "Economists" were pursuing a similar policy of renunciation of the revolutionary struggle, of Socialism and of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Such were the main theoretical principles expounded by Lenin in *What Is To Be Done?*

As a result of the wide circulation of this book, by the time of the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Party, that is, within a year after its publication (it appeared in March 1902), nothing but a distasteful memory remained of the ideological stand of "Economism," and to be called an "Economist" was regarded by the majority of the members of the Party as an insult.

It was a complete ideological defeat for "Economism," for the ideology of opportunism, *khvostism* and spontaneity.

But this does not exhaust the significance of Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*

The historic significance of this celebrated book lies in the fact that in it Lenin:

1) For the first time in the history of Marxist thought, laid bare the ideological roots of opportunism, showing that they principally consisted in worshipping the spontaneous working-class movement and belittling the role of Socialist consciousness in the working-class movement;

2) Brought out the great importance of theory, of consciousness, and of the Party as a revolutionizing and guiding force of the spontaneous working-class movement;

3) Brilliantly substantiated the fundamental Marxist thesis that a Marxist party is a union of the working-class movement with Socialism;

4) Gave a brilliant exposition of the ideological foundations of a Marxist party.

The theoretical theses expounded in *What Is To Be Done?* later became the foundation of the ideology of the Bolshevik Party.

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CHAPTER THREE. THE MENSHEVIKS AND THE BOLSHEVIKS IN THE PERIOD OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR AND THE FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (1904-7)

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In his historic book, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, Lenin gave a classical criticism of the tactics of the Mensheviks and a brilliant substantiation of the Bolshevik tactics.

This book appeared in July 1905, that is, two months after the Third Party Congress. One might assume from its title that Lenin dealt in it only with tactical questions relating to the period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and had only the Russian Mensheviks in mind. But as a matter of fact when he criticized the tactics of the Mensheviks he at the same time exposed the tactics of international opportunism; and when he substantiated the Marxist tactics in the period of the bourgeois revolution and drew the distinction between the bourgeois revolution and the Socialist revolution, he at the same time formulated the fundamental principles of the Marxist tactics in the period of transition from the bourgeois revolution to the Socialist revolution.

The fundamental tactical principles expounded by Lenin in his pamphlet, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, were as follows:

1) The main tactical principle, one that runs through Lenin's whole book, is that the proletariat can and must be the *leader* of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the *guiding force* of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia.

Lenin admitted the bourgeois character of this revolution, for, as he said, "it is incapable of *directly* overstepping the bounds of a mere democratic revolution." However, he held that it was not a revolution of the upper strata, but a people's revolution, one that would set in motion the whole people, the whole working class, the whole peasantry. Hence the attempts of the Mensheviks to belittle the significance of the bourgeois revolution for the proletariat, to depreciate the role of the proletariat in it, and to keep the proletariat away from it were in Lenin's opinion a betrayal of the interests of the proletariat.

"Marxism," Lenin said, "teaches the proletarian not to keep aloof from the bourgeois revolution, not to be indifferent to it, not to allow the leadership of the revolution to be assumed by the bourgeoisie, but, on the contrary, to take a most energetic part in it, to fight most resolutely for consistent proletarian democracy, for carrying the revolution to its conclusion." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 77.)

"We must not forget," Lenin says further, "that there is not, nor can there be, at the present time, any other means of bringing Socialism nearer, than complete political liberty, than a democratic republic." (*Ibid.*, p. 122.)

Lenin foresaw two possible outcomes of the revolution:

a) Either it would end in a decisive victory over tsardom, in the overthrow of tsardom and the establishment of a democratic republic;

b) Or, if the forces were inadequate, it might end in a deal between the tsar and the bourgeoisie at the expense of the people, in some sort of curtailed constitution, or, most likely, in some caricature of a constitution.

The proletariat was interested in the better outcome of the two, that is, in a decisive victory over tsardom. But such an outcome was

possible only if the proletariat succeeded in becoming the leader and guide of the revolution.

"The outcome of the revolution," Lenin said, "depends on whether the working class will play the part of a subsidiary to the bourgeoisie, a subsidiary that is powerful in the force of its onslaught against the autocracy but impotent politically, or whether it will play the part of leader of the people's revolution." (*Ibid.*, p. 41.)

Lenin maintained that the proletariat had every *possibility* of escaping the fate of a subsidiary to the bourgeoisie, and of becoming the leader of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. This possibility, according to Lenin, arises from the following:

First, "the proletariat, being, by virtue of its very position, the most advanced and the only consistently revolutionary class, is for that very reason called upon to play the leading part in the general democratic revolutionary movement in Russia." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. VIII, p. 75.)

Secondly, the proletariat has its own political party, which is independent of the bourgeoisie and which enables the proletariat to weld itself "into a united and independent political force." (*Ibid.*, p. 75.)

Thirdly, the proletariat is more interested than the bourgeoisie in a decisive victory of the revolution, in view of which "*in a certain sense* the bourgeois revolution is *more advantageous* to the proletariat than to the bourgeoisie." (*Ibid.*, p. 57.)

"It is to the advantage of the bourgeoisie," Lenin wrote, "to rely on certain remnants of the past as against the proletariat, for instance, on the monarchy, the standing army, etc. It is to the advantage of the bourgeoisie if the bourgeois revolution does not too resolutely sweep away all the remnants of the past, but leaves some of them, *i. e.*, if this revolution is not fully consistent, if it is not complete and if it is not determined and relentless. . . . It is of greater advantage to the bourgeoisie if the necessary changes in the direction of bourgeois democracy take place more slowly, more gradually, more cautiously, less resolutely, by means of reforms and not by means of revolution . . . if these changes develop as little as possible the independent revolutionary activity, initiative and energy of the common people, *i. e.*, the peasantry and especially the workers, for otherwise it will be easier for the workers, as the French say, 'to hitch the rifle from one shoulder to the other,' *i. e.*, to turn against the bourgeoisie the guns which the bourgeois revolution will place in their hands, the liberty which the revolution will bring, the democratic institutions which will spring up on the ground that is cleared of serfdom. On the other hand, it is more advantageous for the working class if the necessary changes in the direction of bourgeois democracy take place by way of revolution and not by way of reform; for the way of reform is the way of delay, of procrastination, of the painfully slow decomposition of the putrid parts of the national organism. It is the proletariat and the peasantry that suffer first of all and most of all from their putrefaction. The revolutionary way is the way of quick amputation, which is the least painful to the proletariat, the way of the direct removal of the decomposing parts, the way of fewest concessions to and least consideration for the monarchy and the disgusting, vile, rotten and contaminating institutions which go with it." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 75-6.)

"That," Lenin continues, "is why the proletariat fights in the front ranks for a republic and contemptuously rejects silly and unworthy advice to take care not to frighten away the bourgeoisie." (*Ibid.*, p. 108.)

In order to convert the *possibility* of the proletarian leadership of the revolution into a *reality*, in order that the proletariat might *actually* become the leader, the guiding force of the bourgeois revolution, at least two conditions were needed, according to Lenin.

First, it was necessary for the proletariat to have an ally who was interested in a decisive victory over tsardom and who might be disposed to accept the leadership of the proletariat. This was dictated

by the very idea of leadership, for a leader ceases to be a leader if there is nobody to lead, a guide ceases to be a guide if there is nobody to guide. Lenin considered that the peasantry was such an ally.

Secondly, it was necessary that the class, which was fighting the proletariat for the leadership of the revolution and striving to become its sole leader, should be forced out of the arena of leadership and isolated. This too was dictated by the very idea of leadership, which precluded the possibility of there being two leaders of the revolution. Lenin considered that the liberal bourgeoisie was such a class.

"Only the proletariat can be a consistent fighter for democracy," Lenin said. "It may become a victorious fighter for democracy only if the peasant masses join its revolutionary struggle." (*Ibid.*, p. 86.) And further:

"The peasantry includes a great number of semiproletarian as well as petty-bourgeois elements. This causes it also to be unstable and compels the proletariat to unite in a strictly class party. But the instability of the peasantry differs radically from the instability of the bourgeoisie, for at the present time the peasantry is interested not so much in the absolute preservation of private property as in the confiscation of the landed estates, one of the principal forms of private property. While this does not cause the peasantry to become Socialist or cease to be petty-bourgeois, the peasantry is capable of becoming a wholehearted and most radical adherent of the democratic revolution. The peasantry will inevitably become such if only the progress of revolutionary events, which is enlightening it, is not interrupted too soon by the treachery of the bourgeoisie and the defeat of the proletariat. Subject to this condition, the peasantry will inevitably become a bulwark of the revolution and the republic, for only a completely victorious revolution can give the peasantry *everything* in the sphere of agrarian reforms—*everything* that the peasants desire, of which they dream, and of which they truly stand in need." (*Ibid.*, pp. 108-09.)

Analysing the objections of the Mensheviks, who asserted that these Bolshevik tactics "will compel the bourgeois classes to recoil from the cause of the revolution and thus curtail its scope," and characterizing these objections as "tactics of betrayal of the revolution," as "tactics which would convert the proletariat into a wretched appendage of the bourgeois classes," Lenin wrote:

"Those who really understand the role of the peasantry in the victorious Russian revolution would not dream of saying that the sweep of the revolution would be diminished if the bourgeoisie recoiled from it. For, as a matter of fact, the Russian revolution will begin to assume its real sweep, will really assume the widest revolutionary sweep possible in the epoch of bourgeois-democratic revolution, only when the bourgeoisie recoils from it and when the masses of the peasantry come out as active revolutionaries side by side with the proletariat. In order that it may be consistently carried to its conclusion, our democratic revolution must rely on such forces as are capable of paralysing the inevitable inconsistency of the bourgeoisie, *i. e.*, capable precisely of 'causing it to recoil from the revolution.' " (*Ibid.*, p. 110.)

Such is the main tactical principle regarding the proletariat as the leader of the bourgeois revolution, the fundamental tactical principle regarding the hegemony (leading role) of the proletariat in the bourgeois revolution, expounded by Lenin in his book, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*.

This was a new line of the Marxist party on questions of tactics in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, a line fundamentally different from the tactical lines hitherto existing in the arsenal of Marxism. The situation before had been that in the bourgeois revolution—in Western Europe, for instance—it was the bourgeoisie that played the leading part, the proletariat willy-nilly playing the part of its subsidiary, while the peasantry was a reserve of the bourgeoisie. The Marxists considered such a combination more or less inevitable, at

the same time stipulating that the proletariat must as far as possible fight for its own immediate class demands and have its own political party. Now, under the new historical conditions, according to Lenin, the situation was changing in such a way that the proletariat was becoming the guiding force of the bourgeois revolution, the bourgeoisie was being edged out of the leadership of the revolution, while the peasantry was becoming a reserve of the proletariat.

The claim that Plekhanov "also stood" for the hegemony of the proletariat is based upon a misunderstanding. Plekhanov flirted with the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat and was not averse to recognizing it in words—that is true. But in reality he was opposed to this idea in its essence. The hegemony of the proletariat implies the leading role of the proletariat in the bourgeois revolution, accompanied by a policy of *alliance* between the proletariat and the peasantry and a policy of *isolation* of the liberal bourgeoisie; whereas Plekhanov, as we know, was *opposed* to the policy of isolating the liberal bourgeoisie, *favoured* a policy of *agreement* with the liberal bourgeoisie, and was *opposed* to a policy of alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry. As a matter of fact, Plekhanov's tactical line was the Menshevik line which rejected the hegemony of the proletariat.

2) Lenin considered that the most effective means of overthrowing tsardom and achieving a democratic republic was a victorious armed uprising of the people. Contrary to the Mensheviks, Lenin held that "the general democratic revolutionary movement *has already brought about the necessity* for an armed uprising," that "the organization of the proletariat for uprising" had already "been placed on the order of the day as one of the essential, principal and *indispensable* tasks of the Party," and that it was necessary "to adopt the *most energetic* measures to arm the proletariat and to ensure the possibility of directly leading the uprising." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. VIII, p. 75.)

To guide the masses to an uprising and to turn it into an uprising of the whole people, Lenin deemed it necessary to issue such slogans, such appeals to the masses as would set free their revolutionary initiative, organize them for insurrection and disorganize the machinery of power of tsardom. He considered that these slogans were furnished by the tactical decisions of the Third Party Congress, to the defence of which his book *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* was devoted.

The following, he considered, were these slogans:

a) "Mass political strikes, which may be of great importance at the beginning and in the very process of the insurrection" (*ibid.*, p. 75);

b) "Immediate realization, in a revolutionary way, of the 8-hour working day and of the other immediate demands of the working class" (*ibid.*, p. 47);

c) "Immediate organization of revolutionary peasant committees in order to carry out" in a revolutionary way "all the democratic changes," including the confiscation of the landed estates (*ibid.*, p. 88);

d) Arming of the workers.

Here two points are of particular interest:

First, the tactics of realizing *in a revolutionary way* the 8-hour day in the towns, and the democratic changes in the countryside, that is, a way which disregards the authorities, disregards the law, which ignores both the authorities and the law, breaks the existing laws and establishes a new order by unauthorized action, as an accomplished fact. This was a new tactical method, the use of which paralysed the machinery of power of tsardom and set free the activity and creative initiative of the masses. These tactics gave rise to the revolutionary strike committees in the towns and the revolutionary peasant committees in the countryside, the former of which later developed into the Soviets of Workers' Deputies and the latter into the Soviets of Peasants' Deputies.

Secondly, the use of *mass political strikes*, the use of general political strikes, which later, in the course of the revolution, were of prime importance in the revolutionary mobilization of the masses. This was a new and very important weapon in the hands of the proletariat, a weapon hitherto unknown in the practice of the Marxist parties and one that subsequently gained recognition.

Lenin held that following the victorious uprising of the people the tsarist government should be replaced by a provisional revolutionary government. It would be the task of the provisional revolutionary government to consolidate the conquests of the revolution, to crush the resistance of the counter-revolution and to give effect to the minimum program of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. Lenin maintained that unless these tasks were accomplished a decisive victory over tsardom would be impossible. And in order to accomplish these tasks and achieve a decisive victory over tsardom, the provisional revolutionary government would have to be not an ordinary kind of government, but a government of the dictatorship of the victorious classes, of the workers and peasants; it would have to be a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. Citing Marx's well-known thesis that "after a revolution every provisional organization of the state requires a dictatorship, and an energetic dictatorship at that," Lenin came to the conclusion that if the provisional revolutionary government was to ensure a decisive victory over tsardom, it could be nothing else but a dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

"A decisive victory of the revolution over tsardom is the *revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry*," Lenin said. "... And such a victory will be precisely a dictatorship, *i. e.*, it must inevitably rely on military force, on the arming of the masses, on an uprising and not on institutions of one kind or another, established in a 'lawful' or 'peaceful' way. It can be only a dictatorship, for the realization of the changes which are urgently and absolutely indispensable for the proletariat and the peasantry will call forth the desperate resistance of the landlords, of the big bourgeoisie, and of tsardom. Without a dictatorship it is impossible to break down that resistance and to repel the counter-revolutionary attempts. But of course it will be a democratic, not a Socialist dictatorship. It will not be able (without a series of intermediary stages of revolutionary development) to affect the foundations of capitalism. At best it may bring about a radical redistribution of landed property in favour of the peasantry, establish consistent and full democracy, including the formation of a republic, eradicate all the oppressive features of Asiatic bondage, not only in village but also in factory life, lay the foundation for a thorough improvement in the position of the workers and for a rise in their standard of living, and—last but not least—carry the revolutionary conflagration into Europe. Such a victory will by no means as yet transform our bourgeois revolution into a Socialist revolution; the democratic revolution will not directly overstep the bounds of bourgeois social and economic relationships; nevertheless, the significance of

such a victory for the future development of Russia and of the whole world will be immense. Nothing will raise the revolutionary energy of the world proletariat so much, nothing will shorten the path leading to its complete victory to such an extent, as this decisive victory of the revolution that has now started in Russia." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 82-3.)

As to the attitude of the Social-Democrats towards the provisional revolutionary government and as to whether it would be permissible for them to take part in it, Lenin fully upheld the resolution of the Third Party Congress on the subject, which reads:

"Subject to the relation of forces, and other factors which cannot be exactly determined beforehand, representatives of our Party may participate in the provisional revolutionary government for the purpose of relentless struggle against all counter-revolutionary attempts and of the defence of the independent interests of the working class; an indispensable condition for such participation is that the Party should exercise strict control over its representatives and that the independence of the Social-Democratic Party, which is striving for a complete Socialist revolution and, consequently, is irreconcilably hostile to all the bourgeois parties, should be strictly maintained; whether the participation of Social-Democrats in the provisional revolutionary government prove possible or not, we must propagate among the broadest masses of the proletariat the necessity of permanent pressure to be brought to bear upon the provisional government by the armed proletariat, led by the Social-Democratic Party, for the purpose of defending, consolidating and extending the gains of the revolution." (*Ibid.*, pp. 46-7.)

As to the Mensheviks' objection that the provisional government would still be a bourgeois government, that the Social-Democrats could not be permitted to take part in such a government unless one wanted to commit the same mistake as the French Socialist Millerand when he joined the French bourgeois government, Lenin parried this objection by pointing out that the Mensheviks were here mixing up two *different* things and were betraying their inability to treat the question as Marxists should. In France it was a question of Socialists taking part in a *reactionary* bourgeois government at a time when *there was no* revolutionary situation in the country, which made it incumbent upon the Socialists not to join such a government; in Russia, on the other hand, it was a question of Socialists taking part in a *revolutionary* bourgeois government fighting for the victory *of the revolution* at a time when the revolution was *in full swing*, a circumstance which would make it *permissible* for, and, under favourable circumstances, *incumbent* upon the Social-Democrats to take part in such a government in order to strike at the counter-revolution not only "from below," from without, but also "from above," from within the government.

3) While advocating the victory of the bourgeois revolution and the achievement of a democratic republic, Lenin had not the least intention of coming to a halt in the democratic stage and confining the scope of the revolutionary movement to the accomplishment of bourgeois-democratic tasks. On the contrary, Lenin maintained that following upon the accomplishment of the democratic tasks, the proletariat and the other exploited masses would have to begin a struggle, this time for the *Socialist* revolution. Lenin knew this and regarded it as the duty of Social-Democrats to do everything to make the bourgeois-democratic revolution *pass into* the Socialist revolution. Lenin held that the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry was necessary not in order to *end* the revolution at the point of consummation of its victory over tsardom, but in order to *prolong* the state of revolution as much as possible, to destroy the last rem-

nants of counter-revolution, to make the flame of revolution spread to Europe, and, having in the meantime given the proletariat the opportunity of educating itself politically and organizing itself into a great army, to begin the direct transition to the Socialist revolution.

Dealing with the scope of the bourgeois revolution, and with the character the Marxist party should lend it, Lenin wrote:

"The proletariat must carry to completion the democratic revolution, by allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyse the instability of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must accomplish the Socialist revolution by allying to itself the mass of the semi-proletarian elements of the population in order to crush by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to paralyse the instability of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. Such are the tasks of the proletariat, which the new *Iskra*-ists (that is, Mensheviks—*Ed.*) always present so narrowly in their arguments and resolutions about the scope of the revolution." (*Ibid.*, pp. 110–11.)

And further:

"At the head of the whole of the people, and particularly of the peasantry—for complete freedom, for a consistent democratic revolution, for a republic! At the head of all the toilers and the exploited—for Socialism! Such must in practice be the policy of the revolutionary proletariat, such is the class slogan which must permeate and determine the solution of every tactical problem, of every practical step of the worker's party during the revolution." (*Ibid.*, p. 124.)

In order to leave nothing unclear, two months after the appearance of the *Two Tactics* Lenin wrote an article entitled "Attitude of Social-Democrats to the Peasant Movement," in which he explained:

"From the democratic revolution we shall at once, and just in accordance with the measure of our strength, the strength of the class-conscious and organized proletariat, begin to pass to the Socialist revolution. We stand for uninterrupted revolution. We shall not stop half way." (*Ibid.*, p. 145.)

This was a new line in the question of the relation between the bourgeois revolution and the Socialist revolution, a new theory of a regrouping of forces around the proletariat, towards the end of the bourgeois revolution, for a direct transition to the Socialist revolution—the theory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution *passing into* the Socialist revolution.

In working out this new line, Lenin based himself, first, on the well-known thesis of uninterrupted revolution advanced by Marx at the end of the forties of the last century in the Address to the Communist League, and, secondly, on the well-known idea of the necessity of combining the peasant revolutionary movement with the proletarian revolution which Marx expressed in a letter to Engels in 1856, saying that: "the whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasants' War." However, these brilliant ideas of Marx were not developed subsequently in the works of Marx and Engels, while the theoreticians of the Second International did their utmost to bury them and consign them to oblivion. To Lenin fell the task of bringing these forgotten ideas of Marx to light and restoring them to their full rights. But in restoring these Marxian ideas, Lenin did not—and could not—confine himself to merely repeating them, but developed them further and moulded them into a harmonious theory of Socialist revolution by introducing a new factor, an *indispensable* factor of the Socialist revolution, namely, an *alliance* of the proletar-

iat with the semi-proletarian elements of town and country as a *condition* for the victory of the proletarian revolution.

This line confuted the tactical position of the West-European Social-Democratic parties who took it for granted that after the bourgeois revolution the peasant masses, including the poor peasants, would necessarily desert the revolution, as a result of which the bourgeois revolution would be followed by a prolonged *interval*, a long "lull" lasting fifty or a hundred years, if not longer, during which the proletariat would be "peacefully" exploited and the bourgeoisie would "lawfully" enrich itself until the time came round for a new revolution, a Socialist revolution.

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CHAPTER 5. THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY DURING THE NEW RISE OF THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT BEFORE THE FIRST IMPERIALIST WAR (1912-14)

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2. *The Bolshevik newspaper "Pravda."* *The Bolshevik group in the fourth state Duma*

A powerful instrument used by the Bolshevik Party to strengthen its organizations and to spread its influence among the masses was the Bolshevik daily newspaper *Pravda* (*Truth*), published in St. Petersburg. It was founded, according to Lenin's instructions, on the initiative of Stalin, Olminsky and Poletayev. *Pravda* was a mass working-class paper founded simultaneously with the new rise of the revolutionary movement. Its first issue appeared on April 22 (May 5, New Style), 1912. This was a day of real celebration for the workers. In honour of *Pravda's* appearance it was decided henceforward to celebrate May 5 as worker's press day.

Previous to the appearance of *Pravda*, the Bolsheviks already had a weekly newspaper called *Zvezda*, intended for advanced workers. *Zvezda* played an important part at the time of the Lena events. It printed a number of trenchant political articles by Lenin and Stalin which mobilized the working class for the struggle. But in view of the rising revolutionary tide, a weekly newspaper no longer met the requirements of the Bolshevik Party. A daily mass political newspaper designed for the broadest sections of the workers was needed. *Pravda* was such a newspaper.

Pravda played an exceptionally important part at this period. It gained support for Bolshevism among broad masses of the working class. Because of incessant police persecution, fines, and confiscations of issues due to the publication of articles and letters not to the liking of the censor, *Pravda* could exist only with the active support of tens of thousands of advanced workers. *Pravda* was able to pay the huge fines only thanks to large collections made among the workers. Not infrequently, considerable portions of confiscated issues of *Pravda* nevertheless found their way into the hands of readers, because the more active workers would come to the printing shop at night and carry away bundles of the newspaper.

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CHAPTER 6. THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY IN THE PERIOD OF THE IMPERIALIST WAR. THE SECOND REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA (1914-MARCH 1917)

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3. *Theory and tactics of the Bolshevik Party on the question of war, peace, and revolution*

The Bolsheviks were not mere pacifists who signed for peace and confined themselves to the propaganda of peace, as the majority of the Left Social-Democrats did. The Bolsheviks advocated an active revolutionary struggle for peace, to the point of overthrowing the rule of the bellicose imperialist bourgeoisie. The Bolsheviks linked up the cause of peace with the cause of the victory of the proletarian revolution, holding that the surest way of ending the war and securing a just peace, a peace without annexations and indemnities, was to overthrow the rule of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

In opposition to the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary renunciation of revolution and their treacherous slogan of preserving "civil peace" in time of war, the Bolsheviks advanced the slogan of "*converting the imperialist war into a civil war.*" This slogan meant that the labouring people, including the armed workers and peasants clad in soldiers' uniform, were to turn their weapons against their own bourgeoisie and overthrow its rule if they wanted to put an end to the war and achieve a just peace.

In opposition to the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary policy of defending the bourgeois fatherland, the Bolsheviks advanced the policy of "*the defeat of one's own government in the imperialist war.*" This meant voting against war credits, forming illegal revolutionary organizations in the armed forces, supporting fraternization among the soldiers at the front, organizing revolutionary actions of the workers and peasants against the war, and turning these actions into an uprising against one's own imperialist government.

The Bolsheviks maintained that the lesser evil for the people would be the military defeat of the tsarist government in the imperialist war, for this would facilitate the victory of the people over tsardom and the success of the struggle of the working class for emancipation from capitalist slavery and imperialist wars. Lenin held that the policy of working for the defeat of one's own imperialist government must be pursued not only by the Russian revolutionaries, but by the revolutionary parties of the working class in *all* the belligerent countries.

It was not to *every kind* of war that the Bolsheviks were opposed. They were only opposed to wars of conquest, imperialist wars. The Bolsheviks held that there are two kinds of war:

a) *Just* wars, wars that are not wars of conquest but wars of liberation, waged to defend the people from foreign attack and from attempts to enslave them, or to liberate the people from capitalist slavery, or, lastly, to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism; and

b) *Unjust* wars, wars of conquest, waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations.

Wars of the first kind the Bolsheviks supported. As to wars of the second kind, the Bolsheviks maintained that a resolute struggle must be waged against them to the point of revolution and the overthrow of one's own imperialist government.

Of great importance to the working class of the world was Lenin's theoretical work during the war. In the spring of 1916 Lenin wrote a book entitled *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. In this book he showed that imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, a stage at which it has already become transformed from "progressive" capitalism to parasitic capitalism, decaying capitalism, and that imperialism is moribund capitalism. This, of course, did not mean that capitalism would die away of itself, without a revolution of the proletariat, that it would just rot on the stalk. Lenin always taught that without a revolution of the working class capitalism cannot be overthrown. Therefore, while defining imperialism as moribund capitalism, Lenin at the same time showed that "imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat."

Lenin showed that in the era of imperialism the capitalist yoke becomes more and more oppressive, that under imperialism the revolt of the proletariat against the foundations of capitalism grows, and that the elements of a revolutionary outbreak accumulate in capitalist countries.

Lenin showed that in the era of imperialism the revolutionary crisis in the colonial and dependent countries becomes more acute, that the elements of revolt against imperialism, the elements of a war of liberation from imperialism accumulate.

Lenin showed that under imperialism the unevenness of development and the contradictions of capitalism have grown particularly acute, that the struggle for markets and fields for the export of capital, the struggle for colonies, for sources of raw material, makes periodical imperialist wars for the redivision of the world inevitable.

Lenin showed that it is just this unevenness of development of capitalism that gives rise to imperialist wars, which undermine the strength of imperialism and make it possible to break the front of imperialism at its weakest point.

From all this Lenin drew the conclusion that it was quite possible for the proletariat to break the imperialist front in one place or in several places, that the victory of Socialism was *possible* first in several countries or even in one country, taken singly, that the simultaneous victory of Socialism in all countries was *impossible* owing to the unevenness of development of capitalism, and that Socialism would be victorious first in one country or in several countries, while the others would remain bourgeois countries for some time longer.

Here is the formulation of this brilliant deduction as given by Lenin in two articles written during the imperialist war:

1) "Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of Socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country, taken singly. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organized its own Socialist production, would stand up *against* the rest of the world, the capitalist world, attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries. . . ." (From the article, "The United States of Europe Slogan," written in August, 1915.—Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 141.)

2) "The development of capitalism proceeds extremely unevenly in the various countries. It cannot be otherwise under the commodity production system. From this it follows irrefutably that Socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously *in all* countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for some time. This must not only create friction, but a direct striving on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the victorious proletariat of the Socialist country.

In such cases a war on our part would be a legitimate and just war. It would be a war for Socialism, for the liberation of other nations from the bourgeoisie." (From the article, "War Program of the Proletarian Revolution," written in the autumn of 1916.—Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. XIX, p. 325.)

This was a *new* and complete theory of the Socialist revolution, a theory affirming the possibility of the victory of Socialism in separate countries, and indicating the conditions of this victory and its prospects, a theory whose fundamentals were outlined by Lenin as far back as 1905 in his pamphlet, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*.

This theory fundamentally differed from the view current among the Marxists in the period of *pre-imperialist* capitalism, when they held that the victory of Socialism in one separate country was impossible, and that it would take place simultaneously in all the civilized countries. On the basis of the facts concerning *imperialist* capitalism set forth in his remarkable book, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin displaced this view as obsolete and set forth a new theory, from which it follows that the simultaneous victory of Socialism in all countries is *impossible*, while the victory of Socialism in one capitalist country, taken singly, is *possible*.

The inestimable importance of Lenin's theory of Socialist revolution lies not only in the fact that it has enriched Marxism with a new theory and has advanced Marxism, but also in the fact that it opens up a revolutionary perspective for the proletarians of separate countries, that it unfetters their initiative in the onslaught on their own, national bourgeoisie, that it teaches them to take advantage of a war situation to organize this onslaught, and that it strengthens their faith in the victory of the proletarian revolution.

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CHAPTER 9. THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY IN THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION TO THE PEACEFUL WORK OF ECONOMIC RESTORATION (1921-1925)

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An effective contribution to the ideological defeat of Trotskyism and to the defense of Leninism was Comrade Stalin's theoretical work, *Foundations of Leninism*, published in 1924. This book is a masterly exposition and a weighty theoretical substantiation of Leninism. It was, and is today, a trenchant weapon of Marxist-Leninist theory in the hands of Bolsheviks all over the world.

In the battles against Trotskyism, Comrade Stalin rallied the Party around its Central Committee and mobilized it to carry on the fight for the victory of Socialism in our country. Comrade Stalin proved that Trotskyism had to be ideologically demolished if the further victorious advance to Socialism was to be ensured.

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Yes, replied the Party, a Socialist economic system could be and should be built in our country, for we had everything needed for the building of a Socialist economic system, for the building of a complete Socialist society. In October 1917 the working class had vanquished capitalism *politically*, by establishing its own political dictatorship. Since then the Soviet Government had been taking every measure to shatter the economic power of capitalism and to create conditions for

the building of a Socialist economic system. These measures were: the expropriation of the capitalists and landlords; the conversion of the land, factories, mills, railways, and the banks into public property; the adoption of the New Economic Policy; the building up of a state-owned Socialist industry, and the application of Lenin's co-operative plan. Now the main task was to proceed to build a new, Socialist economic system all over the country and thus smash capitalism *economically* as well. All our practical work, all our actions must be made to serve this main purpose. The working class could do it, and would do it. The realization of this colossal task must begin with the industrialization of the country. The Socialist industrialization of the country was the chief link in the chain; with it the construction of a Socialist economic system must begin. Neither the delay of the revolution in the West, nor the partial stabilization of capitalism in the non-Soviet countries could stop our advance—to Socialism. The New Economic Policy could only make this task easier, for it had been introduced by the Party with the specific purpose of facilitating the laying of a Socialist foundation for our economic system.

Such was the Party's answer to the question—was the victory of Socialist construction possible in our country?

But the Party knew that the problem of the victory of Socialism in one country did not end there. The construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union would be a momentous turning point in the history of mankind, a victory for the working class and peasantry of the U. S. S. R., marking a new epoch in the history of the world. Yet this was an internal affair of the U. S. S. R. and was only a part of the problem of the victory of Socialism. The other part of the problem was its international aspect. In substantiating the thesis that Socialism could be victorious in one country, Comrade Stalin had repeatedly pointed out that the question should be viewed from two aspects, the domestic and the international. As for the domestic aspect of the question, *i. e.*, the class relations within the country, the working class and the peasantry of the U. S. S. R. were fully capable of vanquishing their own bourgeoisie *economically* and building a complete Socialist society. But there was also the international aspect of the question, namely, the sphere of foreign relations, the sphere of the relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries, between the Soviet people and the international bourgeoisie, which hated the Soviet system and was seeking the chance to start again armed intervention in the Soviet Union, to make new attempts to restore capitalism in the U. S. S. R. And since the U. S. S. R. was as yet the only Socialist country, all the other countries remaining capitalist, the U. S. S. R. continued to be encircled by a capitalist world, which gave rise to the danger of capitalist intervention. Clearly, there would be a danger of capitalist intervention as long as this capitalist encirclement existed. Could the Soviet people by their own efforts destroy this external danger, the danger of capitalist intervention in the U. S. S. R.? No, they could not. They could not, because in order to destroy the danger of capitalist intervention the capitalist encirclement would have to be destroyed; and the capitalist encirclement could be destroyed only as a result of victorious proletarian revolutions in at least several countries. It followed from this that the vic-

tory of Socialism in the U. S. S. R., as expressed in the abolition of the capitalist economic system and the building of a Socialist economic system, could not be considered a *final* victory, inasmuch as the danger of foreign armed intervention and of attempts to restore capitalism had not been eliminated, and inasmuch as the Socialist country had no guarantee against this danger. To destroy the danger of foreign capitalist intervention, the capitalist encirclement would have to be destroyed.

Of course, as long as the Soviet Government pursued a correct policy, the Soviet people and their Red Army would be able to beat off a new foreign capitalist intervention just as they had beaten off the first capitalist intervention of 1918-20. But this would not mean that the danger of new capitalist intervention would be eliminated. The defeat of the first intervention did not destroy the danger of new intervention, inasmuch as the source of the danger of intervention—the capitalist encirclement—continued to exist. Neither would the danger of intervention be destroyed by the defeat of the new intervention if the capitalist encirclement continued to exist.

It followed from this that the victory of the proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries was a matter of vital concern to the working people of the U. S. S. R.

Such was the Party's line on the question of the victory of Socialism in our country.

The Central Committee demanded that this line be discussed at the forthcoming Fourteenth Party Conference, and that it be endorsed and accepted as the line of the Party, as a Party law, *binding* upon all Party members.

This line of the Party came as a thunderbolt to the oppositionists, above all, because the Party lent it a specific and practical character, linked it with a practical plan for the Socialist industrialization of the country, and demanded that it be formulated as a Party law, as a resolution of the Fourteenth Party Conference, binding upon all Party members.

The Trotskyites opposed this Party line and set up against it the Menshevik "theory of permanent revolution," which it would be an insult to Marxism to call a Marxist theory, and which denied the possibility of the victory of Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R.

The Bukharinites did not venture to oppose the Party line outspokenly. But they furtively set up against it their own "theory" of the peaceful growing of the bourgeoisie into Socialism, amplifying it with a "new" slogan—"Get Rich!" According to the Bukharinites, the victory of Socialism meant fostering and encircling the bourgeoisie, not destroying it.

Zinoviev and Kamenev ventured forth with the assertion that the victory of Socialism in the U. S. S. R. was impossible because of the country's technical and economic backwardness, but they soon found it prudent to hide under cover.

The Fourteenth Party Conference (April, 1925) condemned all these capitulatory "theories" of the open and covert oppositionists and affirmed the Party line of working for the victory of Socialism in the U. S. S. R., adopting a resolution to this effect.

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CHAPTER 12. THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE TO COMPLETE THE BUILDING OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY. INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION (1935-37)

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4. *Liquidation of the remnants of the Bukharin-Trotsky gang of spies, wreckers and traitors to the country. Preparations for the election of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. Broad inner-party democracy as the Party's course. Election of Supreme Soviet of U. S. S. R.*

In 1937, new facts came to light regarding the fiendish crimes of the Bukharin-Trotsky gang. The trial of Pyatakov, Radek and others, the trial of Tukhachevsky, Yakir and others, and, lastly, the trial of Bukharin, Rykov, Krestinsky, Rosengoltz and others, all showed that the Bukharinites and Trotskyites had long ago joined to form a common band of enemies of the people, operating as the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites."

The trials showed that these dregs of humanity, in conjunction with the enemies of the people, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev, had been in conspiracy against Lenin, the Party and the Soviet state ever since the early days of the October Socialist Revolution. The insidious attempts to thwart the Peace of Brest-Litovsk at the beginning of 1918, the plot against Lenin and the conspiracy with the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries for the arrest and murder of Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov in the spring of 1918, the villainous shot that wounded Lenin in the summer of 1918, the revolt of the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries in the summer of 1918, the deliberate aggravation of differences in the Party in 1921 with the object of undermining and overthrowing Lenin's leadership from within, the attempts to overthrow the Party leadership during Lenin's illness and after his death, the betrayal of state secrets and the supply of information of an espionage character to foreign espionage services, the vile assassination of Kirov, the acts of wrecking diversion and explosions, the dastardly murder of Menzhinsky, Kuibyshev and Gorky—all these and similar villainies over a period of twenty years were committed, it transpired, with the participation or under the direction of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Rykov and their henchmen, at the behest of espionage services of bourgeois states.

The trials brought to light the fact that the Trotsky-Bukharin fiends, in obedience to the wishes of their masters—the espionage services of foreign states—had set out to destroy the Party and the Soviet state, to undermine the defensive power of the country, to assist foreign military intervention, to prepare the way for the defeat of the Red Army, to bring about the dismemberment of the U. S. S. R., to hand over the Soviet Maritime Region to the Japanese, Soviet Byelorussia to the Poles, and the Soviet Ukraine to the Germans, to destroy the gains of the workers and collective farmers, and to restore capitalist slavery in the U. S. S. R.

These Whiteguard pigmies, whose strength was no more than that of a gnat, apparently flattered themselves that they were the masters of the country, and imagined that it was really in their power to sell or give away the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Maritime Region.

These Whiteguard insects forgot that the real masters of the Soviet country were the Soviet people, and that the Rykovs, Bukharins, Zino-

views and Kamenevs were only temporary employees of the state, which could at any moment sweep them out from its offices as so much useless rubbish.

These contemptible lackeys of the fascists forgot that the Soviet people had only to move a finger, and not a trace of them would be left.

The Soviet court sentenced the Bukharin-Trotsky fiends to be shot.

The People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs carried out the sentence.

The Soviet people approved the annihilation of the Bukharin-Trotsky gang and passed on to next business.

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CONCLUSION

What are the chief conclusions to be drawn from the historical path traversed by the Bolshevik Party?

What does the history of the C. P. S. U. (B.) teach us?

1) The history of the Party teaches us, first of all that the victory of the proletarian revolution, the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is impossible without a revolutionary party of the proletariat, a party free from opportunism, irreconcilable towards compromisers and capitulators, and revolutionary in its attitude towards the bourgeoisie and its state power.

The history of the Party teaches us that to leave the proletariat without such a party means to leave it without revolutionary leadership; and to leave it without revolutionary leadership means to ruin the cause of the proletarian revolution.

The history of the Party teaches us that the ordinary Social-Democratic Party of the West-European type, brought up under conditions of civil peace, trailing in the wake of the opportunists, dreaming of "social reforms," and dreading social revolution, cannot be such a party.

The history of the Party teaches us that only a party of the new type, a Marxist-Leninist party, a party of social revolution, a party capable of preparing the proletariat for decisive battles against the bourgeoisie and of organizing the victory of the proletarian revolution, can be such a party.

The Bolshevik Party in the U. S. S. R. is such a party.

"In the pre-revolutionary period," Comrade Stalin says, "in the period of more or less peaceful development, when the parties of the Second International were the predominant force in the working-class movement and parliamentary forms of struggle were regarded as the principal forms, the party neither had nor could have had that great and decisive importance which it acquired afterwards, under conditions of open revolutionary battle. Defending the Second International against attack made upon it, Kautsky says that the parties of the Second International are instruments of peace and not of war, and that for this very reason they were powerless to take any important steps during the war, during the period of revolutionary action by the proletariat. That is quite true. But what does it mean? It means that the parties of the Second International are unfit for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, that they are not militant parties of the proletariat, leading the workers to power, but election machines adapted for parliamentary elections and parliamentary struggle. This, in fact, explains why, in the days when the opportunists of the Second International were in the ascendancy, it was not the party but its parliamentary group that was the chief political organization of the proletariat. It is well known that the party at that time was really an appendage and subsidiary of the parliamentary group. It goes without saying that under such circumstances and with such a party at the helm there could be no question of preparing the proletariat for revolution.

"But matters have changed radically with the dawn of the new period. The new period is one of open class collisions, of revolutionary action by the proletariat, of proletarian revolution, a period when forces are being directly mustered for the overthrow of imperialism and the seizure of power by the proletariat. In this period the proletariat is confronted with new tasks, the tasks of reorganizing all party work on new, revolutionary lines; of educating the workers in the spirit of revolutionary struggle for power; of preparing and moving up reserves; of establishing an alliance with the proletarians of neighbouring countries; of establishing firm ties with the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries, etc., etc. To think that these new tasks can be performed by the old Social-Democratic parties, brought up as they were in the peaceful conditions of parliamentarism, is to doom oneself to hopeless despair and inevitable defeat. If, with such tasks to shoulder, the proletariat remained under the leadership of the old parties it would be completely unarmed and defenceless. It goes without saying that the proletariat could not consent to such a state of affairs.

"Hence the necessity for a new party, a militant party, a revolutionary party, one bold enough to lead the proletarians in the struggle for power, sufficiently experienced to find its bearings amidst the complex conditions of a revolutionary situation, and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of all submerged rocks in the path to its goal.

"Without such a party it is useless even to think of overthrowing imperialism and achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"This new party is the party of Leninism." (Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, pp. 87-8.)

2) The history of the Party further teaches us that a party of the working class cannot perform the role of leader of its class, cannot perform the role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution, unless it has mastered the advanced theory of the working-class movement, the Marxist-Leninist theory.

The power of the Marxist-Leninist theory lies in the fact that it enables the Party to find the right orientation in any situation, to understand the inner connection of current events, to foresee their course and to perceive not only how and in what direction they are developing in the present, but how and in what direction they are bound to develop in the future.

Only a party which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory can confidently advance and lead the working class forward.

On the other hand, a party which has not mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory is compelled to grope its way, loses confidence in its actions and is unable to lead the working class forward.

It may seem that all that is required for mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory is diligently to learn by heart isolated conclusions and propositions from the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, learn to quote them at opportune times and rest at that, in the hope that the conclusions and propositions thus memorized will suit each and every situation and occasion. But such an approach to the Marxist-Leninist theory is altogether wrong. The Marxist-Leninist theory must not be regarded as a collection of dogmas, as a catechism, as a symbol of faith, and the Marxists themselves as pedants and dogmatists. The Marxist-Leninist theory is the science of the development of society, the science of the working-class movement, the science of the proletarian revolution, the science of the building of the Communist society. And as a science it does not and cannot stand still, but develops and perfects itself. Clearly, in its development it is bound to become enriched by new experience and new knowledge, and some of its propositions and conclusions are bound to change in the course of time, are bound to be replaced by new conclusions and propositions corresponding to the new historical conditions.

Mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory does not at all mean learning all its formulas and conclusions by heart and clinging to their every letter. To master the Marxist-Leninist theory we must first of all learn to distinguish between its letter and substance.

Mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory means assimilating *the substance* of this theory and learning to use it in the solution of the practical problems of the revolutionary movement under the varying conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat.

Mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory means being able to enrich this theory with the new experience of the revolutionary movement, with new propositions and conclusions, it means being able to *develop it and advance it* without hesitating to replace—in accordance with the substance of the theory—such of its propositions and conclusions as have become antiquated by new ones corresponding to the new historical situation.

The Marxist-Leninist theory is not a dogma but a guide to action.

In 1938, *World News and Views* replaced *Inprecorr* as the most official publication of the Communist International. The following excerpt deals with the matter of "voluntary" Socialist worker enthusiasm for increased burdens. One honest industrial commissar who later came over to the free world side has commented upon his personal relationship with labor conditions under the December 1938 decree.¹ Except in official Communist propaganda, it certainly did not make life any less rigorous in the land of Socialist construction.²

EXHIBIT No. 62

[*World News and Views*, January 21, 1939. Pp. 59, 60]

THE SOVIET UNION—SOCIALIST WORK DISCIPLINE

By F. Becker

In the socialist State, which is based on the socialist economic system, the labour legislation naturally cannot be anything else but socialist. The working people of the Soviet Union know that in socialist production their interests do not run counter to the interests of the State, and that the labour legislation of the Soviet Union cannot be separated from the general tasks of socialist production, as these tasks have in view only one aim: to increase the wealth and power of the whole of the Soviet people, and thereby of every individual Soviet Citizen.

The recently published decisions of the Council of People's Commissars, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the All-Union Council of Trade Unions on measures for improving work discipline and for the better administration of the State social insurance are also directed towards achieving this aim.

"What we have won ourselves," said Lenin, "what we have decreed, was made law, discussed and laid down, we must establish in permanent forms of daily work discipline. That is the most difficult, but also the most grateful task, for only when we have solved it shall we obtain a socialist order."

¹ Kravchenko, *I Chose Freedom*, pp. 311-331.

² Schwarz, *Labor in the Soviet Union*, pp. 167-179. See Meisel and Kozero, *Soviet System*, pp. 303-310, for the complete text of the December 28, 1938, decree on intensified labor discipline.

Therefore, Soviet labour legislation in its practical application wages a determined fight against all absence from work and against loss of working time. Needless to say, all these measures only affect those who do not work conscientiously, who, by absence from work, idling during working hours, disorganise the regular course of production. Absence from work, loss of working time, cause great damage to socialist national economy and thereby to the workers as a whole and to every individual worker.

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In this phase of socialist construction socialist work discipline must be the result of a conscious, communist attitude to work, to mastering the technique of socialist production, to achieving the highest possible productivity of labour. Every ton more of coal, iron, and steel, every yard more of cloth produced by the Soviet workers, increases the wealth of the Soviet people and thereby of each individual, and consolidates the power of the land of Socialism. This truth is already to-day realised by hundreds of thousands of Stakhanov workers and millions of workers who are engaged in socialist competitions among themselves. It is they who are demanding the full working of all seven or six working hours by each toiler. They realise that it is not only to the detriment of the socialist State but of each of them if the normal course of production is disturbed by absence and idling.

It was in this sense that the questions of socialist work discipline were raised by the advanced workers in thousands of letters to the Soviet press and in numerous factory and works meetings. And when the decision of the Council of People's Commissars, of the C. C. of the C. P. of the Soviet Union (B) and of the All-Union Council of the Trade Unions was published, the workers repeatedly emphasised in their resolutions that this decision is in accordance with the interests of the whole of the working class. The work card which commencing from January 15, will be handed to every worker and employee in all State and co-operative factories and institutions, records all the performances of the Stakhanov workers, the shock brigader, and any other worker; what training he received and what premiums and commendations he received for his work. Many workers will be able to point with pride to the fact that they entered the Soviet factory as simple workers and have then developed to Stakhanov workers, foremen, directors, or even higher positions.

In the Soviet Union, the country of victorious Socialism, the rank and file of the workers, employees, and the collective peasants themselves are initiating the struggle for a higher productivity of labour.

"Work in the Soviet Union is the obligation of each citizen capable of working, according to the principle: 'He who does not work shall not eat.' In the U. S. S. R. the principle of Socialism is being realised: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work.' " So reads the text of Article 12 of the Stalinist Constitution.

At the last Bolshevik Party Congress held before the outbreak of World War II, Stalin repeated his usual observations about the international crisis. On its side, the U. S. S. R. had manifested no little ingenuity in making favorable alliances with western democracies and with certain Asiatic powers. Although he must have already given serious consideration to the matter, Stalin said nothing about the possibility of an agreement with the Fascist states.¹ Here again, he proceeded

¹ *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-41*, Washington, U. S. Department of State, 1943.

according to the correct Bolshevik practice of the two truths: one for the rank and file and another for the fully initiated.²

On the domestic scene, production had reached a saturation point.³ Life in the U. S. S. R. was, to hear Stalin tell it, now freer than anywhere else on earth. All antagonistic elements had been completely eliminated. Why, then, did not the Soviet state wither away? To this ever-recurring question, Stalin gave his perennial answer: We are encircled by capitalist aggressors. Happily, however, "Socialist intelligence" was working diligently to eradicate this nuisance.⁴

When speaking of Communist theory, Stalin patiently explained how understanding Bolsheviks would realize that Marx, Engels, and even Lenin could not always be right. Their lack of foresight, however, involved no cause for alarm. Stalin had the present "objective situation" well in hand. Despite all the intrigues of his capitalist encirclers, he would continue to construct a better Socialist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat.⁵

EXHIBIT No. 63

[Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1951. J. Stalin, *Report to the 18th Congress of the CPSU(B) on the Work of the Central Committee, March 10, 1939*. Pp. 7-8, 24-30, 58-65, 80-90, 99-102]

I. THE SOVIET UNION AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Comrades, five years have elapsed since the Seventeenth Party Congress. No small period, as you see. During this period the world has undergone considerable changes. States and countries, and their mutual relations, are now in many respects totally altered.

What changes exactly have taken place in this period in the international situation? In what way exactly have the foreign and internal affairs of our country changed?

For the capitalist countries this period was one of very profound perturbations in both the economic and political spheres. In the economic sphere these were years of depression, followed, from the beginning of the latter half of 1937, by a period of new economic crisis, of a new decline of industry in the United States, Great Britain, and France—consequently, these were years of new economic complications. In the political sphere they were years of serious political conflicts and perturbations. A new imperialist war is already in its second year, a war waged over a huge territory stretching from Shanghai to Gibraltar, and involving over five hundred million people. The map of Europe, Africa, and Asia is being forcibly redrawn. The entire postwar system, the so-called peace regime, has been shaken to its foundations.

For the Soviet Union, on the contrary, these were years of growth and prosperity, of further economic and cultural progress, of further growth of political and military might, of struggle for the preservation of peace throughout the world.

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3. The Soviet Union and the capitalist countries

The war has created a new situation with regard to the relations between countries. It has enveloped them in an atmosphere of alarm and uncertainty. By undermining the postwar peace regime and overriding the elementary principles of international law, it has cast doubt on the value of international treaties and obligations.

² Kravchenko, *I Chose Freedom*, pp. 421-428. Beck and Godin, *Russian Purge*, pp. 216-217.

³ Schwartz, *Russia's Soviet Economy*, Chapter VII: The Growth of Industrial Production.

⁴ William R. Kintner, *The Front Is Everywhere: Militant Communism in Action*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. Dallin, *Soviet Espionage*, passim.

⁵ Barghoorn, *Soviet Image*, p. 18.

Pacifism and disarmament schemes are dead and buried. Feverish arming has taken their place. Everybody is arming, small states and big states, including primarily those which practise the policy of non-intervention. Nobody believes any longer in the unctuous speeches which claim that the Munich concessions to the aggressors and the Munich agreement opened a new era of "appeasement." They are disbelieved even by the signatories to the Munich agreement, Britain and France, who are increasing their armaments no less than other countries.

Naturally, the U. S. S. R. could not ignore these ominous developments. There is no doubt that any war, however small, started by the aggressors in any remote corner of the world constitutes a danger to the peaceable countries. All the more serious then is the danger arising from the new imperialist war, which has already drawn into its orbit over five hundred million people in Asia, Africa and Europe. In view of this, while our country is unswervingly pursuing a policy of maintaining peace, it is at the same time working very seriously to increase the preparedness of our Red Army and our Red Navy.

At the same time, in order to strengthen its international position, the Soviet Union decided to take certain other steps. At the end of 1934 our country joined the League of Nations, considering that despite its weakness the League might nevertheless serve as a place where aggressors can be exposed, and as a certain instrument of peace, however feeble, that might hinder the outbreak of war. The Soviet Union considers that in alarming times like these even so weak an international organization as the League of Nations should not be ignored. In May 1935 a treaty of mutual assistance against possible attack by aggressors was signed between France and the Soviet Union. A similar treaty was simultaneously concluded with Czechoslovakia. In March 1936 the Soviet Union concluded a treaty of mutual assistance with the Mongolian People's Republic. In August 1937 the Soviet Union concluded a pact of nonaggression with the Chinese Republic.

It was in such difficult international conditions that the Soviet Union pursued its foreign policy of upholding the cause of peace.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is clear and explicit.

1. We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries. That is our position; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country.

2. We stand for peaceful, close and friendly relations with all the neighbouring countries which have common frontiers with the U. S. S. R. That is our position; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass, directly or indirectly, on the integrity and inviolability of the frontiers of the Soviet state.

3. We stand for the support of nations which are the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country.

4. We are not afraid of the threats of aggressors, and are ready to deal two blows for every blow delivered by instigators of war who attempt to violate the Soviet borders.

Such is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

In its foreign policy the Soviet Union relies upon:

1. Its growing economic, political and cultural might;
2. The moral and political unity of our Soviet society;
3. The mutual friendship of the nations of our country;
4. Its Red Army and Red Navy;
5. Its policy of peace;
6. The moral support of the working people of all countries, who are vitally concerned in the preservation of peace;
7. The good sense of the countries which for one reason or another have no interest in the violation of peace.

The tasks of the Party in the sphere of foreign policy are:

1. To continue the policy of peace and of strengthening business relations with all countries;
2. To be cautious and not allow our country to be drawn into conflicts by warmongers who are accustomed to have others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them;
3. To strengthen the might of our Red Army and Red Navy to the utmost;
4. To strengthen the international bonds of friendship with the working people of all countries, who are interested in peace and friendship among nations.

II. INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE SOVIET UNION

Let us now pass to the internal affairs of our country.

From the standpoint of its internal situation, the Soviet Union, during the period under review, presented a picture of further progress of its entire economic life, a rise in culture, and the strengthening of the political might of the country.

In the sphere of economic development, we must regard as the most important result during the period under review the fact that the reconstruction of industry and agriculture on the basis of a new, modern technique has been completed. There are no more or hardly any more old plants in our country, with their backward technique, and hardly any old peasant farms, with their antediluvian equipment. Our industry and agriculture are now based on new, up-to-date technique. It may be said without exaggeration that from the standpoint of technique of production, from the standpoint of the degree of saturation of industry and agriculture with new machinery, our country is more advanced than any other country, where the old machinery acts as a fetter on production and hampers the introduction of new techniques.

In the sphere of the social and political development of the country, we must regard as the most important achievement during the period under review the fact that the remnants of the exploiting classes have been completely eliminated, that the workers, peasants, and intellectuals have been welded into one common front of the working people, that the moral and political unity of Soviet society has been strengthened, that the friendship among the nations of our country has become closer, and that as a result of all this, the political life of our country has been completely democratized and a new Constitution created. No one will dare deny that our Constitution is the most

democratic in the world, and that the results of the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., as well as to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics, have been the most exemplary.

The result of all this is a completely stable internal situation and a stability of government which any other government in the world might envy.

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3. Further consolidation of the Soviet system

One of the most important results of the period under review is that it has led to the further internal consolidation of the country, to the further consolidation of the Soviet system.

Nor could it be otherwise. The firm establishment of the socialist system in all branches of national economy, the progress of industry and agriculture, the rising material standard of the working people, the rising cultural standard of the masses and their increasing political activity—all this, accomplished under the guidance of the Soviet power, could not but lead to the further consolidation of the Soviet system.

The feature that distinguishes Soviet society today from any capitalist society is that it no longer contains antagonistic, hostile classes; that the exploiting classes have been eliminated, while the workers, peasants, and intellectuals, who make up Soviet society, live and work in friendly collaboration. Whereas capitalist society is torn by irreconcilable antagonisms between workers and capitalists and between peasants and landlords—resulting in its internal instability—Soviet society, liberated from the yoke of exploitation, knows no such antagonisms, is free of class conflicts, and presents a picture of friendly collaboration between workers, peasants, and intellectuals. It is this community of interest which has formed the basis for the development of such motive forces as the moral and political unity of Soviet society, the mutual friendship of the nations of the U. S. S. R. and Soviet patriotism. It has also been the basis for the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. adopted in November 1936, and for the complete democratization of the elections to the supreme organs of the country.

As to the elections to the supreme organs, they were a magnificent demonstration of that unity of Soviet society and of that amity among the nations of the U. S. S. R. which constitute the characteristic feature of the internal situation of our country. As we know, in the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. in December 1937, nearly ninety million votes, or 98.6 per cent of the total ballot, were cast for the Communist and non-Party bloc, while in the elections to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics in June 1938, ninety-two million votes, or 99.4 per cent of the total ballot, were cast for the Communist and non-Party bloc.

There you have the basis of the stability of the Soviet system and the source of the inexhaustible strength of Soviet power.

This means, incidentally, that in case of war, the rear and front of our army, by reason of their homogeneity and inherent unity, will be stronger than those of any other country, a fact which people beyond our borders who are fond of military conflicts would do well to remember.

Certain foreign pressmen have been talking drivel to the effect that the purging of Soviet organizations of spies, assassins, and wreckers

like Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Yakir, Tukhachevsky, Rosengoltz, Bukharin and other fiends has "shaken" the Soviet system and caused its "demoralization." All this cheap drivel deserves is laughter and scorn. How can the purging of Soviet organizations of noxious and hostile elements shake and demoralize the Soviet system? This Trotsky-Bukharin bunch of spies, assassins and wreckers, who kowtowed to the foreign world, who were possessed by a slavish instinct to grovel before every foreign bigwig and were ready to serve him as spies—this handful of people who did not understand that the humblest Soviet citizen, being free from the fetters of capital, stands head and shoulders above any high-priced foreign bigwig whose neck wears the yoke of capitalist slavery—who needs this miserable band of venal slaves, of what value can they be to the people, and whom can they "demoralize"? In 1937, Tukhachevsky, Yakir, Uborevich and other fiends were sentenced to be shot. After that, the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. were held. In these elections, 98.6 per cent of the total vote was cast for the Soviet power. At the beginning of 1938 Rosengoltz, Rykov, Bukharin and other fiends were sentenced to be shot. After that, the elections to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics were held. In these elections, 99.4 per cent of the total vote was cast for the Soviet power. Where are the symptoms of "demoralization," we would like to know, and why was this "demoralization" not reflected in the results of the elections?

To listen to these foreign drivellers one would think that if the spies, assassins and wreckers had been left at liberty to wreck, murder and spy without let or hindrance, the Soviet organizations would have been far sounder and stronger. (*Laughter.*) Are not these gentlemen giving themselves away too soon by so insolently defending the cause of spies, assassins and wreckers?

Would it not be truer to say that the weeding out of spies, assassins and wreckers from our Soviet organizations was bound to lead, and did lead, to the further strengthening of these organizations?

What, for instance, do the events at Lake Hassan show, if not that the weeding out of spies and wreckers is the surest means of strengthening our Soviet organizations?

* * * * *

The tasks of the Party in the sphere of internal policy are:

1. To promote the further progress of our industry, rise of productivity of labour, and perfection of the technique of production, in order, having already outstripped the principal capitalist countries in technique of production and rate of industrial development, to outstrip them economically as well in the next ten or fifteen years.

2. To promote the further progress of our agriculture and stock breeding so as to achieve in the next three or four years an annual grain harvest of 8,000,000,000 poods, with an average yield of 12-13 centners per hectare; an average increase in the harvest of industrial crops of 30-35 per cent; and an increase in the number of sheep and hogs by 100 per cent, of cattle by about 40 per cent, and of horses by about 35 per cent.

3. To continue to improve the material and cultural standards of the workers, peasants and intellectuals.

4. Steadfastly to carry into effect our socialist Constitution; to complete the democratization of the political life of the country;

to strengthen the moral and political unity of Soviet society and fraternal collaboration among our workers, peasants and intellectuals; to promote the friendship of the peoples of the U. S. S. R. to the utmost, and to develop and cultivate Soviet patriotism.

5. Never to forget that we are surrounded by a capitalist world; to remember that the foreign espionage services will smuggle spies, assassins and wreckers into our country; and, remembering this, to strengthen our socialist intelligence service and systematically help it to defeat and eradicate the enemies of the people.

III. FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE C. P. S. U. (B.)

From the standpoint of the political line and day-to-day practical work, the period under review was one of complete victory for the general line of our Party. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The principal achievements demonstrating the correctness of the policy of our Party and the correctness of its leadership are the firm establishment of the socialist system in the entire national economy, the completion of the reconstruction of industry and agriculture on the basis of a new technique, the fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan in industry ahead of time, the increase of the annual grain harvest to a level of 7,000,000,000 poods, the abolition of poverty and unemployment, and the raising of the material and cultural standard of the people.

In the face of these imposing achievements, the opponents of the general line of our Party, all the various "Left" and "Right" trends, all the Trotsky-Pyatakov and Bukharin-Rykov renegades were forced to creep into their shells, tuck away their hackneyed "platforms," and go into hiding. Lacking the manhood to submit to the will of the people, they preferred to merge with the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and fascists, to become the tools of foreign espionage services, to hire themselves out as spies, and to obligate themselves to help the enemies of the Soviet Union to dismember our country and to restore capitalist slavery in it.

Such was the inglorious end of the opponents of the line of our Party, who finished up as enemies of the people.

When it had smashed the enemies of the people and purged the Party and Soviet organizations of renegades, the Party became still more united in its political and organizational work and rallied even more solidly around its Central Committee. (*Stormy applause. All the delegates rise and cheer the speaker. Shouts of "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin!" "Long live Comrade Stalin!" "Hurrah for the Central Committee of our Party!"*)

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4. Some questions of theory

Another of the defects of our propagandist and ideological work is the absence of full clarity among our comrades on certain theoretical questions of vital practical importance, the existence of a certain amount of confusion on these questions. I refer to the question of the state in general, and of our socialist state in particular, and to the question of our Soviet intelligentsia.

It is sometimes asked: "We have abolished the exploiting classes; there are no longer any hostile classes in the country; there is nobody

to suppress; hence there is no more need for the state; it must die away.—Why then do we not help our socialist state to die away? Why do we not strive to put an end to it? Is it not time to throw out all this rubbish of a state?"

Or again: "The exploiting classes have already been abolished in our country; Socialism has in the main been built; we are advancing towards Communism. Now, the Marxist doctrine of the state says that there is to be no state under Communism.—Why then do we not help our socialist state to die away? Is it not time we relegated the state to the museum of antiquities?"

These questions show that those who ask them have conscientiously memorized certain tenets of the doctrine of Marx and Engels about the state. But they also show that these comrades have not grasped the essential meaning of this doctrine; that they do not realize in what historical conditions the various tenets of this doctrine were elaborated; and, what is more, that they do not understand present-day international conditions, have overlooked the capitalist encirclement and the dangers it entails for the socialist country. These questions not only betray an underestimation of the capitalist encirclement, but also an underestimation of the role and significance of the bourgeois states and their organs, which send spies, assassins and wreckers into our country and are waiting for a favourable opportunity to attack it by armed force. They likewise betray an underestimation of the role and significance of our socialist state and of its military, punitive and intelligence organs, which are essential for the defence of the Land of Socialism from foreign attack. It must be confessed that the comrades mentioned are not the only ones guilty of this underestimation. All the Bolsheviks, all of us without exception, to a certain extent sin in this respect. Is it not surprising that we learned about the espionage and conspiratorial activities of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite ringleaders only quite recently, in 1937 and 1938, although, as the evidence shows, these gentry were in the service of foreign espionage organizations and carried on conspiratorial activities from the very first days of the October Revolution? How could we have failed to notice so grave a matter? How are we to explain this blunder? The usual answer to this question is that we could not possibly have assumed that these people could have fallen so low. But that is no explanation, still less is it a justification: for the blunder was a blunder. How is this blunder to be explained? It is to be explained by an underestimation of the strength and significance of the mechanism of the bourgeois states surrounding us and of their espionage organs, which endeavour to take advantage of people's weaknesses, their vanity, their slackness of will, to enmesh them in their espionage nets and use them to surround the organs of the Soviet state. It is to be explained by an underestimation of the role and significance of the mechanism of our socialist state and of its intelligence service, by an underestimation of the importance of this intelligence service, by the twaddle that an intelligence service in a Soviet state is an unimportant trifle, and that the Soviet intelligence service and the Soviet state itself will soon have to be relegated to the museum of antiquities.

What could have given rise to this underestimation?

It arose owing to the fact that certain of the general tenets of the Marxist doctrine of the state were incompletely elaborated and were

inadequate. It received currency owing to our unpardonably heedless attitude to matters pertaining to the theory of the state, in spite of the fact that we have had twenty years of practical experience in state affairs which provides rich material for theoretical generalizations, and in spite of the fact that, given the desire, we have every opportunity of successfully filling this gap in theory. We have forgotten Lenin's highly important injunction about the theoretical duties of Russian Marxists, that it is their mission to further develop the Marxist theory. Here is what Lenin said in this connection:

We do not regard Marxist theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the cornerstone of the science which Socialists *must* further advance in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life. We think that an *independent* elaboration of the Marxist theory is especially essential for Russian Socialists, for this theory provides only general *guiding* principles, which, *in particular*, are applied in England differently from France, in France differently from Germany, and in Germany differently from Russia. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, p. 492.)

Consider, for example, the classical formulation of the theory of the development of the socialist state given by Engels:

As soon as there is no longer any class of society to be held in subjection; as soon as, along with class domination and the struggle for individual existence based on the former anarchy of production, the collisions and excesses arising from these have also been abolished, there is nothing more to be repressed which would make a special repressive force, a state, necessary. The first act in which the state really comes forward as the representative of society as a whole—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—is at the same time its last independent act as a state. The interference of the state power in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another, and then ceases of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the process of production. The state is not “abolished,” *it withers away*. (F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Partizdat, 1933, p. 202.)

Is this proposition of Engels' correct?

Yes, it is correct, but only on one of two conditions: (1) *if* we study the socialist state only from the angle of the internal development of a country, abstracting ourselves in advance from the international factor, isolating, for the convenience of investigation, the country and the state from the international situation; or (2) *if* we assume that Socialism is already victorious in all countries, or in the majority of countries, that a socialist encirclement exists instead of a capitalist encirclement, that there is no more danger of foreign attack, and that there is no more need to strengthen the army and the state.

Well, but what if Socialism has been victorious only in one, separate country, and if, in view of this, it is quite impossible to abstract oneself from international conditions—what then? Engels' formula does not furnish an answer to this question. As a matter of fact, Engels did not set himself this question, and therefore could not have given an answer to it. Engels proceeds from the assumption that Socialism has already been victorious more or less simultaneously in all countries, or in a majority of countries. Consequently, Engels is not here investigating any specific socialist state of any particular country, but the development of the socialist state in general, on the assumption that Socialism has been victorious in a majority of countries—according to the formula: “Assuming that Socialism is victorious in a majority of countries, what changes must the proletarian, socialist state undergo?” Only this general and abstract character of the problem can explain why in his investigation of the question of

the socialist state Engels completely abstracted himself from such a factor as international conditions, the international situation.

But it follows from this that Engels' general formula about the destiny of the socialist state in general cannot be extended to the partial and specific case of the victory of Socialism in one country only, a country which is surrounded by a capitalist world, is subject to the menace of foreign military attack, cannot therefore abstract itself from the international situation, and must have at its disposal a well-trained army, well-organized punitive organs, and a strong intelligence service, consequently, must have its own state, strong enough to defend the conquests of Socialism from foreign attack.

We cannot expect the Marxian classics, separated as they were from our day by a period of forty-five or fifty-five years, to have foreseen each and every zigzag of history in the distant future in every separate country. It would be ridiculous to expect that the Marxian classics should have elaborated for our benefit ready-made solutions for each and every theoretical problem that might arise in any particular country fifty or one hundred years afterwards, so that we, the descendants of the Marxian classics, might calmly doze at the fireside and munch ready-made solutions. (*General laughter.*) But we can and should expect of the Marxists-Leninists of our day that they do not confine themselves to learning by rote a few general tenets of Marxism; that they delve deeply into the essence of Marxism; that they learn to take account of the experience gained in the twenty years of existence of the socialist state in our country; that, lastly, they learn, with the use of this experience and with knowledge of the essence of Marxism, to apply the various general tenets of Marxism concretely, to lend them greater precision and improve them. Lenin wrote his famous book, *The State and Revolution*, in August 1917, that is, a few months before the October Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet state. Lenin considered it the main task of this book to defend Marx's and Engels' doctrine of the state from distortion and vulgarization by the opportunists. Lenin was preparing to write a second volume of *The State and Revolution*, in which he intended to sum up the principal lessons of the experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. There can be no doubt that Lenin intended in the second volume of his book to elaborate and to further develop the theory of the state on the basis of the experience gained during the existence of Soviet power in our country. Death, however, prevented him from carrying this task into execution. But what Lenin did not manage to do should be done by his disciples. (*Loud applause.*)

The state arose because society split up into antagonistic classes; it arose in order to keep in restraint the exploited majority in the interests of the exploiting minority. The instruments of state authority became concentrated mainly in the army, the punitive organs, the espionage service, the prisons. Two basic functions characterize the activity of the state: at home (the main function), to keep in restraint the exploited majority; abroad (not the main function), to extend the territory of its class, the ruling class, at the expense of the territory of other states, or to defend the territory of its own state from attack by other states. Such was the case in slave society and under feudalism. Such is the case under capitalism.

In order to overthrow capitalism it was not only necessary to remove the bourgeoisie from power, not only to expropriate the capitalists, but also to smash entirely the bourgeois state machine, its old army, its bureaucratic officialdom and its police force, and to substitute for it a new, proletarian form of state, a new, socialist state. And that, as we know, is exactly what the Bolsheviks did. But it does not follow that the new, proletarian state may not retain certain functions of the old state, modified to suit the requirements of the proletarian state. Still less does it follow that the forms of our socialist state must remain unchanged, that all the original functions of our state must be fully retained in future. As a matter of fact, the forms of our state are changing and will continue to change in line with the development of our country and with the changes in the international situation.

Lenin was absolutely right when he said:

The forms of bourgeois states are extremely varied, but their essence is the same: whatever their form, all these states, in the final analysis, are inevitably the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*. The transition from capitalism to Communism certainly cannot but yield a great abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat* (Lenin, Vol. XXI, p. 393).

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Comrades, I am now about to conclude my report.

I have sketched in broad outline the path traversed by our Party during the period under review. The results of the work of the Party and of its Central Committee during this period are well known. There have been mistakes and shortcomings in our work. The Party and the Central Committee did not conceal them and strove to correct them. There have also been important successes and big achievements, which must not however be allowed to turn our heads.

The chief conclusion to be drawn is that the working class of our country, having abolished the exploitation of man by man and firmly established the socialist system, has proved to the world the truth of its cause. That is the chief conclusion, for it strengthens our faith in the power of the working class and in the inevitability of its ultimate victory.

The bourgeoisie of all countries asserts that the people cannot get along without capitalists and landlords, without merchants and kulaks. The working class of our country has proved in practice that the people can get along perfectly well without exploiters.

The bourgeoisie of all countries asserts that the working class, having destroyed the old bourgeois system, will be incapable of building anything new to replace the old. The working class of our country has proved in practice that it is quite capable not only of destroying the old system but of building a new and better system, a socialist system, a system, moreover, to which crises and unemployment are unknown.

The bourgeoisie of all countries asserts that the peasantry is incapable of taking the path of Socialism. The collective-farm peasants of our country have proved in practice that they can do so quite successfully.

The chief endeavour of the bourgeoisie of all countries and of its reformist hangers-on is to kill in the working class faith in its own strength, faith in the possibility and inevitability of its victory, and

thus to perpetuate capitalist slavery. For the bourgeoisie knows that if capitalism has not yet been overthrown and still continues to exist, it owes this not to its own merits, but to the fact that the proletariat still has not enough faith in the possibility of its victory. It cannot be said that the efforts of the bourgeoisie in this respect have been altogether unsuccessful. It must be confessed that the bourgeoisie and its agents among the working class have to some extent succeeded in poisoning the minds of the working class with the virus of doubt and disbelief. If the successes of the working class of our country, if its fight and victory serve to rouse the spirit of the working class in the capitalist countries and to strengthen its faith in its own power and in its victory, then our Party may say that its work has not been in vain. And there need be no doubt that this will be the case. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Long live our victorious working class! (*Applause.*)

Long live our victorious collective-farm peasantry! (*Applause.*)

Long live our socialist intelligentsia! (*Applause.*)

Long live the great friendship of the nations of our country! (*Applause.*)

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union! (*Applause.*)

(*The delegates rise and hail Comrade Stalin with loud and stormy cheers. Cries of: "Long live Comrade Stalin!" "Hurrah for our great Stalin!" "Hurrah for our beloved Stalin!"*)

The following article is representative of the hundreds of nauseating eulogies written in the late thirties about *vozhd* Stalin. Here he is portrayed as the creator of the new Soviet man who towers above the gaze of decadent bourgeois people—not to mention backward, old Bolsheviks. And the reason is simple: The new Soviet man has been fashioned by Stalin in the latter's own image and likeness.¹ If the mysteries of Socialist construction sometimes confuse him, the *vozhd* will clarify his thoughts. If his courage sometimes falters, Stalin's iron determination will strengthen him to carry on. As the supreme leader encouragingly declared in November 1935, life has become easier and more joyous—even when it looks uglier and more difficult.²

EXHIBIT No. 64

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THE GENERATION OF COMMUNISM

By G. Friedrich

Each time Comrade Stalin delivers a report, makes a speech or answers a letter, the very first impression and feeling one gets from reading his simple language is that Stalin has stated clearly what all of us have been thinking confusedly; at one stroke he has brought our own immature idea to full fruition. That is the first impression. But afterwards, when one reads Stalin through again and again, one unearths fresh profundities and new ideas. There is much that can only be understood, in its full significance, after some time. That is why one returns constantly to these words and ideas, in order to grasp them in their full significance.

¹ Counts and Lodge, *I Want To Be Like Stalin*.

² Joseph Stalin, *The Stakhanov Movement in the Soviet Union*, New York, Workers Library Publishers, December 1935, pp. 11-12. Victor Serge (former member, executive committee of the Communist International), *Russia 20 Years After*, New York, Pioneer Publishers, 1937, Chapter 7: The Cult of the Leader.

Stalin, like Lenin before him, is a great master of thinking things out to the end, that rare kind of wisdom which tracks things down to rock bottom and discloses their innermost essence. With unerring insight he realizes what will live but a day or an hour, and what will grow into a new phenomenon, into a new law of social evolution. What strikes us as an isolated fact is for Stalin the germ of the hidden future. That is why there lies such wisdom within his simplicity.

And so it was on this occasion. Everything which Stalin told the Eighteenth Party Congress of the Bolsheviks about the people, the cadres who were called upon to take the helm of the state machine of socialist society, threw a flood of light on the past and the present, and opened the broadest perspectives for the future.

Time and again the Bolsheviks have thrown overboard all the calculations and hopes of the croaking "prophets" from the camp of the enemy. While these croakers were proclaiming the "sacrifice of the Bolshevik purges" and prophesying that after the alleged loss of the "old experienced cadres" the Party would run aground in the directing of socialist economy and the socialist state, the Bolsheviks safely and soundly cleansed their ranks of refuse, of debased, degenerate, treacherous individuals, and raised hundreds of thousands of new, fresh, skilled, morally and politically strong builders of socialism to the highest rank in Soviet construction.

The Soviet state is young. Twenty-one years—that is the span for the growing up of a generation. But the Bolsheviks have gone ahead twice as fast as time. During this time they recreated their country, changed it from the bottom up, stirred up and remodeled the village, transformed the map of the nation, and left not one neglected corner untouched. That is one thing. And at the same time they bestowed their greatest care on that power which fulfills every advance and for which it is fulfilled: living man. Man was, and is, the central point of their attention. The Bolsheviks have raised in their struggles and victories a generation of whose members Stalin says so graphically:

"... they develop and acquire knowledge so rapidly, they press upward so eagerly, that the time is not far off when they will overtake the old fellows, take their stand side by side with them, and become a worthy replacement for them."*

In life and in the history of all countries and peoples so far, the rule has been that he who attains the position of a successor pushes his predecessor into the grave. When, one hundred and fifty years ago, the young bourgeoisie of France pushed the old order of society into its grave, it could number hundreds of generals, leaders and socially active people who were no older than from twenty to thirty years. That was splendid. It was something new, and filled the hearts of people of that time with enthusiasm. Yet how brief and fleeting this youth of the bourgeoisie was!

Even in France, country of the classic bourgeois revolution, it passed very quickly. For it grew on bad ground, poisoned by the blood and sweat of millions of the exploited, saturated with the disease of the struggle for money and power. Even by the time of the imperialist wars of Napoleon, in the corruption and depravity of the Second and Third Empires, the bourgeoisie had exhausted its supply

* Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, pp. 14-15, International Publishers, New York.

of honest youth and produced the thoroughly depraved "golden youth."

The fading developed speedily into old age and disintegration, for which the dying class can find no antidote. . . . The decay of the capitalist world also laid hold of the Social-Democratic workers' movement. In all the Social-Democratic Parties and organizations, the "problem of the change of generation" played no lesser a role than in the bourgeoisie. The "superannuation" of nearly all the parties made it easy for the fascists to attract large sections of the rising generation. Moreover, through the elimination of the younger generation, the ideological and political struggle within Social-Democracy was frequently perverted into a "struggle of the generations." Ambitious pushers like Spaak and others adopted the air of spokesmen of the "youth" and disguised their unscrupulous reformism as "activism," as opposition to the "old set." It is the decline and rotting of the capitalist world that is reflected in such happenings as this, and which corrupted a section of the youth. The "Hitler Youth" really does nothing but express the ignominious and revolting senility of the bourgeoisie. Only the working class can restore to the world its youth and give it fresh, warm blood.

From the first days of their struggle for the real party of the working class and for the conquest of power by the working class, the Bolsheviks have championed the youth. Lenin wrote on the eve of the Revolution of 1905:

"I would like to see everyone shot, there and then, who has the face to make the assertion that there are no people. There are in Russia countless people, and we have simply to work more fearlessly and boldly, more boldly and fearlessly, and again more fearlessly and again more boldly, among the youth, without *being afraid of them*."

These words were underlined by Lenin. It was Lenin, too, who declared unremitting war on the "idiotic, philistine, Oblomovish fear of the youth." Lenin wrote in a letter to the old Bolshevik Gussev: "I implore you: fight with all your might against this fear."

But who was it who feared the youth? The same who fear them today: the opportunists who look not forwards but backwards, who recoil in terror from the tumultuous power of the working class and are ready for every compromise and every bargain with the bourgeoisie, only to avoid disturbing the quiet of the old, conventional, diseased world. Lenin gave this answer to the Mensheviks, who complained that numbers of young workers were joining the Party:

We are the Party of the future, but the future belongs to the youth. We are the Party of innovators, but it is to the innovators that the youth always gladly give allegiance. We are the Party of self-sacrificing struggle against the old rottenness, but it will always be the youth that are most ready for self-sacrificing struggle. . . . We shall always be the Party of the youth of the advanced class!

When Lenin was still a young student, he was known as the "old man" in revolutionary circles. This comradely nickname was an expression of boundless respect for his spirit, his knowledge, and the complete unification in him of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice. The "old man" Lenin personified at one and the same time the inborn youth and the ripeness of the class which is destined to change the world.

But Lenin and the Bolsheviks have never taken out a patent for either age or youth. Neither Lenin nor Stalin have ever painted

either the Old Guard of Bolshevism or the youth as a god to whom one must pray. Neither length of Party membership, former services, nor illegal work could or can serve in the Bolshevik Party as a shield from criticism for actual mistakes, nor from criticism of men who have lost what Stalin called "the feeling for what is new, a valuable possession of every Bolshevik functionary."

But what is this feeling for what is new? Stalin has explained very well what it means: Always to look ahead and not behind, not to stay stuck in what is old, promptly to set one's eyes on new circumstances, new shoots and new tasks.

However, the Bolsheviks were not and are not of the opinion that this feeling for what is new is the essential attribute of every person merely because he is young. Nor does it necessarily desert him who has grown old in body. The feeling for what is new does not fall from the skies. It is no gift of the gods. It exists only there where men are inspired by the clear and wide perspective of the advance to communism. It only lives and does not die away where revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice are most closely interlocked and give in each struggle a certainty of goal and a confidence in victory, a faith in the strength of the people and in the possibility of overcoming each and every obstacle in unity with the masses, at the head of the masses, for the sake of living men, and for the sake of the cause of communism.

Smiling young people mounted the tribune of the Eighteenth Party Congress, people of whom a few years earlier no one in the country was aware. And by them stood people who had grown gray in the struggle for socialism. The youth felt themselves to be equals, and they were regarded as equals. And both alike were elected by the Party Congress onto the leading bodies of the Party. And the one group, like the other, is leading the most difficult and responsible sectors of socialist construction, for which there is no sort of a recipe and no "book of rules" at their disposal. The number of old Bolsheviks is certainly incomparably the smaller. It could not be otherwise. In the Bolshevik Party today those who joined the Party before 1917 number 0.3 per cent. Those who joined it between 1917 and 1919 are only 5.3 per cent. While the number of those who joined the Party in 1929 or since, are 70 per cent. To take just the Red Army. During 1938 101,200 members were accepted into the Party organizations of the Red Army, in January this year 10,581 and in February, 11,118. These are all young men who have come from the collective farms, socialist factories and universities, willing, conscious and proud of the victories of their country and of their assured participation in these victories. Before these young fighters for socialism were accepted into the Party, they were called *non-Party Bolsheviks*. In the Soviet Union there is no higher commendation than this term, for on the lips of Soviet people it means that the person is worthy to be a member of the Party of the Bolsheviks.

A clear path for these youth! When did the Party say these words? Not at the Eighteenth Party Congress, but a long, long time earlier. The Party Congress weighed in the balance a grand and important period in the life of the Party and the people. But perhaps the most outstanding and significant record is the figure which Stalin gave: 500,000 young Bolsheviks and non-Party Bolsheviks were promoted by the Party into leading positions. Five hundred thousand, half-a-million people—fearless, young, able-bodied, armed with

knowledge, burningly devoted to socialism! Can anything compare with this abundance?

The Trotskyite law-breakers have not merely injured socialist economy, murdered leading men of the people and betrayed the Soviet country to the fascist enemy, but they have impeded the rise of young forces at every turn. It was their intention to let young forces get "rusty" and "sour," as Stalin put it. When the current of the Soviet people swept away the garbage of decaying capitalism, the Trotskyites and Bukharinites, the way was also cleared for the young people. The enemies of the people had been trying by every means to preserve in people's minds one of the most disgusting residues of capitalist oppression: lack of faith in one's own capacity and intelligence.

Under the rule of tsarism the workers had a well-founded mistrust of the bourgeois intelligentsia, but at the same time they tended to overestimate the knowledge and capacity of the intellectuals. In the socialist world there has proceeded from the mass of the people a new intelligentsia which has nothing in common with those bourgeois intelligentsia, those subservient lackeys of the ruling class—an intelligentsia which is blood of the blood and flesh of the flesh of the people. The people's enemies attempted to extend the disillusionment of the workers regarding the bourgeois intelligentsia to the new, socialist intelligentsia, and so to breed a harmful deprecation of the most gifted and earnest sons and daughters of the people. The Party also put the people on its guard against this maneuver of the enemy.

The Soviet intelligentsia is the best children of the working people, they are its hope for the present and the future. The Soviet intelligentsia—they are the workers and peasants to whom victorious socialism has opened the door of education and culture. A free path to the Soviet intelligentsia! From being a watchword of the Party, it has become the watchword of the entire people.

On October 2, 1920, Lenin said:

The generation which is today about fifty years old can no longer expect to experience communist society. By that time this generation will have died out. But the generation that is now fifteen years old will experience communist society and will itself build that society. And it must know that its whole life work consists in building that society.

The Party has brought up a new generation which knows that its whole life work is the building of communism. This generation has not pushed aside the older generation, no; it has united with it to make a powerful orchestra, an unbreakable unity in work, struggle and victory. This unbreakable unity of old and young is one of the most vital constituents of the moral and political unity of the Soviet people. Hand in hand with the generation of the great socialist October Revolution, the generation of communism is realizing the old, but ever young, dream of a world in which men are not slaves, but shape production and society of their own free will.

While the Nazi-Soviet pact of August 23, 1939, astonished many observers of the free world countries, there was nothing fundamentally anti-Bolshevik about it.¹ Even without Lenin's repeated advice, Stalin fully understood the necessity

¹ Taracouzio, *War and Peace in Soviet Diplomacy*. An analysis by a member of the Bureau of International Research at Harvard University and Radcliffe College of the complete background of Bolshevik thinking about peace agreements, with special reference to the Nazi-Soviet pact of August 1939.

of exploiting "flexibility." In the following speech by Molotov, which was promptly cabled to the *Daily Worker* (September 2, 1939, pp. 1 and 3), the wily Soviet diplomat summarized the principal Bolshevik reason for concluding an agreement with the Fascist foe: "It is our duty to think of * * * the interests of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics." Thus, theory was not allowed to interfere with practice. Or, to state the case more accurately, realistic Bolshevik theory permitted very broad interpretation of less flexible Marxist ideology.

Some people who may have been in a good position to know think that Stalin was partially deceived as to the advantages to be derived from a nonaggression pact with Germany.² Nearsightedness with regard to the prospects of Communist revolution in Germany had been a personal defect of Bolshevik leaders. Thus, Lenin in 1918 had relied upon a revolt of the German proletariat to vindicate his concessions at the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.³ Again in 1933, Stalin had expected to exploit the rise of nazism as a stepping-stone to revolution in Germany.⁴ It makes little difference whether Stalin was misled by Nazi intentions or whether he had correctly estimated every phase of his diplomatic relations with Hitler. The one significant fact is that the Kremlin master believed the Nazi-Soviet pact would work to his advantage. If muddled "liberals" were dismayed by his Machiavellian expediency, that was their misfortune.⁵

EXHIBIT No. 65

[*The Communist International*, September 1939. Pp. 951, 953, 956-957]

THE MEANING OF THE SOVIET-GERMAN NON-AGGRESSION PACT

By V. M. Molotov

The following is the full text of the speech of V. M. Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, before the August 31, 1939, meeting of the fourth special session of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R.—Ed.

Comrades: Since the third session of the Supreme Soviet the international situation has shown no change for the better. On the contrary, it has become even more tense. The steps taken by various governments to put an end to this state of tension have obviously proved inadequate. They met with no success. This is true of Europe.

Nor has there been any change for the better in East Asia. Japanese troops continue to occupy the principal cities and a considerable part of the territory of China. Nor is Japan refraining from hostile act against the U. S. S. R. Here, too, the situation has changed in the direction of further aggravation.

In view of this state of affairs, the conclusion of a pact of non-aggression between the U. S. S. R. and Germany is of tremendous positive value, eliminating the danger of war between Germany and the Soviet Union.

* * * * *

The decision to conclude a nonaggression pact between the U. S. S. R. and Germany was adopted after military negotiations with France and Great Britain had reached an impasse owing to the insuperable differences I have mentioned. As the negotiations had

² Kravchenko, *I Chose Freedom*, Chapter XXI: While Europe Fights. See also Ernest Day Carman, *Soviet Imperialism*, Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1950, pp. 20-33. David J. Dallin, *Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy, 1939-42*, Translated by Leon Dennen, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1942, pp. 65-67.

³ Shub, *Lenin*, pp. 295-302. A. Rossi, *The Russo-German Alliance*, Boston, Beacon 1951, pp. 1-7.

⁴ Krivitsky, *In Stalin's Secret Service*, Chapter I: Stalin Appeases Hitler. Fischer, *Stalin and German Communism*, pp. 536, 655-657. Hilger and Meyer, *Incompatible Allies*, pp. 251-256.

⁵ For documentation of American Communist and "liberal" reactions to the Nazi-Soviet pact, see Lyons, *Red Decade*, pp. 342-392.

shown that the conclusion of a pact of mutual assistance could not be expected, we could not but explore other possibilities of ensuring peace and eliminating the danger of war between Germany and the U. S. S. R. If the British and French governments refused to reckon with this, that is their affair. It is our duty to think of the interests of the Soviet people, the interests of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (*Prolonged applause.*) All the more since we are firmly convinced that the interests of the U. S. S. R. coincide with the fundamental interests of the peoples of other countries. (*Applause.*) But that is only one side of the matter.

Another circumstance was required before the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact could come into existence. It was necessary that in her foreign policy Germany should make a turn towards good neighborly relations with the Soviet Union.

Only when this second condition was fulfilled, only when it became clear to us that the German Government desired to change its foreign policy so as to secure an improvement of relations with the U. S. S. R. was the basis found for the conclusion of a Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. Everybody knows that during the last six years, ever since the National-Socialists [Nazis] came into power, political relations between Germany and the U. S. S. R. have been strained. Everybody also knows that despite the differences of outlook and political systems, the Soviet Government endeavored to maintain normal business and political relations with Germany. There is no need now to revert to individual incidents of these relations during recent years, which are well known to you.

I must, however, recall the explanation of our foreign policy given several months ago at the Eighteenth Party Congress. Speaking of our tasks in the realm of foreign policy, Stalin defined our attitude to other countries as follows:

1. To continue the policy of peace and of strengthening business relations with all countries;

2. To be cautious and not to allow our country to be drawn into conflicts by warmongers who are accustomed to have others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them.*

* * * * *

The Soviet-German Pact has been the object of numerous attacks in the English, French, and American press. Conspicuous in these efforts are certain "Socialist" newspapers, diligent servitors of "their" national capitalism, servitors of gentlemen who pay them decently. (*Laughter.*) It is clear that the real truth cannot be expected from gentry of this caliber. Attempts are being made to spread the fiction that the signing of the Soviet-German Pact disrupted the negotiations with England and France on a mutual assistance pact. This lie has already been nailed in the interview given by Voroshilov.

In reality, as you know, the very reverse is true. The Soviet Union signed the Non-Aggression Pact with Germany, for one thing, in view of the fact that the negotiations with France and England had run into insuperable differences and ended in failure through the fault of the ruling classes of England and France.

* Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, pp. 17-18, International Publishers, New York.

Further, they go so far as to blame us because the pact, if you please, contains no clause providing for its denunciation in case one of the signatories is drawn into war under conditions which might give someone an external pretext to qualify this particular country as an aggressor. But they forget for some reason that such a clause and such a reservation is not to be found either in the Polish-German Non-Aggression Pact signed in 1934 and annulled by Germany in 1939 against the wishes of Poland, or in the Anglo-German declaration on nonaggression signed only a few months ago. The question arises: Why cannot the U. S. S. R. allow itself the same privilege as Poland and England allowed themselves long ago?

Finally, there are wiseacres who construe from the pact more than is written in it. (*Laughter.*) For this purpose, all kinds of conjectures and hints are mooted in order to cast doubt on the pact in one or another country. But all this merely speaks for the hopeless impotence of the enemies of the pact who are exposing themselves more and more as enemies of both the Soviet Union and Germany, striving to provoke war between these countries.

In all this, we find fresh corroboration of Stalin's warning that we must be particularly cautious with warmongers who are accustomed to have others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them. We must be on guard against those who see an advantage to themselves in bad relations between the U. S. S. R. and Germany, in enmity between them, and who do not want peace and good neighborly relations between Germany and the Soviet Union.

We can understand why this policy is being pursued by out-and-out imperialists. But we cannot ignore such facts as the especial zeal with which some leaders of the Socialist Parties of Great Britain and France have recently distinguished themselves in this matter. And these gentlemen have really gone the whole hog, and no mistake. (*Laughter.*) These people positively demand that the U. S. S. R. get itself involved in war against Germany on the side of Great Britain. Have not these rabid warmongers taken leave of their senses? (*Laughter.*) Is it really difficult for these gentlemen to understand the purpose of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, on the strength of which the U. S. S. R. is not obliged to involve itself in war either on the side of Great Britain against Germany or on the side of Germany against Great Britain? Is it really difficult to understand that the U. S. S. R. is pursuing and will continue to pursue its own independent policy, based on the interests of the peoples of the U. S. S. R. and only their interests? (*Prolonged applause.*)

If these gentlemen have such an uncontrollable desire to fight, let them do their own fighting without the Soviet Union. We would see what fighting stuff they are made of.

In our eyes, in the eyes of the entire Soviet people, these are just as much enemies of peace as all other instigators of war in Europe. Only those who desire a grand new slaughter, a new holocaust of nations, only they want to set the Soviet Union and Germany at loggerheads, they are the only people who want to destroy the incipient restoration of good-neighborly relations between the peoples of the U. S. S. R. and Germany.

The Soviet Union signed a pact with Germany, fully assured that peace between the peoples of the U. S. S. R. and Germany is in the interests of all peoples, in the interests of universal peace. Every

sincere supporter of peace will realize the truth of this. This pact corresponds to the fundamental interests of the working people of the Soviet Union and cannot weaken our vigilance in defense of these interests. This pact is backed by firm confidence in our real forces, in their complete preparedness to meet any aggression against the U. S. S. R. (*Loud applause.*)

When the Nazi armies invaded the Ukraine on the morning of June 22, 1941, collaboration with Fascists ceased to be what Molotov had jestingly referred to as a matter of political taste.¹ Now, the agile Soviet commissar for foreign affairs was crying out for the blood of the Nazi beasts and for the glorious defense of the Socialist fatherland. For once he spoke truthfully when he insisted that the U. S. S. R. did not want war with Germany.² There was nothing to be gained from it. Stalin would have preferred that Fascist powers and the western democracies destroy themselves, while he "peacefully liberated" all accessible territory.³ Within a few hours, he would be clamoring for help from the "imperialist warmongers" whom he had hoped to see devoured by the Nazi moloch.

At home, every conceivable appeal to patriotism and even to "religious superstition" was to be exploited in behalf of the defense of the fatherland. Foreign comrades who had been estranged by the incredible alliance with the implacable Fascist foe could now forget their nightmares and quietly return to the fold. As Browder summed it up, only one thing mattered: Win the war. Ideology could wait and the inevitable revolution could be postponed until the Socialist fatherland was out of danger.

EXHIBIT No. 66

[*Daily Worker*, June 23, 1941. Pp. 1, 2]

COMPLETE TEXT OF MOLOTOV'S STATEMENT

MOSCOW, June 22.—The following is the text of V. M. Molotov's statement:

"Citizens of the Soviet Union!

"The Soviet Government and its head, Comrade Stalin, have authorized me to make the following statement:

"Today at four o'clock in the morning, without presenting any claims to the Soviet Government and without any declaration of war, German troops attacked our country, attacked our borders at many points and bombed from their airplanes our cities—Zhitomir, Kiev, Sevastopol, Kaunas, and some others, killing and wounding over 200 persons.

"There were also enemy air-raids and artillery shelling from Rumanian and Finnish territory.

"This unheard of attack upon our country is perfidy unparalleled in the history of civilized nations. The attack on our country was perpetrated despite the fact that a treaty of non-aggression had been signed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Germany and that the Soviet Government had most faithfully abided by all the provisions of this treaty. The attack upon our country was perpetrated despite the fact that during the entire period of operation of this treaty the German government could not find grounds for a single complaint against the U. S. S. R. as regards observance of the treaty.

¹ Dallin, *Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy*, p. 172.

² Hilger and Meyer, *Incompatible Allies*, pp. 335-338. As a high ranking German diplomatic officer in Moscow, Hilger had personal contacts with Molotov on the very morning of the German invasion of the Ukraine.

³ Dallin, *op. cit.*, passim. Carman, *Soviet Imperialism*, pp. 20-72.

"The entire responsibility for this predatory attack upon the Soviet Union falls fully and completely upon the German fascist rulers.

"At 5:30 A. M., that is, after the attack had already been perpetrated [Count Friedrich W. Von der] Schulenburg, the German Ambassador in Moscow, made a statement on behalf of his government to me as People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs to the effect that the German Government had decided to launch a war against the U. S. S. R. in connection with the concentration of Red Army units near the eastern German frontier.

"In reply to this I stated on behalf of the Soviet Government that up to the very last moment the German government had not presented any claims to the Soviet government, that Germany had attacked the U. S. S. R. despite the peaceable position of the Soviet Union, and that for this reason Fascist Germany is the aggressor.

"On instruction of the Government of the Soviet Union, I must also state that at no point had our troops or our airforce committed any violation of the frontier and that therefore the statement made this morning by the Rumanian radio to the effect that Soviet aircraft had allegedly fired on Rumanian airdromes is a sheer lie and provocation. Likewise, lie and provocation is the entire declaration made today by Hitler, who is trying belatedly to concoct accusations charging the Soviet Union with failure to observe the Soviet-German pact.

"Now that the attack on the Soviet Union has already been committed the Soviet Government has ordered our troops to repulse this predatory assault and to drive German troops from the territory of our country.

"This war has been forced upon us, not by the German people, not by German workers, peasants and intellectuals whose sufferings we well understand, but by the clique of bloodthirsty fascist rulers of Germany who have enslaved Frenchmen, Czechs, Poles, Serbians, Norwegians, Belgians, Danes, Dutchmen, Greeks and peoples of other nations.

"The Government of the Soviet Union expresses its unshakable confidence that our valiant Army and Navy and the brave falcons of our Soviet Airforce will acquit themselves with honor in performing their duty to the Fatherland and to the Soviet people, and will inflict a crushing blow upon the aggressor.

"This is not the first time that our people have had to deal with the attack of an arrogant foe. At the time of Napoleon's invasion of Russia, our people's reply was war for the Fatherland, and Napoleon suffered defeat and met his doom. It will be the same with Hitler, who in his arrogance has proclaimed a new crusade against our country. The Red Army and our whole people will again wage victorious war for the Fatherland, for our country, for honor, for liberty.

"The Government of the Soviet Union expresses its firm conviction that the whole population of our country, all the workers, peasants, and intellectuals, men and women, will conscientiously perform their duties and do their work. Our entire people must now stand solid and united as never before. Each one of us must demand of himself and of others discipline, organization, self-denial worthy of real Soviet patriots, in order to provide for all the needs of the Red Army, the Red Navy, and the Red Airforce, to ensure victory over the enemy.

"The Government calls upon you, citizens of the Soviet Union, to rally still more closely around our glorious Bolshevik Party, around our Soviet Government, around our great leader, Comrade Stalin.

"Ours is a righteous cause. The enemy shall be defeated. Victory will be ours."

Eugene Tarle's *Napoleon in Russia* is typical of revised Bolshevik history written in praise of Stalin's czarist predecessors. It was intended to serve as inspiration to the millions of Russians who would have to die in order to repel Hitler's aggressive actions. In the final chapter, Tarle analyzes the reasons for Napoleon's failure. Unlike much wiser Stalin, the Corsican corporal abandoned his earlier, progressive antifeudal policies in favor of reactionary capitalist ideas.¹ Tarle notes that Napoleon invaded Russia on June 24, 1812, and Hitler repeated the same mistake on June 22, 1941.

In praising the Russian generals who helped to defeat Napoleon, Tarle blithely passes over their reactionary services to the czars.² His attention is concentrated entirely upon enlisting the support of every conceivable means of defending Russia: peasants, comrades, nationalists. As for the reactionary background of czarist generals, Stalin cared nothing at all. Long ago he had surpassed even Ivan the Terrible in the use of savage repression.³ Now he would outdo that tyrant in his defense of Russian soil. In return for this service, the Russian people must be willing to bear every hardship.

EXHIBIT No. 67

[New York, International Publishers, no date. Eugene Tarle, *Napoleon in Russia*. Pp. 44-64]

THE RETREAT OF NAPOLEON'S ARMY AND THE SPREAD OF PARTISAN WARFARE

Napoleon's army, 100,000 strong, with its artillery and ammunition wagons, filed out of Moscow in an endless, motley stream, followed by a long train of baggage wagons belonging to different military units. And these in turn were followed by carts, wagons and carriages filled with loot, belonging to the marshals, generals, officers and common soldiers. Then came more army baggage wagons, artillery, and ammunition carts—seemingly without end.

Napoleon had decided to retreat to Smolensk not by the old road, but by the new road through Kaluga, for he had no stores of any kind on the old road, and, besides, that road had been utterly wrecked. True, he had no stores on the new road either, but as Marshal Davout expressed it, there were still "untouched villages" on that road, whereas the old road was a howling wilderness. "We shall go to Kaluga!" exclaimed Napoleon. "And woe to those who stand in my path!"

This circumstance brings out in striking relief the importance of Kutuzov's famous maneuver-march to Tarutino. Had he not accomplished this he would have been unable to erect the impassable barrier south of Maloyaroslavets and cut across the French army's line of march to Kaluga. As soon as Kutuzov heard that Napoleon had left Moscow, he declared that Russia was saved. His army was augmented by the arrival of reinforcements and the enrollment of new conscripts. In the middle of October he had a force under his

¹ Possony, *Century of Conflict*, p. 126. Eugene Tarle, *Napoleon's Invasion of Russia—1812*, New York Oxford University Press, 1942, pp. 405-412.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 94, 168-182. Labin, *Stalin's Russia*, p. 260.

³ Struve, *Soviet Russian Literature*, pp. 263, 326.

command of 85,000 men, not counting the Cossacks. Napoleon's army received much fewer reinforcements.

At 11 p. m. on October 22 a courier arrived at Kutuzov's headquarters in Tarutino with a report from Dokhturov to the effect that Napoleon was marching on Maloyaroslavets and that he, Dokhturov, needed assistance. Kutuzov, however, took no action for the moment. Here he pursued the same tactics as he had pursued six days earlier at the battle of Tarutino. He knew, of course, that Napoleon must not be allowed to reach Kaluga, for if he did he would capture all the materiel that had been prepared for the Russian army and would, therefore, be in a much better position to reach Smolensk. Moreover, the Kaluga-Smolensk road would be able to maintain the French troops much better than the Moscow-Smolensk road.

Kutuzov ordered Dokhturov to march to the village of Fominskoye and attack the French force there, which, according to the reports of spies, numbered 10,000 men. On the way, however, Dokhturov learned that Fominskoye was occupied, not by a force of 10,000 men, but by nearly the whole of the French army headed by Napoleon, and that the French had already occupied Bovorsk, a town much further to the south of Fominskoye and on the direct road to Kaluga. Dokhturov realized that it was necessary to turn at once sharply to the south and hasten to Maloyaroslavets, between Borovsk and Kaluga.

Fearing to disobey Kutuzov's orders, Dokhturov sent a courier to him to ask permission to march to Maloyaroslavets.

Kutuzov gave the required permission, but between the going and coming of the message much valuable time was lost. Marching all night with but brief halts, Dokhturov reached Maloyaroslavets at 4 a. m. on October 23. Very soon after, however, Napoleon's army arrived and drove the Russian chasseurs from the outskirts of the town.

Eight times that day, amidst ceaseless firing from both sides, Maloyaroslavets changed hands, the Russians driving the French out at the point of the bayonet, and then the French driving out the Russians. Dokhturov's force was nearly at its last gasp when at 2 p. m. Rayevsky's corps came to his aid, and at 4 p. m. Kutuzov himself and the whole Russian army arrived.

Kutuzov made a detour and took up his position on the road between Maloyaroslavets and Kaluga. Night set in. The French, holding the town after the eighth assault, waited in expectation of a general engagement. The cannon fire ceased. The town was ablaze.

All that terrible night, gazing at the glare of the burning town and hearing the groans of the wounded, the cries of the French soldiers, and here and there repeated bursts of musket fire, the Russian army waited in anticipation of another Borodino, for there could not be the slightest doubt that Napoleon himself was now confronting them with the whole of his Grand Army. Early in the morning of the 25th Field Marshal Kutuzov ordered his army to retire about two miles south of Maloyaroslavets. He had decided not to give battle here. His sole aim was to liberate Russia from the invaders with a minimum of loss to the Russian army.

Miloradovich's vanguard retreated only a very short distance from the town. Napoleon realized that to break through to Kaluga he

would have to fight a general engagement on a scale no less than that at Borodino. He dared not do this and for the first time in his life Napoleon retreated before the prospect of a general engagement. And for the first time in this sanguinary Russian campaign he turned his back on the Russian army and, instead of the pursuer, became the pursued.

Marching through devastated towns and villages, the French army burned everything that had survived the earlier conflagration. It was already half-starving when it started the retreat from Moscow, but on the way to Smolensk it had to traverse a road which, as a participant in this campaign observed, "had already been denuded three months ago."

Gradually the food shortage among the troops assumed catastrophic proportions. It was hunger more than the frost that rapidly broke up Napoleon's army on the road from Maloyaroslavets to Smolensk. Among the French forces discipline was still maintained, but among the German and Italian, and partly among the Polish forces, the breakdown of discipline was assuming most menacing proportions.

Meanwhile this national war, carried on up to now by the operations of the regular army and the unorganized operations of the peasants, assumed a new form—partisan warfare. This is how it began.

Five days before the battle of Borodino, Lieutenant Colonel Denis Davydov, who for five years had served as Bagration's adjutant, came to his superior and submitted to him a plan to harass Napoleon's long line of communications from the Niemen to Gzhatsk. He proposed that constant attacks and sudden raids be made on this line, on the French bases, on couriers and food trains. This, he suggested, could be carried out by small mounted detachments, which could rapidly go into hiding and escape pursuit after each operation. Furthermore, he suggested that these irregular units could become points of concentration of armed peasants. Bagration submitted this plan to Kutuzov, who allowed Denis Davydov a force of fifty Hussars and eighty Cossacks. This force set out and, making a detour of the Grand Army, succeeded in getting into its rear. Such was the very modest and so far imperceptible beginning of the partisan warfare, which was undoubtedly one of the decisive factors in the second phase of the war of 1812.

Regular army officers were not the only organizers of partisan units. For example, on August 31, 1812, the Russian rear guard was making a fighting retreat from Tsarevo-Zaimishche, which the French had occupied. During the fighting Ermolay Chetvertakov, a Russian dragoon, had his horse shot under him and he was taken prisoner. At Gzhatsk he succeeded in escaping from the guard and made his way to the village of Basmany, far to the south of the Smolensk highroad along which the French army was marching. Here the same idea of harassing Napoleon's army by means of irregular forces occurred to Chetvertakov. He decided to form peasant partisan units.

When he made his proposal to the peasants of Basmany, they were very suspicious of him and he obtained only one recruit. With this recruit he made for another village. On the road they encountered two Frenchmen, whom they killed, taking their clothes in order to disguise themselves. Further on, in the village of Zadkovo, they encountered two French cavalymen. They killed these soldiers as well and took their horses. In this village Chetvertakov obtained

forty-seven recruits. This small force, under Chetvertakov's command, first wiped out a party of twelve French cuirassiers, and later exterminated and put to flight a half-company of French soldiers, fifty-nine strong, and captured their baggage.

These successes created a deep impression upon the peasantry in this area, so much so that even the village of Basmany now provided 253 volunteers. Chetvertakov, although illiterate, proved to be a splendid organizer, tactician, and strategist in partisan warfare. Harassing the enemy by sudden raids, skillfully and warily tracking down small units of Frenchmen and exterminating them by lightning attacks, he succeeded in preventing a large area of territory around Gzhatsk from being looted and devastated by the French. Chetvertakov was ruthless in his operations, and, besides, the peasants were so fierce in their hatred of the French that they could not be restrained.

From the beginning of September to the end of November, when Napoleon retreated across the Berezina, the partisans undoubtedly performed great and useful service. They were splendid and often recklessly bold scouts. One of them, Figner by name, used to disguise himself as a French soldier and—on numerous occasions—wander around the French camps. Another named Seslavin once silently approached a French noncommissioned officer, picked him up and flung him across his saddle and brought him to the Russian headquarters. Davydov, with a party of 200 to 300 men, caused forces five times that number to flee in panic, captured their baggage, released Russian prisoners of war and sometimes captured enemy guns.

The partisans obtained valuable assistance in their operations from the peasants, who displayed even greater willingness to cooperate with them than with the regular army. This assistance was particularly valuable at the beginning of the movement. In the Bronnitski District, Moscow Gubernia, in the village of Nicola-Pogorely, near Vyazma, in Bezhetsk, Dorogobuzh, and Serpukhov, the peasants tracked down small enemy units, killed the French foragers and marauders, and willingly provided the partisan units with food for men and horses. Without this assistance the partisans would not have achieved the results they did.

Then came the retreat of the Grand Army, which began with the senseless blowing up of the Kremlin. This malicious act infuriated the people when they returned to Moscow and found the Kremlin in ruins. They regarded it as the crowning insult to all they had suffered. In conformity with Napoleon's orders all the towns and villages on the French army's line of retreat were burned to the ground. In Vyazma a number of Russian prisoners of war were found locked up in the church, which had been set on fire. The church had escaped destruction by sheer accident. These actions served still further to fan the fury of the Russian people.

The peasants did not confine their operations to helping the partisan units track down and kill marauders and stragglers, and exterminate foragers, although it must be said that these were the most telling blows they struck at the starving Grand Army. Guerasim Kurin, a peasant of the village of Pavlovo near Bogorodotsk, formed a peasant unit, armed it with weapons taken from dead Frenchmen and, with his assistant Stulov, led it into battle even against French cavalry, and put them to flight.

In this struggle the peasant women displayed no less valor than the men. For example, Vasilisa, the wife of the elder of a village in the Sychevski District, Smolensk Gubernia, frequently attacked straggling French baggage wagons with pitchfork or scythe, killed many French soldiers, and took many prisoners. She was by no means an exception.

Napoleon and his Guards marched in the vanguard of the retreating army. On November 8 he entered Smolensk and was followed by sections of the various units of the army. By the 15th the whole army had arrived. During this dreadful march from Maloyaroslavets Napoleon and his generals had placed all their hopes on Smolensk. Here, they expected to find stocks of food and a fairly quiet haven where the weary and starving men and horses would obtain some rest and recuperate from the terrible sufferings they had endured during the retreat. But it turned out otherwise. In this lifeless, demolished and smoldering city the retreating army received a blow that utterly broke the spirit of many of its units. Hardly any food was found.

From that moment the retreat became a flight, and all that the Grand Army had suffered on the road from Maloyaroslavets paled into insignificance compared with the abyss that now opened up before it and swallowed it almost entirely.

The last days of this bloody struggle were approaching. The death throes of Napoleon's army lasted from November 17, when it had started out from Smolensk, to the evening of December 14, when its rear guard, consisting of several hundred able-bodied men under Marshal Ney, together with several thousands of unarmed, wounded and sick men, crossed the Niemen and reached the Prussian side.

On November 14, after a stay of five days, Napoleon with his Guards marched out of Smolensk in the direction of Krasnoye. He was followed by the remnants of the army corps commanded by Viceroy Eugène, Davout and Murat. Behind them marched the rear guard, commanded by Marshal Ney. Following on Ney's heels came the Russian forces. The days were approaching when Ney was destined by a desperate struggle and skillful maneuver to save Napoleon and his 30,000 to 45,000 men, and the 30,000 sick, unarmed, weary and disabled men who had plodded behind the army from Smolensk through Krasnoye to Dubrovno and Orsha.

On November 20 Napoleon left Orsha. Three days later the advance patrols of his vanguard saw before them a long strip of murky water. This was a fairly wide river with very muddy banks, not yet frozen, but here and there already covered with small patches of ice. It was difficult to ford this river even under ordinary conditions; how much more difficult was it now that it was beginning to freeze. This was the Berezina River. Napoleon and his Guards were approaching a mortally dangerous barrier, which they had to overcome or else perish.

THE CROSSING OF THE BEREZINA AND THE DOOM OF NAPOLEON'S ARMY

On November 16 the city of Minsk, where Napoleon expected to find large stocks of food and munitions, was captured by the Russian troops, the vanguard of Chichagov's army. Napoleon learned of

this two days later, before entering Orsha. Soon after, he was amazed to hear that Chichagov had already occupied Borisov. He at once sent orders to his generals to concentrate as many troops as possible near Borisov in order to cover his retreat across the Borisov Bridge to the right bank of the Berezina.

On November 25 he succeeded by a series of skillful maneuvers and demonstrations to direct Chichagov's attention on Borisov and south of it, and while the latter was concentrating his forces there Murat, Oudinot and two generals of the Corps of Engineers built two bridges across the Studianka, a tributary of the Berezina.

On the night of November 25 the Imperial Guard arrived at the Studianka. At dawn next day Napoleon arrived. He gave the order to cross the river at once. At that moment he had at his command only 19,000 men. The crossing was started under the fire of General Chaplits, who was the first to learn that Napoleon was diverting his troops from Borisov. Napoleon ordered that the bridge-heads on both banks of the river be strongly guarded. All day long troops continued to arrive. At night he ordered Marshal Ney with the remnants of his corps and the Young Guard to cross to the right bank and, battalion following battalion, the crossing continued all night and during the whole morning of the 27th. At about 2 p. m. on the 27th Napoleon with the Old Guard crossed the river, followed by other divisions.

The French army lined up on the right bank of the river, and when the last of the forces had crossed Napoleon ordered the bridges to be blown up.

And now the world was to witness the final death agony of this great horde. Napoleon had no time to arrange for the crossing of the wounded and sick and the foreign civilians who followed his army from Moscow; they were all left to their fate. An eye-witness has described the scene that ensued as follows:

"On the evening of that day when Napoleon crossed the Berezina, the Veselovski plain, which is rather wide, presented a horrible and indescribable picture. It was covered with carriages and carts—most of them broken and piled up one on top of the other—and strewn with the bodies of dying women and children who had followed the army from Moscow either to escape the horrors of that city or to accompany their fellow countrymen. . . .

"The fate of these unfortunate people caught between two fighting armies was awful. Many of them were trampled under the horses' hoofs, others were crushed by the heavy wagons, while many were mowed down by the hail of shot and shell, or drowned in the river in trying to ford it with the troops. At the most moderate estimate, ten thousand people must have perished. . . ."

But beside this gloomy picture we have another provided by the reminiscences of other eye-witnesses, which reveals the magnanimity and humanity displayed by the Russian soldiers toward their vanquished foe. General Loewenstern, for example, wrote: "A frightful snowstorm was raging: I lost my way and found myself entirely alone." His horse carried him, half-frozen, toward the Russian campfires.

"In the forest where we were bivouacked," he continues, "many French soldiers were hiding for the night. They came out without their arms to warm themselves at our fires. Great was our aston-

ishment next morning when we saw forty or fifty Frenchmen squatting in a circle round each fire without betraying the slightest sign of fear. Our good, kind Karpenko, who had ruthlessly cut down the enemy when he was face to face with him, saved the lives of many of these unfortunate men."

At this time the position of the French army was catastrophic.

"The wind and frost were cruel; all the roads were snowed under. Crowds of Frenchmen were staggering in a field near by. Some of them managed to light a fire and sat around it. Others cut slices of flesh from the dead horses and ate it, some roasted and some even raw. Soon I came across people who were freezing, or already frozen to death. . . ."

By this time hunger among the troops had reached its highest pitch. On November 28 a severe frost set in, which reached 31° below zero (F.) and lasted until December 12.

The historian Ségur, who was with the French army at that time, asserts that about 60,000 men crossed the Berezina with Napoleon and that another 20,000 from the army corps on the flanks joined them. Of these 80,000, however, 40,000 perished on the way from the Berezina to Vilna. And many more were destined to perish on the way from Vilna to the Niemen.

On December 9 the first groups of half-frozen and starving men entered Vilna. They immediately ransacked the stores so that they could eat and clothe themselves before they were driven off by the Russians. Next day the first Russian units began to approach Vilna. The French troops retired to the Niemen at Kovno.

Napoleon had left the army at Smorgonia on December 6, appointing Murat, King of Naples, commander-in-chief of its remnants. At that moment Napoleon regarded the Russian campaign merely as a lost round in a game, and his mind was already absorbed with plans for another which he hoped he would play better than he had this one. He was not yet aware that the wound inflicted upon him by the Russian people was mortal, and would put an end to his world empire.

The Russian campaign drew to a close. In the latter half of December the survivors of Macdonald's units, and small crowds of weary men who had lost their way in the forests of Lithuania, continued to cross into Prussia. On the whole, less than 30,000 men remained under the command of Murat and, after his departure, under the command of the Viceroy of Italy, Eugène de Beauharnais. And this was all that remained of the Grand Army—of the 420,000 men who, on June 24, 1812, crossed the Niemen on four bridges, and the 150,000 men who subsequently joined this army.

THE REASON FOR THE COLLAPSE OF NAPOLEON'S POWER IN EUROPE

Several generations of thinkers have been uninterruptedly engaged in probing the causes of Napoleon's final catastrophe, the climax of which was reached with amazing rapidity. In the first months of 1812 Napoleon had reached the pinnacle of power. He was the autocratic ruler—either directly or through his viceroys, governor-generals, or absolutely obedient vassals—over a territory commencing from the Niemen and including Danzig, Hamburg and Amsterdam, right up to Madrid, Calabria and Illyria.

His mere word was enough to dethrone any king or to wipe off the map any state on the continent of Europe. He could quarter troops wherever he desired and keep them there as long as he pleased. There were only two powers in Europe who were independent of him—England in the extreme West, and Russia in the extreme East. But Napoleon was confident that, having conquered the continent, he would be able to subdue these countries too.

In the spring of 1811 Napoleon received in his palace in the Tuileries the Bavarian General von Brede. In the course of conversation this general diffidently and respectfully expressed the opinion that it would be unwise to pick a quarrel with Russia and attack her. Napoleon with a peremptory gesture interrupted the general and said in a sharp and emphatic tone: "Within three years from now I shall be ruler of the world!" But within three years the greatest empire that had existed since the time of Alexander the Great was a heap of ruins. . . .

In the opinion of military experts, in these last years—years of frightful sanguinary struggle—Napoleon often displayed the same supreme perfection in the art of war that he had shown in his numerous earlier campaigns. This was the case, for example, in 1813–14. The forces at his command at the beginning of this final struggle were far larger than he had commanded on any previous occasion. Consequently, the collapse of this colossus must have been due to far deeper causes than the loss of a particular battle, or even of a whole campaign.

In the course of Napoleon's career an extremely important change occurred—symptoms of which were visible long before his débâcle—which made that catastrophe inevitable. Unless this factor is understood, every attempt to explain the collapse of Napoleon's Empire will amount to no more than the repetition of the innumerable mystical, romantic and idealistic fantasies with which the history of his reign is already so replete.

Napoleon was indomitable and every attempt to resist him ended with the defeat of his adversary. But this was true as long as he served as the "surgeon of history"—accelerating the operation of historically progressive principles and destroying by fire and sword the obsolete and doomed feudal system in Europe. It was this period when Napoleon was crushing and sweeping away the feudal-aristocratic and absolutist monarchies of Europe that Marx and Engels had in mind when they said that in a certain sense the Napoleonic Wars did for the continent of Europe what the guillotine had done in France during the Reign of Terror. European feudal absolutism could never recover from the frightful blows that Napoleon dealt it; and in the countries that he had conquered the sympathies of all progressive people—sometimes concealed and sometimes unambiguously expressed—were undoubtedly on the side of the conqueror.

Symptoms of these changes had been visible for a long time. After Austerlitz its baneful effects were felt in the Germanic countries, in Belgium, Holland, and Italy; and they were seen even by those who in 1804 saw nothing prejudicial in Napoleon assuming the title of Emperor, and who believed that the role of liberator of nations could be played even by one who wore the royal purple. But after the Peace of Tilsit all illusions on this score had to be abandoned.

Napoleon began openly to advance the principle that he had been applying for a considerable time past. The fatal flaw in this principle was that it drew a distinction between France, or the "old depart-

ments," as it was called, and the rest of conquered Europe, which was called the "new departments." According to this principle the French were the privileged, ruling race, and they alone were to enjoy to the full all the benefits and privileges gained by the victorious sword of the Emperor. The other nations of Europe were destined to be the vassals of France.

Although designating himself "Emperor of the West" and aspiring to become the ruler of the world, Napoleon nevertheless deliberately played the part of a French national sovereign, claiming the right to rob all his other subjects in the interests of the French. "For me the interests of the nation are supreme," he said, meaning by that the interests of the French bourgeoisie, for whom Germany, Italy, Spain, Holland, Belgium, the Germanic countries, the Duchy of Poland, etc., were to serve primarily as markets and sources of raw materials. He deliberately ruined the countries which were likely to become competitors of France; and he openly stated that the French deserved special protection not only because they were the most "loyal" of his innumerable subjects, but also because they were a superior race.

He expressed these opinions with his characteristic bluntness and candor, because he was absolutely convinced of the infallibility of his fundamental principles. For example, in estimating his losses in battle, he considered that the only casualties worth considering were those suffered by the French units of his multinational armies. This is what he said about the Grand Army that perished in the snows in Russia: "In Russia our losses were extremely heavy, but not as heavy as many suppose. The Imperial Army had barely 140,000 French-speaking men, and the campaign of 1812 cost old France proper only 50,000 men."

He emphasized the same point in his famous conversation with Prince Metternich in Dresden on June 28, 1813, when he refused to conclude peace with the Allies. He admitted in that conversation that among those who perished in 1812 "were 100,000 of the finest soldiers of France." "These I am really sorry for," he said. "As for the rest, they were only Italians, Poles, and, above all, Germans!" And he pronounced the word "Germans" with a contemptuous grimace. "Granted," answered Metternich, "but Your Majesty will agree that this is not the argument to use when speaking to a German."

Napoleon oppressed economically and ruined the European nations he had conquered not only by means of his continental blockade, but by other stern measures which he imposed upon them in the economic field to prevent them from developing their independent economic life. For example, he prohibited the introduction of modern technical improvements in the conquered countries; he ordered that all stocks of raw silk be exported from Italy for the use of the silk weavers of Lyons, leaving for the Italian silk weavers only what surplus the French did not need. He deliberately prohibited the building of roads essential for commerce, and ordered that thousands of Merino sheep be driven from Spain into France, thus depriving the Spanish cloth weavers of fine wool. In the "ideological" sphere, so to speak, he did not hesitate to assert at every opportunity that it was the birthright of the French to rule over the rest of mankind.

After the Peace of Tilsit, when the borderline between the permissible and impermissible rapidly began to lose all significance for him, Napoleon no longer confronted the peoples of Europe—and the

progressive class that the bourgeoisie represented at that time—as a liberator, but as a cruel tyrant who divided mankind into lords and slaves, placing in the first category the French alone and condemning the rest of mankind to the second. He began to be regarded as a ruthless despot who deliberately ruined the countries unfortunate enough to come under his heel; and it became the dream of the whole of progressive mankind to rid the world of this tyrant.

The destruction of the Grand Army was intimately connected with the change that took place in Napoleon's historic activities, and is therefore a matter of supreme interest from the point of view of the subject we are discussing. In the first years of Napoleon's reign his army was invincible. But to the extent that it absorbed elements that were alien to the French its spirit changed; its monolithic compactness and unity, which had made it such a powerful instrument in the hands of its leader, relaxed. Thus, Napoleon's army began to lose its invincibility long before 1812.

But in that year, reckless of the consequences, he drove into Russia not only soldiers from the multiracial populations of subjugated Europe but also Spaniards from the Pyrenees peninsula, which he had invaded. The Spanish people had by no means been subjugated and continued to offer fierce and uninterrupted resistance to the conqueror. To fight on behalf of an alien cause, on behalf of a tyrant who was oppressing and ruining one's native land, and knowing that every new victory he achieved only served to rivet the chains of slavery still more firmly on his victims, was more than human nature could stand.

This had a fatal effect upon Napoleon's army, and the signs of its disintegration were visible to all who had eyes to see. Striking evidence of this was seen during the battle of Leipzig, when, at the height of the battle, the Saxons, who had been forcibly driven into the fight, went over to the side of Napoleon's enemies, turned their guns on the French and shot them down at short range.

Thus, the invincibility of Napoleon's army disappeared when he abandoned the historically progressive mission that he had been fulfilling, when the halo of warrior against feudal reaction had faded from his brow, and when he began to use the unlimited power he had acquired in the pursuit not only of reactionary but utterly impossible aims—to transform the French into a ruling nation and all other nations into dumb beasts of burden. This utter contempt for the material interests and human dignity of the conquered nations, this separation of the peoples into sheep and goats, into a race of lords and a race of slaves, served to disintegrate the army just as it disintegrated the foundations of the great political edifice that Napoleon had erected.

One of the numerous factors that caused Napoleon to undertake the invasion of Russia was the dimming of his formerly brilliant political mind. This had become evident from the moment he came under the spell of the illusion that France was destined to rule all the nations of the globe and that it was his "mission" to organize and lead this ruling French race. What is Russia? A country, like all other countries, destined to be subjugated. If she dares to claim the right to pursue an independent policy, it only shows that "she is challenging fate." This was the idea that he had expressed on more than one occasion even before he expounded it in his proclamation announcing his invasion of Russia.

Napoleon put before the nations of Europe the alternative of either abandoning all thought of Europe ever being free from alien conquerors, or of plunging into a life-and-death struggle to overthrow the despot, and to prove that all the talk about the mission of the French race to rule the world was merely political delirium. Europe took the latter course, and it fell to the lot of the Russian people to bear the brunt of this great struggle. It was Russia that first dispelled the myth, so long prevailing, that Napoleon's army was invincible.

On June 24, 1812, Napoleon, the greatest soldier the world had ever seen, crossed into Russian territory, and this, as Talleyrand expressed it, marked "the beginning of the end" of his rule in Europe.

On June 22, 1941, the miserable adventurer Hitler, dreaming of becoming a Napoleon, hurled his armies across the frontiers of the Soviet Union. But this perfidious and malicious enemy miscalculated his own strength and the strength of the Soviet people. Accustomed to easy victories over unarmed nations, or over armies that had been betrayed by their governments and generals, and knowing no other victories, he thought he would have a walkover in the knavish adventure he had undertaken. But at the first impact with the might of the Red Army he learned that at last he had met his master.

The starvation in his country is even greater than the most barren parts of Napoleon's vast empire ever experienced. In the army, which still obeys him—in fear of death—in every regiment and every company of even the most nationally "pure" army corps and division, class hatred and strife reign to a degree that Napoleon's Grand Army never knew.

The case of Napoleon proves to us that even the greatest military leader is powerless and doomed when he sets out to achieve the absolutely impossible aim—inspired exclusively by crude political egoism—of becoming the ruler of the world and of ruthlessly exploiting his own and subjugated peoples.

Today it has again fallen to the lot of the great Russian people to liberate Europe, this time from a far more cruel, despicable, and shameful yoke than she had borne before.

As Joseph Stalin said in his famous broadcast of July 3, 1941, on the scorched earth:

This war with fascist Germany cannot be considered an ordinary war. It is not only a war between two armies, it is also a great war of the entire Soviet people against the German fascist armies.

The aim of this national war in defense of our country against the fascist oppressors is not only elimination of the danger hanging over our country, but also to aid all the European peoples groaning under the yoke of German fascism.

In this war of liberation we shall not be alone. In this great war we shall have loyal allies in the peoples of Europe and America, including the German people, who are enslaved by the Hitlerite despots.

Our war for the freedom of our country will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties.

It will be a united front of the peoples standing for freedom and against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler's fascist armies.*

The despicable criminals, who, as the renowned German author Heinrich Mann has said, have exceeded all bounds of human baseness, will not succeed in enslaving the 200,000,000 free citizens of the Soviet Union. As Molotov said on behalf of the Soviet people: "Ours is a just cause. The enemy will be crushed. *Victory will be ours!*"

*Joseph Stalin, *Victory Will Be Ours*, Workers Library Publishers, p. 14.

Happily for mankind the beginning of the end is already visible. . . . The Russian people today are displaying the same cool courage and self-sacrifice in the moment of danger as they displayed at the time when Napoleon was forced to admit that the Russian soldiers were braver than any he had had to contend against before. But how much other conditions have changed!

Today the technical equipment of the armed forces of the Soviet Union is in no way inferior to that of the invading enemy, and in many respects is far superior. Basing itself on the experience of all the great wars and battles in history, including those in the present European war, the Red Army is inflicting crushing blows on the arrogant foe. The myth that Hitler's army is "invincible" has been dispelled. As Stalin said in the broadcast:

As for Hitler's German fascist army, this army had not yet met with serious resistance on the continent of Europe. Only on our territory has it met serious resistance. And if, as a result of this resistance, the finest divisions of Hitler's German fascist army have been defeated by our Red Army, it means that this army, too, can be smashed and will be smashed as were the armies of Napoleon and Wilhelm. . . . The men of the Red Army are displaying unexampled valor. Our resistance to the enemy is growing in strength and power.

Side by side with the Red Army, the entire Soviet people are rising in defense of our native land.**

History shows that there are no invincible armies and never have been. Napoleon's army was considered invincible but it was beaten successively by Russian, English, and German armies.

Seldom does a dictatorship convict itself so completely as did the Soviet regime in the case of the Katyn Forest massacre. For propaganda reasons which appeared necessary to Stalin, a special Bolshevik commission was established in 1943 to prove that the mass murder of 11,000 Polish officers had actually taken place in the autumn of 1941. Postwar investigation by a congressional committee demonstrated the fact that this massacre could not have been committed by the Nazis. What the Bolsheviks had done was simply to liquidate a large group of educated people who might have organized an anti-Communist resistance movement.¹

While Communist organizations have not generally documented other instances of the systematic elimination of potential anti-Communist leaders, there are solid grounds for believing that considerably more than 320,000 Frenchmen and 360,000 Italians were either killed or removed from public life by the guerrilla activities of Communist partisans (sec. D, exhibit No. 66).² Destruction of effective anti-Communist leadership has been a long established goal of the Kremlin.³ In the bright new world of Soviet Socialist construction, the only intellectual leaders worth preserving will be completely submissive comrades.

***Ibid.*, pp. 7-10.

¹ For an account of Nazi and Soviet terrorist activities in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, see Albert Kalmé, *Total Terror: An Exposure of Genocide in the Baltics*, New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951. See also the voluminous testimony and documentation contained in the hearings and reports of a Select Committee on Communist Aggression, House of Representatives, 83d Cong., 1st and 2d sess. (1953-54).

² Possony, *Century of Conflict*, pp. 270-275, 288-290.

³ Clarence A. Manning (Columbia University), *The Forgotten Republics*, New York, Philosophical Library, 1952. Chaps. XXIII and XXV and the conclusion deal with the Soviet extermination of Baltic leaders. See also Scholmer, *Vorkuta*, pp. 119-124.

EXHIBIT No. 68

THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

[HEARINGS BEFORE THE SELECT COMMITTEE TO CONDUCT AN INVESTIGATION OF THE FACTS, EVIDENCE, AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE, EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION, ON INVESTIGATION OF THE MURDER OF THOUSANDS OF POLISH OFFICERS IN THE KATYN FOREST NEAR SMOLLENSK, RUSSIA. PART 3 (CHICAGO, ILL). MARCH 13 AND 14, 1952]

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(Page 228:)

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMISSION FOR ASCERTAINING AND INVESTIGATING THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE SHOOTING OF POLISH OFFICER PRISONERS BY THE GERMAN-FASCIST INVADERS IN THE KATYN FOREST

The Special Commission for Ascertaining and Investigating the Circumstances of the Shooting of Polish Officer Prisoners by the German-Fascist Invaders in the Katyn Forest (near Smolensk) was set up on the decision of the Extraordinary State Committee for Ascertaining and Investigating Crimes Committed by the German-Fascist Invaders and Their Associates.

The Commission consists of Academician N. N. Burdenko, member of the Extraordinary State Committee (chairman of the Commission); Academician Alexei Tolstoy, member of the Extraordinary State Committee; Metropolitan Nikolai, member of the Extraordinary State Committee; Lt. Gen. A. S. Gundorov, president of the All-Slav Committee; S. A. Kolesnikov, chairman of the executive committee of the Union of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Academician V. P. Potemkin, People's Commissar of Education of the Russian SFSR; Col. Gen. E. I. Smirnov, Chief of the Central Medical Administration of the Red Army; P. E. Melnikov, chairman of the Smolensk Regional Executive Committee.

To accomplish the task assigned to it the Commission invited the following medico-legal experts to take part in its work: V. I. Prozorovsky, chief medico-legal expert of the People's Commissariat of Health Protection of the U. S. S. R., director of scientific research in the Institute of Forensic Medicine; Doctor of Medicine V. M. Smolyaninov, head of the faculty of forensic medicine of the Second Moscow Medical Institute; P. S. Semenoysky and Docent M. D. Shvaikova, senior staff scientists of the State Scientific Research Institute of Forensic Medicine under the People's Commissariat of Health of the U. S. S. R.; and Prof. D. N. Voropayev, chief pathologist of the front, major of Medical Service.

The special Commission had at its disposal extensive material presented by the member of the Extraordinary State Committee Academician N. N. Burdenko, his collaborators, and the medico-legal experts who arrived in Smolensk on September 26, 1943, immediately upon its liberation, and carried out preliminary study and investigation of the circumstances of all the crimes perpetrated by the Germans.

The special Commission verified and ascertained on the spot that 15 kilometers from Smolensk, along the Vitebsk highway, in the section of the Katyn Forest named Kozy Gory, 200 meters to the southwest of the highway in the direction of the Dnieper, there are graves in which Polish war prisoners shot by the German occupationists were buried.

On the order of the special Commission, and in the presence of all its members and of the medico-legal experts, the graves were excavated. A large number of bodies clad in Polish military uniform were found in the graves. The total number of bodies, as calculated by the medico-legal experts, is 11,000. The medico-legal experts made detailed examinations of the exhumed bodies and of documents and material evidence discovered on the bodies and in the graves.

Simultaneously with the excavation of the graves and examination of the bodies, the special Commission examined numerous witnesses among local residents, whose testimony establishes with precision the time and circumstances of the crimes committed by the German occupationists.

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GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

From all the material at the disposal of the special commission namely, evidence given by over 100 witnesses questioned, data supplied by the medico-legal experts, documents, and material evidence found in the graves in the Katyn Forest, the following conclusions emerge with irrefutable clarity:

1. The Polish prisoners of war who were in the three camps west of Smolensk, and employed on roadbuilding up to the outbreak of war, remained there after the German invaders reached Smolensk, until September 1941, inclusive;

2. In the Katyn Forest, in the autumn of 1941, the German occupation authorities carried out mass shootings of Polish prisoners of war from the above-named camps;

3. The mass shootings of Polish prisoners of war in the Katyn Forest were carried out by a German military organization hiding behind the conventional name of "Headquarters of the Five Hundred and Thirty-seventh Engineer Battalion," which was headed by Lieutenant Colonel Arnes and his assistants, First Lieutenant Rekst and Second Lieutenant Hott;

4. In connection with the deterioration of the general military and political situation for Germany at the beginning of the year 1943, the German occupation authorities, with provocational aims, took a number of steps in order to ascribe their own crimes to the organs of the Soviet power, calculating on setting Russians and Poles at loggerheads;

5. With this aim:

(a) The German-Fascist invaders, using persuasion, attempts at bribery, threats, and barbarous torture, tried to find "witnesses" among Soviet citizens, from whom they tried to extort false evidence, alleging that the Polish prisoners of war had been shot by the organs of Soviet power in the spring of 1940;

(b) The German occupation authorities in the spring of 1943 brought in from other places bodies of Polish war prisoners whom they had shot and put them into the opened graves in the Katyn Forest, calculating on covering up the traces of their own crimes, and on increasing the number of "victims of Bolshevik atrocities" in the Katyn Forest;

(c) Preparing for their provocation, the German occupation authorities started opening the graves in the Katyn Forest in order to take out documents and material evidence which exposed them, using for this work about 500 Russian prisoners of war who were shot by the Germans after the work was completed.

6. It has been established beyond doubt from the evidence of the medico-legal experts that:

(a) The time of the shooting was the autumn of 1941;

(b) In shooting the Polish war prisoners the German executioners applied the same method of pistol shots in the back of the head as they applied in the mass execution of Soviet citizens in other towns, e. g., Orel, Voronezh, Krasnodar, and Smolensk itself.

7. The conclusions drawn from the evidence given by witnesses, and from the findings of the medico-legal experts on the shooting of Polish war prisoners by the Germans in the autumn of 1941, are completely confirmed by the material evidence and documents excavated from the Katyn graves;

8. In shooting the Polish war prisoners in the Katyn Forest, the German-Fascist invaders consistently carried out their policy of physical extermination of the Slav peoples.

(Signed:)

Chairman of the Special Commission, Member of the Extraordinary State Committee, Academician N. N. Burdenko.

Members:

Member of Extraordinary State Committee, Academician Alexei Tolstoi, Member of the Extraordinary State Committee, Metropolitan Nikolai.

Chairman of the All-Slav Committee, Lt. Gen. A. S. Gundorov.

Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Union of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, S. A. Kolesnikov.

People's Commissar of Education of the Russian SFSR, Academician V. P. Potemkin.

Chief of the Central Medical Administration of the Red Army, Col. Gen. E. I. Smirnov.

Chairman of the Smolensk Regional Executive Committee, R. E. Melnikov.

SMOLENSK, January 24, 1944.

Translated from the Russian.

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(Page 1:)

THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

JULY 2, 1952.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. MADDEN, from the Select Committee to Conduct an Investigation and Study of the Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre, submitted the following

INTERIM REPORT

[Pursuant to H. Res. 390 and H. Res. 539]

I. INTRODUCTION**A. CREATION AND PURPOSE OF SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE**

On September 18, 1951, the House of Representatives unanimously adopted House Resolution 390. This resolution provided for the establishment of a select committee of Congress and authorized it to conduct a full and complete investigation concerning an international crime committed against soldiers and citizens of Poland at the beginning of World War II. This committee was given the responsibility to record evidence, take testimony, and study all facts and extenuating circumstances pertaining directly or indirectly to the barbarous massacre of thousands of Polish Army officers and civilian leaders buried in mass graves in the Katyn Forest on the banks of the Dnieper in the vicinity of Smolensk, U. S. S. R.

B. ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE

The Speaker of the House of Representatives appointed the following members to this committee: Ray J. Madden (Democrat) Indiana, chairman; Daniel J. Flood (Democrat) Pennsylvania; Foster Furcolo (Democrat) Massachusetts; Thaddeus M. Machrowicz (Democrat), Michigan; George A. Dondero (Republican), Michigan; Alvin E. O'Konski (Republican), Wisconsin; and Timothy P. Sheehan (Republican), Illinois. The committee selected John J. Mitchell for counsel, Roman C. Pucinski as investigator, and Barbara Booke as secretary.

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XI. CONCLUSIONS

This committee unanimously finds, beyond any question of reasonable doubt, that the Soviet NKVD (Peoples' Commissariat of Internal Affairs) committed the mass murders of the Polish officers and intellectual leaders in the Katyn Forest near Smolensk, Russia.

The evidence, testimony, records and exhibits recorded by this committee through its investigations and hearings during the last 9 months overwhelmingly will show the people of the world that Russia is directly responsible for the Katyn massacre. Throughout our entire proceedings, there has not been a scintilla of proof or even

any remote circumstantial evidence presented that could indict any other nation in this international crime.

It is an established fact that approximately 15,000 Polish prisoners were interned in three Soviet camps: Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov in the winter of 1939-40. With the exception of 400 prisoners, these men have not been heard from, seen, or found since the spring of 1940. Following the discovery of the graves in 1943, when the Germans occupied this territory, they claimed there were 11,000 Poles buried in Katyn. The Russians recovered the territory from the Germans in September 1943 and likewise they stated that 11,000 Poles were buried in those mass graves.

Evidence heard by this committee repeatedly points to the certainty that only those prisoners interned at Kozielsk were massacred in the Katyn Forest. Testimony of the Polish Red Cross officials definitely established that 4,143 bodies were actually exhumed from the 7 mass graves. On the basis of further evidence, we are equally certain that the rest of the 15,000 Polish officers—those interned at Starobielsk and Ostashkov—were executed in a similar brutal manner. Those from Starobielsk were disposed of near Kharkov, and those from Ostashkov met a similar fate. Testimony was presented by several witnesses that the Ostashkov prisoners were placed on barges and drowned in the White Sea. Thus the committee believes that there are at least two other "Katyns" in Russia.

No one could entertain any doubt of Russian guilt for the Katyn massacre when the following evidence is considered:

1. The Russians refused to allow the International Committee of the Red Cross to make a neutral investigation of the German charges in 1943.

2. The Russians failed to invite any neutral observers to participate in their own investigation in 1944, except a group of newspaper correspondents taken to Katyn who agreed "the whole show was staged" by the Soviets.

3. The Russians failed to produce sufficient evidence at Nuremberg—even though they were in charge of the prosecution—to obtain a ruling on the German guilt for Katyn by the International Military Tribunal.

4. This committee issued formal and public invitations to the Government of the U. S. S. R. to present any evidence pertaining to the Katyn massacre. The Soviets refused to participate in any phase of this committee's investigation.

5. The overwhelming testimony of prisoners formerly interned at the three camps, of medical experts who performed autopsies on the massacred bodies, and of observers taken to the scene of the crime conclusively confirms this committee's findings.

6. Polish Government leaders and military men who conferred with Stalin, Molotov, and NKVD chief Beria for a year and a half attempted without success to locate the Polish prisoners before the Germans discovered Katyn. This renders further proof that the Soviets purposely misled the Poles in denying any knowledge of the whereabouts of their officers when, in fact, the Poles already were buried in the mass graves at Katyn.

7. The Soviets have demonstrated through their highly organized propaganda machinery that they fear to have the people behind the iron curtain know the truth about Katyn. This is proven by their

reaction to our committee's efforts and the amount of newspaper space and radio time devoted to denouncing the work of our committee. They also republished in all newspapers behind the iron curtain the allegedly "neutral" Russian report of 1944. The worldwide campaign of slander by the Soviets against our committee is also construed as another effort to block this investigation.

8. This committee believes that one of the reasons for the staging of the recent Soviet "germ warfare" propaganda campaign was to divert attention of the people behind the iron curtain from the hearings of the committee.

9. Our committee has been petitioned to investigate mass executions and crimes against humanity committed in other countries behind the iron curtain. The committee has heard testimony which indicates there are other "Katyns." We wish to impress with all the means at our command that the investigation of the Katyn massacre barely scratches the surface of numerous crimes against humanity perpetrated by totalitarian powers. This committee believes that an international tribunal should be established to investigate willful and mass executions wherever they have been committed. The United Nations will fail in their obligation until they expose to the world that "Katynism" is a definite and diabolical totalitarian plan for world conquest.

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(Pages 1, 3:)

H. Rept. No. 2505, 82d Cong., 2d Sess.]

THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

DECEMBER 22, 1952.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. MADDEN, from the Select Committee To Conduct an Investigation and Study of the Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre, submitted the following

FINAL REPORT

[Pursuant to H. Res. 390 and H. Res. 539, 82d Cong.]

INTRODUCTION

On September 18, 1951, the House of Representatives unanimously adopted House Resolution 390. This resolution provided for the establishment of a select committee to conduct a full and complete investigation concerning the Katyn massacre, an international crime committed against soldiers and citizens of Poland at the beginning of World War II.

The Katyn massacre involved some 4,243 of the 15,400 Polish Army officers and intellectual leaders who were captured by the Soviets when Russia invaded Poland in September 1939. These officers were interned in three Soviet prison camps in the territory of the U. S. S. R. They were permitted to correspond with their families in Poland until May 10, 1940. Then all trace of these men were lost after that date. Nothing further of their whereabouts was known until several mass graves containing remains of Polish bodies were discovered in the

Katyn Forest near Smolensk, U. S. S. R., by the German troops in April of 1943.

The Katyn massacre was one of the most barbarous international crimes in world history. Since the discovery of the graves, and until this committee completed its investigation, the massacre remained an international mystery.

* * * * *

The Congress requested that our committee determine why certain reports and files concerning the Katyn massacre disappeared or were suppressed by departments of our Government.

Records and documents assembled from the State Department and War Department files provided a clear-cut picture of the tremendously important part the Katyn massacre played in shaping the future of postwar Europe.

From these hitherto secret documents this committee learned that as early as the summer of 1942 American authorities considered a Polish Army extremely vital to the Allied war effort against Hitler and Mussolini. Documents introduced in our hearings describe conclusively the efforts made to create such an army on Russian soil as quickly as possible. We learned further that American authorities knew as early as 1942 of Poland's desperate efforts to locate her missing officers who could lead the Polish Army being formed on Russian soil.

These same documents show that when high-level Polish officials failed to obtain an adequate reply from the Soviets regarding the whereabouts of their missing officers, American emissaries intervened. In every instance, American officials were given the same reply: The Soviets had no knowledge of their whereabouts.

United States Ambassador to Moscow, Admiral William H. Standley, advised the State Department on September 10, 1942, that Soviet officials were opposed to United States intervention in Russo-Polish problems. This attitude was stated to Admiral Standley by Molotov when Standley inquired about the missing Polish officers.

Throughout 1942-43—or until the mass graves were discovered at Katyn—this committee's record recites a long series of efforts being made by the United States to aid the Poles. But it also shows the total lack of cooperation the United States received from the Soviets.

When Russia finally broke diplomatic relations with Poland (April 26, 1943) following the Polish request for an International Red Cross investigation of the Katyn massacre, Ambassador Standley warned the State Department that Russia had been seeking a pretext to break with Poland for some time. He emphasized that the Soviets were plotting to create a pro-Communist satellite Polish government which would take over Poland after the war. He warned that Russia was planning to create an entire belt of pro-Soviet governments in eastern Europe, which would jeopardize the peace of Europe.

It is apparent that American authorities knew of the growing tension between the Soviets and the Poles during 1942-43—and they likewise knew about the hopeless search for the Polish officers—but at the time, all of these factors were brushed aside, on the theory that pressing the search would irritate Soviet Russia and thus hinder the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion.

* * * * *

(Pages 10-11:)

CONCLUSIONS

1. In submitting this final report to the House of Representatives, this committee has come to the conclusion that in those fateful days nearing the end of the Second World War there unfortunately existed in high governmental and military circles a strange psychosis that military necessity required the sacrifice of loyal allies and our own principles in order to keep Soviet Russia from making a separate peace with the Nazis.

For reasons less clear to this committee, this psychosis continued even after the conclusion of the war. Most of the witnesses testified that had they known then what they now know about Soviet Russia, they probably would not have pursued the course they did. It is undoubtedly true that hindsight is much easier to follow than foresight, but it is equally true that much of the material which this committee unearthed was or could have been available to those responsible for our foreign policy as early as 1942.

And, it is equally true that even before 1942 the Kremlin rulers gave much evidence of a menace of Soviet imperialism paving the way for world conquest. Through the disastrous failure to recognize the danger signs which then existed and in following a policy of satisfying the Kremlin leaders, our Government unwittingly strengthened their hand and contributed to a situation which has grown to be a menace to the United States and the entire free world.

2. Our committee is sending a copy of this report, and volume 7 of the published hearings, to the Department of Defense for such action as may be proper with regard to General Bissell. We do so because of the fact that this committee believes that had the Van Vliet report been made immediately available to the Department of State and to the American public, the course of our governmental policy toward Soviet Russia might have been more realistic with more fortunate postwar results.

3. This committee believes that the wartime policies of Army Intelligence (G-2) during 1944-45 should undergo a thorough investigation. Testimony heard by the committee substantiates this belief, and if such an investigation is conducted another object lesson might be learned.

4. Our committee concludes that the staff members of the Office of War Information and Federal Communications Commission who participated in the program of silencing Polish radio commentators went beyond the scope of their duties as official Government representatives. Actually, they usurped the functions of the Office of Censorship and by indirect pressure accomplished domestic censorship which was not within the jurisdiction of either of these agencies.

5. This committee believe that if the Voice of America is to justify its existence it must utilize material made available more forcefully and effectively.

6. This committee began its investigation last year, and as the committee's work progressed, information, documents, and evidence was submitted from all parts of the world. It was at this same time that reports reached the committee of similar atrocities and violations of international law being perpetrated in Korea. This committee noted the striking similarity between crimes committed against the Poles

at Katyn and those being inflicted on American and other United Nations troops in Korea. Communist tactics being used in Korea are identical to those followed at Katyn.

While the following petition declared that not a single Jew would die without vengeance being taken upon the Nazis, it carefully neglected to state in whose behalf this vengeance would be wreaked. In a study made for the American Jewish Committee, Solomon Schwarz shows how the Soviet Government not only did not encourage Jews to flee before the advancing Nazi armies, but actually prevented more than a third of them from escaping to the "security" of Siberia and central Asia.¹ Neither did it make any serious effort to counteract the flood of anti-Semitic propaganda which the Nazis poured into the occupied territory of the U. S. S. R.²

Schwarz further establishes the fact that claims made on behalf of the August 24, 1941, Moscow Conference were unfounded.³ Once the Soviet-controlled Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee had been milked dry for the benefit of the Great Russians, it was completely suppressed.⁴ According to Igor Gouzenko, the Soviet code clerk who defected to the Canadian Government on September 5, 1945 (this section, exhibit No. 46), secret directives issued in Moscow had ordered the removal of Jews from influential positions in the Soviet Union at the very same time that foreign Jews were being exploited as expendable espionage agents.⁵

The comment of the Polish Ambassador to Chile that Jews and Poles were suffering equally could have been true only for a limited time. Out of some 4 million Jews whom the Nazis rounded up in their extermination camps, perhaps a few more than 50,000 remained alive to greet their Soviet "liberators" in the summer of 1944.⁶

EXHIBIT NO. 68A

[*World News and Views*, September 6, 1941. P. 573]

JEWISH CONGRESS APPEAL

The following appeal was issued by an international Jewish rally which included prominent Jewish representatives of Soviet literature and science, held in Moscow on August 24.

Jewish brothers of the whole world! In the enslaved countries Fascism has introduced its "New Order" with the help of the knife, the gallows, fire and violence. For the Jewish people blood-thirsty Hitlerism has outlined a programme for the complete extermination of Jews by all the methods known to the Fascist hangmen * * * .

Jewish brothers! The Jewish people, scattered by fate throughout the world, have closely bound up their culture with the culture of the whole world. In the countries enslaved by the Fascists our unfortunate brothers were the first victims. The blood of Jews, tortured to death in the burned synagogues of Rotterdam, calls aloud to the whole world. So do the thousands of nameless graves in the towns of Poland, where the Fascist monsters buried their victims alive.

The blood which has been shed calls out not for fasts and prayers but for vengeance; not ritual candles but flames to consume the hangmen of humanity; not tears but hatred and resistance to the monsters; not words but deeds. It must be now or never.

¹ Schwarz, *Jews in the Soviet Union*, pp. 197-198, 219-232.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 334-343. See also Special Report No. 2, Select Committee on Communist Aggression, House of Representatives, December 31, 1954, pp. 15-16.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 205, 210, 213. Joseph Dunner (Grinnell College), *The Republic of Israel*, New York, Whittlesey House, 1950, pp. 211-216.

⁵ 118-119, 171. For a cynical Communist attempt to foment anti-Semitism in the United States, see *Trial by Treason: The Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case*, Committee on Un-American Activities, 1950, pp. 91-97.

⁶ Peter Meyer, Bernard D. Weinryb, Eugene Duschinsky, Nicolas Sylvain, *The Jews in the Soviet Satellites*, Syracuse University Press, 1953, pp. 229, 239-241.

In the tragic history of our long-suffering people, from the Roman Empire to the Middle Ages, it is impossible to find a time when there was such sorrow and misery as Fascism has brought to mankind, with particular ferocity for the Jewish people.

Intoxicated by blood and violence, the Fascist monsters have now attacked the one country where the Jewish people had found a real motherland which offered them a splendid life, freedom and a flourishing national culture. Here, for the first time in thousands of years, Jews felt at home, equals among equals. In the fertile fields of the Soviet Union, for the first time the Jewish tiller of soil took his place at the wheel of a tractor. In the factories and mills Jews played their part. The doors of the universities were open to them, they entered the Red Army, worked in the mines, helped in the laboratories.

The Jewish people found a place for themselves in the great family of peoples in the U. S. S. R. All these peoples have, in a quarter of a century of fraternal collaboration, built up their security, their future and their national freedom. Now their fields are being drenched in blood. Villages and towns which have temporarily fallen into the bloody clutches of the Hitlerite monsters are being destroyed. Highways are strewn with the graves of savagely tortured citizens.

But the great freedom-loving Soviet people and the Red Army are displaying miracles of valour and heroism. The Red Army is fighting not only for the peoples of the U. S. S. R. but for the honour of all mankind. The brown plague which has brought the whole world such sorrow and tears must find its final grave on the bloodstained fields of the Soviet Union.

In the battles against Hitlerism the Red Army is bringing forth heroes such as the history of mankind has never known. In the lists of these men we read with pride the names of Jews who have gone forth to defend human culture against Fascist barbarians. It is with pride that we see their names among those who are fighting the Hitlerite gangsters in the air, on sea and on land. It is with profound admiration that we see their names among the guerillas. Shoulder to shoulder with the men, the finest daughters of our people are also fighting.

Jewish brothers of the world! They are fighting for you, too. They are offering up their young lives for your well-being, too. The brown plague, which becomes all the more savage when it nears its end, will reach across the ocean as well. As long as Fascism exists all mankind is in peril. Our call is to warn you. Our appeal goes out to you as a clarion call for resistance and vengeance. Let every day bring you closer to the hour of reckoning with the enemy. Let the sacred flame burn brighter in your hearts with every hour. Let every minute find you ready for action.

You must do everything in your power to disrupt the economic resources of the Fascists in whatever part of the world you are. Penetrate into the most vital branches of the death-dealing industries of the Hitlerites and paralyse them at all costs. Boycott their products everywhere. Proclaim aloud everywhere and in all tongues the outrageous atrocities perpetrated by the Hitlerite cannibals.

Act with the noble self-sacrifice of the indomitable guerilla fighters. Not a single Jew must die without taking vengeance on the Fascists for shedding innocent blood. Develop everywhere widespread

propaganda for solidarity with and active assistance for the Soviet Union, which is putting up a heroic resistance to the bearers of death and destruction. Mankind will be freed of the brown plague. Your duty is to help and exterminate it. Do your bit in this sacred war.

The appeal was signed by the following, among others: Professor Mikoels, People's Artist of the U. S. S. R.; Jacob Fliere, pianist; Emil Hillels, pianist; V. Iofan, Member of the Academy of Architecture; Rabinovitch, artist; Sergey Eisentein, film producer; S. Marshak, author; Ilya Ehrenburg, journalist; Professor D. Oistrakh, violinist; D. Saslavy, journalist; Theodore Plivier, German author; Professor Kapitza, Member of the Academy of Sciences; Professor Nussinov; Samosud, actor; Ermler, film producer; Halkin, poet; Reisen, actor; Dr. Bomash; Zak, pianist; Zapler, pianist; Zuskin, actor; Godiner, writer; Clara Young, actress.

POLISH AND JEWISH UNITY: AMBASSADOR'S STATEMENT

It is reported from Santiago, Chile, that the Polish Ambassador here, Stanislaw Muzurkiewicz, in a statement published in the newspaper *El Siglo*, points out that "Poles and Polish Jews must henceforth fight jointly to crush Hitlerism." The Polish Government, he adds, has announced through its Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, Stanchikov, that "anti-Semitism is a disgrace to humanity," and in Poland it is perpetuated by the Germans. Jews and Poles today suffer equally and must help each other. In future the Polish Government will be guided by the slogan: "Equal rights and equal obligations for all."

Muzurkiewicz declared that the Soviet-Polish Pact marked a decisive step towards unity in combating Fascism, and endorsed the decisions of the Slav rally in Moscow, declaring: "I regard the Slav rapprochement as absolutely expedient, since events have shown that lack of unity has proved fatal to all of us."

Despite the fact that N. A. Voznesensky, Chairman of the State Planning Commission, gave Stalin complete credit for winning the war and reorganizing the economy of the Soviet Union, he did not escape purging in 1949.¹ In December 1952, *Pravda* accused him of having circulated "anti-Marxist" and "false subjectivist views."² Apparently, he opposed postwar emphasis on heavy industry rather than upon consumer goods. Malenkov seems to have made a similar mistake in 1955.

EXHIBIT No. 69

[New York, International Publishers, 1949. N. A. Voznesensky, Vice Chairman, Council of Ministers, Chairman, State Planning Commission, *Soviet Economy During the Second World War*. Pp. 7-13]

INTRODUCTION

The great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 caused radical changes in the national economy of the U. S. S. R.; it remolded Soviet economy to insure victory in the war, and gave rise to economic laws peculiar to wartime. This has gone down in the history of the U. S. S. R. as a special period of socialist economy, the period of war economy,

¹ Grullow (Ed.), *Current Soviet Policies*, p. 311.

² Fainsod, *How Russia Is Ruled*, p. 272. For wartime restrictions on labor, see Meisel and Kozera, *Soviet System*, pp. 356-365, 369-372.

which constitutes the subject of a special chapter in the political economy of socialism—the political economy of the Patriotic War.

The unity of the national interests of the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics manifested itself with full force during the great Patriotic War, in which socialism was pitted against fascism, the Soviet people against the Germans poisoned by Nazism. The war against fascist Germany was a holy war fought by all the peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union for their existence as nations, for their country, for socialism.

The great unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union in the Patriotic War, which won the admiration of the entire world, stemmed from the victory of the socialist mode of production and the abolition of the exploiting classes in the U. S. S. R. Indeed, the very roots of parasitic classes and groups were destroyed in Soviet society long before the outbreak of the Patriotic War, and it was this that laid a firm foundation for the moral and political unity of the Soviet people.

Fascist Germany chose predatory war as the means to achieve its imperialist aims: the conquest of foreign lands and states, the destruction of the land of socialism, and the reduction of freedom-loving nations to the status of slaves of the German imperialist "masters." No wonder therefore that the national interests of the various peoples of the U. S. S. R. were at one in the war against German imperialism.

The second world war, as Comrade Stalin said, broke out ". . . as the inevitable result of the development of world economic and political forces on the basis of present-day monopoly capitalism," as the result of the second crisis of the system of world economy. The main fascist states, Germany, Japan and Italy, attempted, in the interests of one group of countries of monopoly capitalism, to change the situation that had arisen within the world system of capitalism in their own favor by armed force.

The second world war between the bloc of bourgeois democratic states and the bloc of fascist states coincided historically with the Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against Hitler Germany, which perfidiously attacked our country. In the crucible of war there took shape the anti-fascist coalition of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, and Great Britain which set itself the purpose of defeating the armed forces of the fascist states.

The members of this coalition, however, held different views as regards the aims of the war. The Soviet Union regarded the defeat of German and Japanese imperialism, the destruction of fascism, and the restoration and development of the democratic way of life in Europe as the basic aim in the war. For the United States and Great Britain the basic aim was to rid themselves of German and Japanese competition on the world markets and to establish the domination of the American capitalist monopolies. Nevertheless the allies in the war against Germany and Japan made up one coalition, one camp.

The second world war sharply brought out the contradictions in the camp of the capitalist countries between the bloc of bourgeois-democratic powers, on the one hand, and the bloc of the fascist powers, on the other. These contradictions proved to be a kind of reserve for the socialist state, which utilized them first to smash Hitler Germany and then to defeat Japanese imperialism; this was the greatest victory of the U. S. S. R.'s foreign policy.

The great Patriotic War was a test to which history put both German imperialism with its fascist organization and socialism as represented by the U. S. S. R. The viability of socialism and fascism was tested in cruel and sanguinary battles, which resulted in the political, military, and economic victory of the socialist state.

On more than one occasion Lenin and Stalin had warned the socialist homeland that historic battles between imperialism and socialism were inevitable, and prepared the peoples of the U. S. S. R. for these encounters. Lenin and Stalin had made it clear that wars waged by a working class which has defeated the bourgeoisie in its own country, wars waged in behalf of its socialist homeland, in order to consolidate and develop the socialist system, are legitimate and holy wars.

Stalin, the great comrade in arms and continuer of Lenin's cause, teaches us that it is the duty of every revolutionary to protect and defend the U. S. S. R., the first socialist state in the world. Only he who unconditionally defends the U. S. S. R. is an internationalist, for the problems of the international revolutionary workers' movement cannot be solved without defending the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Lenin taught us that the fate of all previous revolutions was decided by a long succession of wars, and that when the Civil War came to an end we merely emerged from one period of wars, but had to be prepared for another. The prolonged existence of the Soviet Union alongside aggressive imperialist states entails a series of major conflicts. As long as the capitalist encirclement remains, the danger of the imperialist states attacking the land of socialism exists.

In 1941 the war against the U. S. S. R. was launched by Hitler Germany, the country of the most predatory imperialism. At the very beginning of the Patriotic War Stalin armed the peoples of the Soviet Union with a program for the holy war of liberation against German imperialism. "The Germans are now waging a predatory war, an unjust war, for the purpose of seizing foreign territory and subjugating foreign peoples," Comrade Stalin said. "That is why all honest people must rise against the German invaders, as enemies.

"Unlike Hitler Germany, the Soviet Union and its allies are waging a war of liberation, a just war, for the purpose of liberating the enslaved peoples of Europe and the U. S. S. R. from Hitler's tyranny. That is why all honest people must support the armies of the U. S. S. R., Great Britain, and the other Allies, as armies of liberation."

Stalin called upon the Soviet army and the peoples of the Soviet Union to smash the military might of the German invaders, to wipe out the German armies of occupation that had invaded our country in order to enslave it, to liberate the Soviet territories and peoples from the German fascist yoke, and then dispatch the fascist beast on his own territory.

Guided by Comrade Stalin's injunctions, the Soviet army and the armed people of the Soviet Union headed by the Communist Party, the Bolsheviks, fought for every inch of Soviet territory, for our towns and villages, displaying supreme courage and staunchness.

When the forces of the Soviet army were compelled to withdraw in the early period of the great Patriotic War, Soviet railway workers evacuated the rolling stock; workers, engineers, and technicians

shipped industrial equipment to the eastern areas and moved there themselves, and collective farmers drove their cattle and hauled their grain to the rear.

In the enemy-occupied areas of the Soviet Union partisan detachments and sabotage groups were formed during the war to fight the enemy's troops. The flames of partisan warfare were fanned far and wide, making conditions unbearable for the German occupation troops and their accomplices. This heroic feat of the Soviet people in the areas occupied by Hitler Germany will live in ages as an example of valor, heroism, and patriotism.

During the Patriotic War the front and the rear formed a single indivisible camp, in which the alliance of the workers and the peasants and the friendship among the peoples of the multinational Soviet Union grew even closer than before. Comrade Stalin has said that any other state which suffered losses as great as the Soviet Union would not have stood the test and would have collapsed. The Soviet system demonstrated its supreme strength based on the leadership of our battle-trying party of Lenin and Stalin, on the victory of socialism, the alliance of the workers and peasants, the unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Staunchly and courageously enduring the privations of war, the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the Soviet intelligentsia built up by their patriotic labor a stable war economy and kept our Soviet army and navy adequately supplied with first-class armaments, food, equipment, and fuel. The peoples of the Soviet Union provided their army with a continuous flow of replacements from among their finest sons and daughters, who added to the honor and glory of Soviet arms. The Soviet people showed the world that they were a hero nation, a warrior nation.

During the most difficult days of the Patriotic War, Comrade Stalin inspired the peoples of the Soviet Union and their armed forces to all-out effort for victory. Staunchness in the struggle against the German hordes and confidence in the victory of our just cause emanated from the great Stalin and spread to the entire country, uniting the people and the army and making the U. S. S. R. an impregnable fortress.

Comparing the situation in which our country found itself in the initial period of the Patriotic War with that in the period of the Civil War, Comrade Stalin said that the country now was far better off than it had been twenty-three years before. Socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture had multiplied our country's wealth many times over as regards industry, food resources, and raw materials. During the Civil War, fourteen bourgeois states united to attack our country. During the Patriotic War the U. S. S. R. had allies who fought together with us against Hitler Germany. Moreover, the U. S. S. R. has its modernly equipped Soviet army which staunchly upholds the freedom and independence of our country. The heroic struggle of the Soviet army and the peoples of the U. S. S. R. evokes the admiration, sympathy, and support of all freedom-loving nations.

The Patriotic War promoted the development of the Stalin military tactics and strategy, which incorporated the experience of Kutuzov and Suvorov, illuminated by the military genius of Stalin, and enriched by the use of most up-to-date armaments. The Stalin science

of victory, the new tactics combining fire and maneuver, endowed the Soviet army with titanic strength directed at the annihilation of the enemy. The Stalin science of victory will remain forever a well-spring of wisdom, heroism, and noble inspiration for the generations to come.

There was a period in the history of the war economy of the U. S. S. R. when a large part of the country's war industry was on wheels, traveling eastward. Tens of thousands of machine tools, drop hammers, presses, and turbines, and thousands of workers, engineers, and technicians, were on the move. This was a singular process of transfer of the productive forces of the U. S. S. R. to the east. By the heroic efforts of the working class and the technological intelligentsia, led by the party of Lenin and Stalin, the evacuated industries were restarted. A powerful industrial base was established in the Urals, the Volga areas, and Siberia to feed the great Patriotic War.

Summing up the development of the war economy of the U. S. S. R., Comrade Stalin said that ". . . the self-sacrificing efforts of our Soviet people in the rear will go down in history, parallel with the heroic struggle our Red army is waging, as an unprecedented feat of heroism performed by a people in defending their country." Having passed through the period of conversion of the national economy to war, of the transfer of productive forces, and of their reestablishment in the eastern areas, the Soviet state acquired during the Patriotic War a smoothly operating and rapidly growing war economy.

The party of Lenin and Stalin was the leading and directing force in the wartime development of Soviet economy, just as it had been in the period of peaceful construction. The honor and glory of the greatest victory in the history of human society belong to the Bolshevik Party. Its supreme staunchness, unexcelled skill in guiding war economy, and titanic will to victory brought about the concentration of all the forces of the Soviet peoples for a smashing blow at the enemy.

Thus, the Patriotic War constituted a special period in the development of socialist economy—the period of war economy. The Soviet Union's war economy was marked by the operation of specific economic laws in the spheres of production and distribution. The period of war economy in the U. S. S. R. forms the subject of a special chapter in the science of political economy. The theory of the war economy of socialism has been created by the work of our leader, the great Stalin.

Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin succeeded in holding high positions in the Soviet bureaucracy until his death in 1946. The following excerpts from his speeches adequately describe the conservative trend in Soviet education which was introduced in 1934 and which continues to the present day. Once the Bolshevik leaders comprehended the full implications of the threat of Nazi aggression, they realistically copied whatever seemed useful in Hitler's program for world conquest. Henceforth, Soviet education became completely fascist by combining fervent nationalism with intense socialism.¹

Not only pedagogical nonsense, but also most legitimate experimentation disappeared from Soviet schools. Strict discipline, respect for teachers, honors and distinctions which had been belittled from 1917 to 1934 were now restored in a very old-fashioned manner (this section, exhibits No. 32 and 42). Respect for what was good in the former way of getting things done was not limited to appreciation of the contributions made by school teachers. Conscientious non-

¹ Fainsod, *How Russia Is Ruled*, pp. 116-117. Barghoorn, *Soviet Image*, pp. 269-270.

Bolshevik laborers were also to be praised and imitated insofar as they fulfilled their work quotas. Parents, too, could contribute much to the smooth functioning of the Soviet economy.² Consequently, they were to be obeyed even though they might be deficient in correct Bolshevik ideology. Experience had proved the worth of intellectuals as leaders of socialist construction. Nobody, therefore, should any longer condemn them.

Most of all, passionate love of the Russian fatherland could inspire the youth of the Soviet Union to the most heroic deeds. Where can one find a more complete eulogy of patriotism than in Kalinin's plea to the leading party workers of Moscow? "But to achieve that we must educate all the working people of the U. S. S. R. in the spirit of fervent patriotism, in the spirit of boundless love for their native land. I speak not of abstract, not of platonic love, but of love that is impetuous, active, passionate, indomitable, of love that knows no mercy to the enemy, that will not stop at any sacrifices on behalf of one's country." Truly, the lessons offered by the hated National Socialists of Hitler's regime had been learned extraordinarily well.

There is one minor ironic touch in Kalinin's advice to the youth of Russia. They must not commit suicide, since such misconduct would deprive the Soviet Union of potentially useful workers.³ Kalinin did not need to explain what would happen to those who were regarded as useless.

EXHIBIT No. 70

[Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1950. M. I. Kalinin, *On Communist Education*. Pp. 111-115, 122-125, 132-140, 147-154, 168-173]

SPEECH AT A CONFERENCE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ALL-UNION LENINIST YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE WITH KOMSOMOL REGIONAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIES IN CHARGE OF WORK AMONG SCHOOL-AGE YOUTH AND YOUNG PIONEERS, MAY 8, 1940

Comrades, it was not my intention to speak, but Comrade Mikhailov* says that there's no getting out of it. Well, then, what am I to tell you in connection with this conference? It seems to me that your reports lack many very fundamental points.

You are Komsomol regional committee secretaries responsible for work among school-age youth and Young Pioneers. I would like to understand what that means. I hesitate to call myself an old man, but all the same I am nearly that, and hence make comparisons with bygone days. What place might you have occupied in the old Ministry of Education? I have searched and searched, and have found nothing even approximating the position you hold.

I suppose your task, your main task, is to instil political purposefulness in the schools and among the teachers in order to help the Party and the Soviet State in the Communist education of Soviet children. Now many comrades have spoken here and delivered reports on their work. One feels that this conference is attended by cultured, educated people. I can testify that you are good at delivering reports. The most brilliant report was made by the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Byelorussia. But I think she might have made a different kind of report had she not been afraid of being independent. Actually her report did not differ from the others. As regards content, your reports are all alike. Why are they so? Because they are, so to say, of an organizational, administrative, and disciplinary character. You all spoke

² Kulski, *Soviet Regime*, pp. 322-326.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 313. Scholmer, *Vorkuta*, p. 131. Borodin, *One Man*, p. 210.

*N. A. Mikhailov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League.—*Trans.*

here on a supervisory plane and in a tone of authority. That is the first big defect.

It is rather indicative when you come to think of it that not a single one of you dwelt upon the methods of teaching, not one of you uttered a word about the general cultural level of Soviet teachers and in particular teachers who are Komsomol members and hence should play a leading part at school. I ask you: have you met among Komsomol schoolteachers people who play such a leading part in pedagogy or any other sphere of school activity? If you have, you should have spoken about them. If you have not, you should be ashamed of yourselves. After all, there most certainly must be such people in our schools; it cannot be that there are none. This is a very important question. Yet it would seem as if it did not come within your range of vision. The fact that you passed this question by means that you are not quite clear about the part you have to play.

To be a Komsomol secretary responsible for work among school-age youth and Young Pioneers means to serve as a model to hundreds and thousands of schoolteachers. Why, you yourselves have said here that not less than thirty percent of our schoolteachers are of Komsomol age. Well, if they take you as their example, the reports they make are probably of the same sort, concerned with organizational, administrative and disciplinary matters. Unfortunately, none of you told us about the life and work of the Komsomol schoolteachers. That is the second big defect.

Further, if you are striving to introduce order and discipline in the schools—and you should strive to do so—the first thing necessary is to raise the teacher's authority. I shall not deal with the various cases of teachers who lack authority either because they know their subject poorly, or because, though knowing the subject well, they are unable to teach it, or because in general their work is neither good nor bad. I shall take the cases where the objective and subjective conditions exist for the growth of the teachers' authority, and ask you: what have you done to enhance and strengthen this authority? Unfortunately, you did not dwell on this question at all, you did not even tell us whether the authority of the teachers is growing or not, and if it is, how is this brought about, by what means is it achieved. That is the third big defect.

Further, I consider that Komsomol committee secretaries responsible for work among school-age youth and Young Pioneers should be highly cultured people. By this I do not at all want to imply that you should be specialists in pedagogy in the narrow sense of the word. Not at all, that is not the point at issue. Perhaps, if you were to be such specialist-pedagogues you might even bungle things in some respects. You should be highly cultured people in the sense of general erudition, i. e., you should be thoroughly acquainted with general and specialized works dealing with the basic problems of school work, the basic branches of science, art and technique, you should have a good knowledge of fiction, etc., because you serve as examples for the Komsomol members who are schoolteachers. You should be highly cultured in the sense of knowing how to behave toward schoolteachers, in the sense of knowing how to deal with people in general, in the sense of tact. If you possess these elements of culture you will learn the spiritual requirements and interests of Soviet teachers more easily and faster, you will find no

difficulty in learning what people are reading, what works they like most of all, what their attitude is to literature in general, and, finally, it will be easier for you to discover the sentiments of teachers and schoolchildren. Only then will you become real helpers of the Party and the Soviet State in the Communist education of schoolchildren. Unfortunately, you said nothing about that either. That is the fourth big defect.

* * * * *

Together with culture you must also introduce the Bolshevik Party spirit into the schools. What do we mean by introducing the Party spirit? The matter might seem to have become very much simplified now: there is the *History of the C. P. S. U. (B), Short Course*, you study the textbook, and the matter's done with. But, comrades, a textbook is only a textbook, and you need something more than a textbook to instil the Party spirit in people. Of course, the *History of the C. P. S. U. (B), Short Course*, is a powerful instrument for developing the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. Yet apart from this it is necessary that people should have a Marxist understanding not only of the Party's history, but also of the problems arising at work, in everyday life, in life in general, that they should approach the concrete problems that arise every day and at every step as Party people, Bolsheviks.

Yet when you study a textbook, you are sometimes afraid of going beyond the bounds of its various paragraphs. But if you confine yourselves to these bounds you will be poor Marxists, for each paragraph is a guide to action and not a dogma. In studying the history of the Bolshevik Party these paragraphs should be illustrated by an abundance of facts taken not only from the past but also from the present, using examples from present-day life as well, to explain their essence.

Now, for example, something was said here about a case of suicide. If I were teaching the history of the Party, even though I might be a poor teacher of the history itself, I would not fail to seize on this incident to enlarge on the appropriate paragraph. I would show that this Communist did not behave as a Marxist should, that actually he was not a Communist, but merely called himself one, for a Communist cannot behave in that way. If you study the history of the Party in this way, you will really develop, i. e., not only will your knowledge of the history of our Party be fortified, but Communist principles, in this case proletarian, Communist ethics, will be consolidated in your minds.

You, Komsomol committee secretaries responsible for work among the school-age youth and Young Pioneers, are leaders, and if you are afraid of these problems, you will find things very difficult. You should raise these problems boldly among the teachers and seek to solve them in a Marxist way.

As you see, comrades, I have given a very high appraisal of your role and your importance. But this also places a great responsibility on you. In particular, as I said at the very outset, it makes it incumbent on you to make your reports replete with political content, so that they should really be reports reflecting the *Party spirit*. This will be your first lesson in Marxism, in genuine Marxism. And if you

achieve this, if you overcome triteness and dogmatism in your reports, it will inevitably be reflected in all of your work. (*Stormy applause.*)

ON COMMUNIST EDUCATION—SPEECH AT A MEETING OF LEADING PARTY WORKERS OF THE CITY OF MOSCOW, OCTOBER 2, 1940

Comrades! Exactly twenty years ago, on October 2, 1920, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin delivered a speech about Communist education at the Third All-Russian Congress of the Russian Young Communist League. In his address to the Komsomol he said that our generation, which had been brought up in capitalist society, would hardly fulfil the task of establishing Communist society. That task would fall to the youth.

And so, today, as you were applauding, these words involuntarily came to my mind and set me thinking that before me I see just those former Komsomols, that section of the people to whom Lenin addressed himself, and who now, grown up and experienced in life, are playing an active part in the work of Socialist construction. And I join in the applause, which I address to you—the builders of Socialism.

We devote much attention to Communist education. It is not for nothing that our press is full of the word "education."

* * * * *

III

What are the main tasks we set ourselves today in the sphere of Communist education? And generally speaking, are these fundamentally new tasks in comparison with those set by Lenin in his speech at the Third Congress of the Komsomol twenty years ago?

Of course, the situation in the Soviet Union has changed considerably in this period. But at bottom the tasks of Communist education set by Lenin twenty years ago retain their urgency at the present time too.

It would not be amiss if those who try to reproduce the features of Communist society in the abstract were to be reminded of these tasks more often. Such people who like to "theorize," to indulge in "profound" dreams about the specific features of the man of the future, associating Communism with some vague, bright future, impart this abstractness to Communist education as well. In my opinion, this is telling fortunes from coffee grounds, not penetrating into the future.

Comrades, one of the most important elements in the building of Communism and a mighty weapon of the working people of the U. S. S. R. in their struggle against capitalism is a high productivity of labour. Lenin said:

"In the last analysis, productivity of labour is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system. Capitalism created a productivity of labour unknown under serfdom. Capitalism can be utterly vanquished, and will

be utterly vanquished, by the fact that Socialism creates a new and much higher productivity of labour. * * * Communism is the higher productivity of labour—compared with capitalist productivity of labour—of voluntary, class-conscious, united workers employing advanced technique.”

That, comrades, is what we must think and speak about, that, first and foremost, is the direction in which Communist education should be developed. It is the struggle for a high level of labour productivity.

But, between you and me, isn't such a line, such a practical trend in Communist education, my own invention? No, comrades, it is not.

As I prepared for this report and thought over its main points, I turned to what are our fundamental documents, and in the first place, to our Constitution, Article 12 of which reads:

“Work in the U. S. S. R. is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: ‘He who does not work, neither shall he eat.’”

In the U. S. S. R. the Socialist principle, “from each according to his ability, to each according to his work,” is applied. But you yourselves, comrades, know that the articles of the Constitution are not only the juridical embodiment of the rights and duties of citizens, but also a powerful factor in the education of people.

This article of the Constitution speaks directly of the majesty of work. That is understandable: as Comrade Stalin has stated, a radical revolution has long been going on in the attitude of our people to work. Socialist emulation “transforms labour from the disgraceful and painful burden it was considered before, into a matter of *honour*, a matter of *glory*, a matter of *valour*, and *heroism*. This fact has found its clear, Stalinist expression in the Constitution.

But I will be told that the majesty of work in our country is one thing and the struggle for a higher level of labour productivity is another. No, comrades, it is not so. The very attitude to work as something majestic also means that everything has to be done to encourage a rise in the productivity of labour. That is the main thing.

Subordinated to this task are such important measures of the Party and the Soviet Government as the institution of the title of Hero of Socialist Labour, the Order of the Red Banner of Labour, and the medals For Labour Valour and For Distinguished Labour. In addition, the Soviet Government and the Party frequently bestow on those who have particularly distinguished themselves in their work such marks of distinction as the Order of Lenin or the Orders of the Red Star and Badge of Honour.

The lofty title of Hero of Socialist Labour is placed on a par with that of Hero of the Soviet Union. This title, these Orders and medals are awarded not simply for work, not simply for the fact that the person in question works, but for achieving the highest indices of labour productivity, for especially great successes in the struggle for labour productivity.

The same purpose is served by the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. dated June 26, 1940.

At the face of it this would seem to be an exact antithesis: on the one hand we have the award of the title of Hero of Socialist Labour and decoration with Orders—from the Order of Lenin to medals of various kinds—and on the other hand, a Decree which introduces the element of punishment into the sphere of strengthening labour

discipline. But essentially they are measures of one and the same order. Or more exactly, these measures are designed to achieve one and the same result.

By encouraging and bestowing decorations on the best representatives of Socialist labour, on the one hand, and by punishing those who disorganize production, on the other hand, the Party and the Soviet Government indicate the direction to be taken in the Communist education of the working people of the U. S. S. R.

Comrades, probably few of you worked at factories before the revolution. People who did are becoming fewer and fewer every year. Hence, I presume, you have a poor idea of what the attitude to work was in the old, prerevolutionary times. Unfortunately, however, this attitude still exerts quite a considerable influence over us.

We revolutionaries did not at that time have a particularly high opinion of the old-timers, good skilled hands at their trade who had been employed for forty years at a plant. Yet they were skilled workers, experts at their jobs, men who believed in labour discipline and never shirked their work. And when a strike broke out they sometimes had to be chased out of the plant by force. They themselves did not dare to down tools lest they might spoil their good relations with the bosses. We did not value such workers in the old days. Why? Because they exerted themselves for the capitalists.

It is a different matter now, under Socialism. Now, people who have worked at a plant for forty years, who display exemplary discipline at work, are experts at their jobs and achieve the highest productivity of labour are accorded universal praise; we award them Orders and medals, we honour and premium them as the best of Soviet citizens.

Here, by the way, you have a graphic example of dialectics. Formerly we used to negate such an attitude to work. Now we "negate" this "negation." The result, as you see, is a "negation of a negation," the affirmation of the Socialist attitude to work.

Why have we radically changed our opinion of such workers? Why do we now consider such people to be most useful, most valuable citizens of the Soviet Union? Because they are in the front line of our class struggle, the development of which has reached its highest stage. For the class struggle cannot be regarded only as a clash of arms on the battlefield. No, the class struggle now proceeds along other lines. And the struggle for the highest productivity of labour is at the present time one of the main lines being followed by the class struggle. Formerly, before the Soviet system was established, a person who worked well thereby objectively assisted capitalism, riveted the chains of slavery still more firmly on himself and on the working class as a whole. But now, in Socialist society, a person who works well sides with Socialism and by his achievements not only clears the way to Communism, but also shatters the chains of slavery shackling the world proletariat. He is an active fighter for Communism.

Have we raised labour productivity in our country very much? I would not say that the results we have achieved in this regard are too great. Theoretically, labour productivity under Socialism ought considerably to exceed that under capitalism. What do you think, Comrade Shcherbakov,* is that right or not? (*Shcherbakov:*

*A. S. Shcherbakov (1901-1945). Outstanding Bolshevik leader and statesman.—*Trans.*

"Correct, quite correct." *Animation in the hall.*) But how do things stand practically? In practice we have not yet caught up with the highest productivity of labour in Europe, let alone America. This means that we have to make a greater effort to increase labour productivity. Increasing productivity of labour enables us to see more clearly the contours of the future Communist society.

But, comrades, by higher productivity of labour we mean not only the quantity but also the quality of the output. Some of our people are inclined to regard Communism in a somewhat abstract fashion, without making this concept concrete. But what does Communism mean? It means producing as much as possible, and of as high a quality as possible. I have in view the output not only of physical but also of intellectual labour—the output turned out by engineers, architects, writers, schoolteachers, doctors, actors, artists, musicians, singers, etc.

It should be said outright that we are very much dissatisfied with the quality of many of our products. And, characteristically enough, each one of us uses strong language when he gets hold of some article of poor quality. Yet we ourselves do not give any thought at all to the sort of products other people receive from us. In a word, each one of us wants an abundance of everything, and of good quality. I ask you, however: where shall we get all this if each one of us does not try to achieve the best results at his job? We must, once and for all, fully grasp the old adage that "as you sow, so shall you reap."

* * * * *

V

A further necessary component element of Communist education is the development of love for one's country, for one's Socialist homeland, the development of Soviet patriotism.

The word "patriot" first appeared during the French Revolution of 1789–1793. Those who fought for the people's cause, who defended the republic, called themselves patriots, in opposition to the traitors from the monarchist camp who betrayed their native land.

Subsequently, however, the term was used by the reactionaries and ruling circles for their own selfish ends. That is why the word "patriotism," both in Europe and in tsarist Russia, always roused suspicion among the most honest people, who were concerned about the needs of the masses, for in it they saw national chauvinism, the unfounded conceit of the ruling circles. Finally, it was the flag under which the tsarist satraps plundered the peoples incorporated in Russia.

"Patriotism" was monopolized by the Black Hundreds, who demonstrated their "patriotic sentiments" in street pogroms, by beating up workers, intellectuals, Jews. And in general at that time large numbers of all sorts of shady, unscrupulous elements from among the dregs of society fastened on to this "patriotism."

In the eyes of the people the word "patriotism" was besmirched. No honest person could count himself a "patriot."

The nations incorporated in Russia, oppressed, exploited, fleeced, and derided at every step by officials and colonizers, naturally hated the Russian state.

Running counter, as it were, to the "patriotism" of the knights of the whip and the scourge, was the evergrowing progressive movement directed against the autocracy.

At first the struggle of the progressive forces against reaction embraced literature, music, art, where one could at least hint at one's negative attitude to the then existing situation. As time went on the democratic sections of the population began gradually to be drawn into this struggle, which, as a result, assumed an increasingly radical character. This process developed and united the opponents of the autocracy, the opponents of so-called official Russia. At the same time it was creating the national bulwark of a great people in the persons of its best representatives. There came on the scene a whole pleiad of writers, critics, and publicists—men of genius and of outstanding gifts—who raised our literature on high, won it laurels and brought it world fame. And not only literature, but also Russian music, art, science began to put forth their brilliant representatives, as truly patriotic champions of national culture.

These people held their honour, human dignity, and public reputation dear, and resolutely disavowed the jingoistic official "patriotism." For them the supreme thing was to serve their people and to awaken genuine patriotism in them. In pursuit of this great end they did not spare their energy or talent. Their contemporaries and subsequent generations learned from them, followed their example and became imbued with a lofty patriotism. The profoundly patriotic activity of these people fills a great many vivid and fascinating pages in the history of the Russian people. And if they did not enjoy the sympathy of official Russia, the people, on the contrary, paid them the respect that was their due, and always revered, and will continue to revere, their bright memory.

Now, this process of the struggle of the progressive forces against the forces of reaction, this process of the growth and consolidation of cultural forces enabled at least the more conscious elements of the oppressed nationalities to see another Russia—a Russia that was noble, that loved freedom and opposed oppression, a Russia that was cultured, talented, and that facilitated the spread of knowledge among wide masses of the population. The expanding revolutionary working-class movement raised the urgent issue of the need to achieve real unity among the proletarians and other working people of all the nationalities of the Russian Empire in their struggle against tsarism and capitalism. The efforts of Lenin and Stalin to create an all-Russian working-class party, without which the liberation of the Russian people and the oppressed nationalities was unthinkable, the tireless propagation of the Lenin-Stalin national policy, the struggle of the Bolsheviks against every manifestation of dominant-nation chauvinism and local nationalism—all this drew the oppressed nationalities close to the Russian people, induced their most class-conscious elements to acquaint themselves with Russian literature, art, science, with Russian revolutionary fighters, and thereby gave them the benefit of Russian culture, turned them into supporters of the common, conjoint struggle, i. e., into people thinking in terms of Russia as a whole.

The propagation of Soviet patriotism cannot be divorced or separated from the roots of our people's past history, but must be filled with patriotic pride for the accomplishments of our people. For

Soviet patriotism is the direct successor to the creative works of our forefathers who advanced the development of our people.

Soviet life provides a remarkably graphic illustration of this. It will be sufficient to point to just one fact, the rapture with which the unfettered peoples recall the images of their epic and historical heroes. They depict them in their best works of art, which they bring for display in Moscow, the heart of the Soviet Republics, where each of them wants, as it were, to say to all the peoples of the U. S. S. R.: See, I am a member of the great union of nations not by the grace of anyone, I am not without kith or kin—here is my family tree, I am proud of it, and I want you too, my brothers in work and in defending the best ideals of mankind, to feast your eyes on my family tree!

So then, Soviet patriotism is rooted in the remote past, going as far back as the popular epos; it imbibes all the best that has been created by the people, and considers it to be a matter of supreme honour to safeguard all their achievements.

The great proletarian revolution not only effected tremendous destruction, but also laid the basis for creative work on an unparalleled scale. At the same time it swept along like a mighty hurricane purifying the minds of tens of millions of people, imbuing them with vigour and faith in their own strength. They now felt themselves to be titans capable of vanquishing the entire world hostile to the labouring masses.

A Soviet epos was then born which picked up the thread of the art of the people of the distant past and of our epoch that had been broken by capitalism, which is hostile to this branch of spiritual production. The ensuing process of the Socialist transformation of society brought to the fore numerous rich and captivating themes worthy of the brush of great artists. The people are already selecting what is the best in these themes and are gradually creating sketches for epic-heroic poems dealing with this great epoch and its great heroes, such as Lenin and Stalin.

Our talented men of letters and artists must not lag behind the people. For never before have they had material so gratifying and in such quantity as in our epoch. Only now do they possess unlimited opportunities to serve their people and to imbue the masses with profound sentiments of patriotism on the basis of the great deeds of the generations of today.

It seems to me that a splendid example of service to the Soviet people is to be found in Mayakovsky, who considered himself a soldier of the Revolution and whose creative work showed him really to be one. He strove to merge not only the content, but also the form of his works with the revolutionary people, so that future historians will surely say of his works that they belonged to the great epoch when the old human relationships were shattered. That is why I think that in addressing future generations Mayakovsky was right in saying:

“I’ll come to you
in the distant Communist far-off,
but not
like Yessenin’s rhymed knight-errants.
My verse will reach
over the peaks of eras

far over the heads
 of poets and governments.
 My verse will come—
 But will come not ornate,
 Not like an arrow's
 lyrical love-flight from Eros,
 not like a worn-out coin,
 comes to the numismat
 and not like the light of long-dead stars arrives.
 My verse
 with labour
 thrusts through weighted years
 emerging
 ponderous,
 rock-rough,
 age-grim,
 As when today
 an aqueduct appears,
 firm-grounded once
 by the branded slaves of Rome."

In this proud statement we hear the majestic voice of our epoch, of our generations, who are transforming the world along new lines.

Comrades, history has charged us with the responsible and honourable task of carrying our class struggle to the complete victory of Communism.

"We must march forward in such a way that the working class of the whole world, looking at us, may say: 'This is my vanguard, this is my shock brigade, this is my working-class state, this is my fatherland. . . .'" (Stalin.)

But to achieve that we must educate all the working people of the U. S. S. R. in the spirit of fervent patriotism, in the spirit of boundless love for their native land. I speak not of abstract, not of platonic love, but of love that is impetuous, active, passionate, indomitable, of love that knows no mercy to the enemy, that will not stop at any sacrifices on behalf of one's country.

There you have the third fundamental task connected with the Communist education of the working people of the U. S. S. R.

* * * * *

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF PUPILS OF EIGHTH, NINTH AND TENTH GRADES OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF LENIN DISTRICT, MOSCOW, APRIL 17, 1941

Comrades, although I meet the youth quite frequently, still it is not easy for me to comprehend the feelings and sentiments that move you in your daily life. And that is quite understandable, for I was your age approximately fifty years ago. In the years that have passed since then, I have forgotten much of what I felt in my youth, while the things I remember will very likely seem to you as belonging to hoary antiquity. If you were to be asked what you think the life of the youth was like in those days, you would probably find the question very difficult to answer, for it all happened so long ago.

And yet I believe that the life of the youth of forty to fifty years ago is of some interest to you too. Without pretending to possess a

profound knowledge of those young people with all their virtues and faults, I would like to draw a picture for you, even though it be a poor one, of how they lived, what filled their lives, what types they consisted of, and what occupied their minds. Moreover, I shall deal mainly with young workers, with whom I chiefly associated.

True, I was also connected more or less closely with the peasant youth. But what is there to tell you about the peasant youth of those days? Nothing interesting or instructive. The bulk of the village boys and girls were overburdened with work and domestic cares. Of course, the young workers did not have an easy time in life either, but for all that they had certain advantages, if only in the sense that their horizons were immeasurably wider; they were able to see and learn more. As to the mental outlook of the peasant youth, it was limited to the interests of the village; they knew little about what was going on beyond the village boundaries. No sooner had they reached thirteen to fifteen years of age than they were harnessed to work. And by the time the young peasant was eighteen or nineteen years old his path in life was definitely settled: he got married, left his father, and with difficulty set up a home for himself.

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As time went on, under the influence of Socialist propaganda and under the guidance of Marxist intellectuals, illegal circles arose among the working youth to which those who showed signs of social consciousness eagerly turned. The further they went the more thought they gave to the conditions of the working class and the numerous other problems of social life. They greedily devoured Marxist literature, delved deep into the theory of scientific Socialism, set seriously about educating themselves, and raised the level not only of their political, but also of their cultural, development. Heated comradesly discussions developed in the circles both on the burning questions of political life and on books that had been read. That was how class, Socialist consciousness took shape among the most advanced members of the working youth.

And it should be said that those who took part in the illegal Marxist circles enjoyed the greatest authority not only among the youth, but also among the older workers. Although they conducted their work in secret, a considerable part of the workers were well aware of this and discreetly helped them in putting various revolutionary undertakings into effect.

Outwardly, however, we differed very little from the rest of the workers. Like the other young workers we frequented tea shops and pubs, and occasionally, as we returned home from work at night, we would even climb into other people's orchards, out of mischief, of course, to show how brave we were, and not because we needed apples so badly. I remember, as if it were today, the watchman in an orchard near the Putilov Works who used to carry a gun loaded with salt. Well, how could you resist climbing into this orchard when there was the added risk of getting a charge of salt into you! [Laughter.]

We used to go to parties, made dates with girls, had a merry time. And sometimes, when we wanted to take a walk in a public park, we would climb in over the fence. [Laughter.] We climbed over not at all because we could not find ten kopeks to pay admission. No,

we had the money, for we were earning wages and could find ten kopeks to buy a ticket. But, after all, to climb in over the fence meant taking a risk—you might get caught and be led "in triumph" out of the park. How could you resist climbing in! [Laughter.] We climbed fences and went out walking with girls, as you probably do. I don't, of course, know how these things are nowadays, but I imagine that it all goes on exactly as it did forty or fifty years ago. There does not seem to have been much change in this respect. [Laughter.]

And so, outwardly we led a most unremarkable existence. Had anyone kept us under observation he would not have noticed anything extraordinary.

Yet, all the same, we did differ from the rest of the working youth. Wherein did this difference lie? We were different in that our everyday interests gradually began to be ousted by the general interests of the workers. Study in illegal circles and the reading of revolutionary literature broadened our political outlook, filling our lives with ideological content. At first we regarded the glaring facts of tyranny at the factory as isolated outrages, but then we began to see them as a system of oppression of the working class in general, not only by the factory management and employers, but also by the autocracy.

Outwardly everything seemed to remain unchanged. We walked out with the girls, kept dates with them, danced at parties, and, of course, had love affairs. [Laughter.] But there already was something more in our minds than the "American happy ending." Our thoughts were turned towards public work, and now, even when we attended parties, we would consider how they could be used for our revolutionary ends.

And so gradually, and imperceptibly, as it were, we entered on a principled life. And a principled life is actually the biggest and most interesting of lives! Now that was where we differed from the rest of the working youth, with whom we were always closely connected and on whom we constantly based ourselves in our revolutionary work.

Of course, our opportunities for leading a principled life were far more limited than those now enjoyed by the Soviet youth, and particularly by you, pupils of the senior grades of secondary schools. And that is quite understandable.

Firstly, we did not go to *gymnasiums* then, secondary education being beyond our reach. What is more, far from all of us were fortunate enough to finish elementary school. Consequently, in this respect you are considerably more advanced than the working youth of those days, and by virtue of that one fact alone you possess greater opportunities to lead a principled life.

Secondly, in those times principled, class-conscious workers were persecuted. They were driven out of the factories, arrested, exiled, and so forth. And that means we could put our ideas into effect only illegally. And so, if anybody in those days wanted to live a principled life, to develop politically, to work in the interests of the working class and his people, to follow the path of progress, there was only this narrow thorny path open to him, a path, of course, that only a few people could take! You, on the contrary, have absolutely boundless vistas before you in this regard. All the necessary conditions are at your service—all you have to do is to work!

However, if you were to ask me whether I regretted in those years having chosen just that path in life, I would answer you that for a person who strove to live a big life, and not the narrow, philistine life that is designed to satisfy only personal, purely petty-bourgeois well-being, for anybody who wanted to make his life a really fine and interesting one, there could be no other path! I am speaking to you here as though all this concerned myself alone. But actually this is not so. For I was only one of many, and hence all I have told you concerns hundreds of people whose development and understanding of life were on a par with mine. I merely proved to be a lucky one in the sense that I am in a position to stand here before you and have a heart-to-heart talk with you, while most of the others of my age have very likely died long ago.

And so, a principled life, one replete with social interests, a life that is full of purpose in this sense, is the best, most interesting life on earth. The whole life of Comrade Stalin is, essentially speaking, a model of just that kind of a life. [*Prolonged applause.*]

But you may say to me: "Yes, Comrade Stalin's life really is a model of a noble life governed by lofty ideas. But we are just ordinary people, and you are talking about a great man, a leader." We must learn to live and work from our teachers and leaders, Lenin and Stalin, who possess the faculty not only of excelling all others in understanding and in giving correct expression to the urgent requirements of social development but also of excelling all others in satisfying, and correctly satisfying, these requirements.

To live a big, principled life means to have your life governed by the social interests of the most advanced and most progressive class of your day, and at the present time, by the interests of the Soviet people, of the Soviet homeland. If your lives are governed by such interests, if all your thoughts are directed towards still further exalting your people, still further enhancing the economic and military might of your native land, if you devote all your energies to the struggle for the complete victory of Communism, and if this great idea predominates in your minds, then I do not doubt that you will really live big lives.

In the first months of 1941, the position of the Russian Orthodox Church was far from propitious.¹ After a temporary let up, the drive to stamp out "religious superstition" had been reactivated. When the Nazi forces invaded the Ukraine on June 22, 1941, the Metropolitan Sergius immediately pledged the complete support of the Church to the defense of the Fatherland. By November 1942, he was hailing Stalin as the "divinely anointed leader" of the Russian people. At first, the Bolshevik regime reacted to all clerical protestations of loyalty with continued distrust. However, as the course of the war kept turning for the worse, Stalin decided to make some concessions to the ecclesiastical heads of a "misguiding institution."

The Truth About Religion in Russia consists of a collection of statements made by various Orthodox Church dignitaries on the defense of Mother Russia. It is believed to have been printed on the presses formerly used by the League of Militant Atheists.² Not long before, the publications of the League had been suspended in order to conserve paper (this section, exhibit No. 41). While *The Truth About Religion in Russia* was not permitted to circulate in the Soviet Union and was, indeed, intended only as useful foreign propaganda, certain restrictions upon Orthodox Church activities were temporarily suspended.³

¹ Curtiss, *Russian Church*, p. 290.

² Timasheff, *Great Betrayal*, p. 231.

³ Mikhail Koriakov, *I'll Never Go Back*, New York, Dutton, 1948, pp. 25 ff. Chamberlin *Russian Enigma*, p. 102.

In exchange, the Patriarch Sergius had to deny the existence of religious persecution in the U. S. S. R. and to declare that the church had no reason to criticize the Soviet authorities. What was much worse, he was compelled to attack religious people outside the Soviet Union for not rallying sooner to the cause of Russia's "divinely anointed leader."

Since 1944, a new antireligious campaign has been carried on, principally in the form of intensified atheistic propaganda.⁴ So long as the leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church continue to urge their followers to do the will of their Kremlin masters (as did former patriarchs under the czars), they will probably enjoy some measure of reluctant tolerance.⁵

EXHIBIT No. 71

[London, Hutchinson, 1942. The Moscow Patriarchate, *The Truth About Religion in Russia*. English Translation under supervision of the Rev. E. N. C. Sergeant. Pp. 5-9.]

FOREWORD

THE PURPOSE OF THIS BOOK

By the Acting Patriarch

This book is primarily a repudiation of the so-called "crusade" of the fascists, in which they have had the effrontery to advance a specious claim to "liberate" our nation and our Orthodox Church from the bolsheviks. But at the same time an answer is given to the broad question of whether our Church conceives of itself as persecuted by the bolsheviks, and hence whether it asks anybody for liberation from such persecution.

To those convinced of the existence of persecution the attitude maintained by our Church towards the fascist invasion might appear constrained and not corresponding to the inner expectations of the Church; and its prayers for the victory of the Red Army may appear as a mere lip service, a thing done for the sake of form or, to put it differently, as being evidence that the Church, even inside its own walls, must be acting under constraint.

Let us not attempt to conceal the fact that certain people who are inspired by selfish egotistical interests, and not by the interest of the Church, are prejudiced in their outlook and are more ready to accept insincerity than sincerity in the conduct of the Church towards the Soviet regime, particularly in the matter of prayers and other assistance to the Red Front. They will readily forgive us hypocrisy in this respect, but they fly into a rage when they realize that in our hearts we believe what we say. Even now, twenty-five years after the Revolution, such an attitude may be encountered, to say nothing of former years.

The theme of religious persecution in Russia was played upon unremittingly in hostile sections of the foreign Press. It still occupies a prominent place in Russian *émigré* ecclesiastical publications. And here the fact must be stressed that it was not merely a case of giving prominence to any excesses such as inevitably accompany every mass rising; but official, systematic measures on the part of the Soviet authorities were alleged, aiming at the destruction of all believers in religion in general and ministers of religion in particular.

⁴ Curtiss, *op. cit.*, Chapter XVI: The Strange Alliance.

⁵ Manning, *Ukraine Under the Soviets*, pp. 210-214.

The Russian *émigré* Press drew without constraint a parallel between the persecutions of the early centuries of Christianity and the modern "persecutions" in Russia.

The most furious publicists did not tire of inventing fabrications. There was, for example, the tale published in a Karlovatsk paper, according to which the bolsheviks had come across, somewhere near a railway line, Bishop Andrew Ukhtomsky as he proceeded on foot and had shot him on the spot: he was alleged to have fallen on the rails "with his bag over his shoulder". The truth is that he lived for many years in perfect health after his alleged murder, and functioned as a diocesan bishop. Or again, quite recently one of the most irreconcilable Karlovatsk *émigrés*, the well-known Bishop Vitaly, spread the report in America that when the Red Army occupied the western districts of the Ukraine, Simon, Archbishop of Ostrog, was "tortured" by the bolsheviks. Then suddenly it became known in America that the "tortured" Archbishop was unharmed and as well as ever.

It is unwise sometimes to act in the spirit of the proverb: "A lie is the best mount for the road to safety."

In this connection, it may be asked: What is it that makes the *émigré* agitators pass over to the uncertain ground of inventions, in which, of course, they themselves do not believe and which can always be unmasked? The explanation plainly is the need for maintaining the illusion of religious persecution in Russia which has been brought into being among simple Orthodox believers, especially in the region of the Carpathians, not far from where the Karlovatsk *émigrés* have taken up their residence.

The ecclesiastical bourgeoisie interpret as a conclusive proof of persecution the ending by the State of its age-old alliance with the Church, through which ending the Church—or rather ecclesiastical institutions (for example, monasteries), and the clergy as a caste or profession—lost certain privileges, such as the ownership of land and commercial undertakings, various professional rights as distinct from "the people", and so on.

On the other hand it is the fact that "the ordinary orthodox people", hearing the Gospel Christ's instruction to His apostles, reading St. Paul's Epistles or the life of a Christian hero such as St. John Chrysostom, feel strongly that the change which has taken place is not persecution, but rather a return to Apostolic times, when the Church and its clergy followed the true path to which they were called by Christ, when they considered their ministration not as a profession which, being one among many secular professions, gave them their means of livelihood, but as their way of answering the call of Christ. That path, winnowed by the ideals of the people, sanctified by the highest traditions of the Orthodox Church, and at the same time spiritually most fruitful, and which is the path of service for the salvation of men, the Patriarchal Church has set itself to follow and calls on its clergy to follow.

Since the revolution the Church has suffered great loss of numbers. The separation of the Church from the State removed the artificial barriers which kept people within the Church, and all nominal Church folk left us.

Of fatal significance in this was the age-old habit which prevailed among us of regarding Orthodoxy as indissolubly interwoven with

tsarism. In Maxim Gorky's description, in his *Life of Klim Samghin*, of 9 January (1905), in St. Petersburg are given clear instances of how previously fervid devotees of Orthodoxy, having lost their illusions about the tsar, went straight over to atheism. And even now it is possible to meet people genuinely unable to understand how we can talk about the Orthodox Faith when we have rejected tsarism.

On the other hand, those who did not wish to reject tsarism could not remain in the Church, which was ready to go on its way without tsarism and had nothing against the Soviet authorities. From this attitude there proceeded various *émigré* schisms attracting out of the Church almost all the ecclesiastically conscious emigration. At the same time, and, it may well be, under their active influence, certain breakaway groups within the borders of Russia separated themselves from us: Ioannite-Josephians, Victorites, Danilovites and simply our oppositionists, disagreeing with our prayers for the Soviet authorities and in general with what they described as the "redness" of our orientation.

On the left flank stand the schisms of the revolutionary period, which employed the new freedom in order not to observe the rules and traditions of the Church, and to order their private and professional lives as they themselves deemed best. Such are the Reformed, and, in part, the Gregorians. Among them must be reckoned also the activities of Andrew Ukhtomsky, who imagined himself to be a kind of Messiah of the Old Believers, partly owing to dislike of the central ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Finally, there appeared various wilful individuals, moved from time to time by personal predilections; these utilized the present complete freedom of religious profession, by which breaches of ecclesiastical discipline are not punished by the State. Thus, one well-known hierarch left us because the membership of the Synod at the time did not appear to him deserving of confidence.

In a word, in our Church there reigned unbelievable chaos, recalling the condition of the Œcumenical Church at the time of the Arian disturbances, as described by St. Basil the Great. Standing on the verge of what seemed the unavoidable break-up of the whole Russian Church, our Patriarchate could not count on any protection or help from outside, and, as a matter of principle, did not seek such help. Our sister Orthodox Churches could only sympathize with us, and, not possessing exact information about our Church affairs, sometimes did not know exactly what direction their sympathy should take. In our condition of external helplessness we could count only on the moral force of canonical tradition, which in past ages more than once preserved the Church from disintegration. And our expectation was not deceived.

We dare to say this, in spite of all the imperfection of our administration. Our Russian Church has not been led astray and destroyed by the whirlwind of events. It has kept unsullied its canonical consciousness and at the same time its correct and canonical supreme direction—that is, its part in the life of grace of the Œcumenical Church and its right place in the harmony of the Orthodox Autocephalous Churches.

Our Russian Church's attitude to the fascist "crusade" can be defined simply. The fascist "crusade" has already burst upon our land, is already bathing it in blood, is desecrating our shrines, is

destroying historical monuments, is exercising itself in crimes against the unarmed population—about all of which sufficient details are given in this book. It is clear that we, representatives of the Russian Church, cannot permit even for a moment the thought of receiving from the hands of the foe any kind of immunity or gain. He is the very opposite of a shepherd who, seeing the wolf starting to rend the flock of the Church, begins in his soul to fondle the thought of arranging his own affairs. It is clear that the Church once and for all must unite its fate with the fate of its flock, whether the issue be life or death. And the Church does this not because of any cold calculation that victory is already assured on the side of our country, but in fulfilment of its imperative duty, like a mother seeing the purpose of life in the preservation of her children. Even during the alliance between the Church and State ecclesiastics declared that the Church prayed for the governmental power, not in hope of gain, but in the fulfilment of its duty, declared through the will of God (the famous Metropolitan of Moscow, Philaret). Such is the position of our Patriarchal Russian Church in contradistinction from all separatists abroad and at home. For example, in America the representative of our Patriarchate, the Metropolitan of the Aleutian Islands and North America, Benjamin Fedchenko, without any hesitation, gives his name and his energies to the movement for American Aid to Russia. He directed an appeal to the Orthodox population of America which is given in the present volume; he is serving on committees for the collection of contributions; he travels round from city to city; he preaches in churches; he speaks at public gatherings, etc.

At the same time, those in ecclesiastical communion with the Metropolitan Theophilus (the American branch of the Karlovatsk schismatics) were sufficiently ill-advised to hamper this American movement friendly to us: in the name of the Council of Hierarchs they appealed to President Roosevelt to urge the restoration of "liberty of religion"—which tends to mean for them a privileged position for the clergy. In other words, they are prepared to assist in return for what they consider an adequate reward.

The European Karlovatsk separatists have completely entered Hitler's service; they pray for him in their churches; with the help of the German authorities they have brought about the subjection to themselves of their opponents—those in ecclesiastical communion with the Metropolitan Evlogie. It is sad to recall such falling away among our Russian people, even though they are in schism, but it is comforting that our Patriarchal Church in its opposition to fascism is by no means alone. News has arrived about the deposition by the fascists of several Orthodox leaders because of their hostility to fascism or opposition to it. It is reported that Chrysanthos, the Metropolitan of Athens, and Gabriel, the Serbian Patriarch, have been removed, and that Stephen, the Metropolitan of Bulgaria, and others have fallen into disfavour. The telegrams reproduced in this book from the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem show their solidarity with us and their desire to encourage us in our struggle.

The ancient Orthodox East, and with it all the Orthodox world together with us, shudders at the horrors of the fascist invasion, together with us blesses the self-sacrificing achievements of our Russian Army, and together with us diligently prays for final victory over the fascist hordes.

Such a universal, united prayer of almost all the Orthodox Churches, capable, it would seem, of setting all things in motion (Acts iv, 31), unshakably confirms in us the certainty of inevitable victory of light over darkness, of righteousness over savage licence and oppression, of the Cross of Christ over the fascist swastika, which may God grant us by His Grace and by the prayers of His Most Pure Mother and all the saints. Amen.

ACTING PATRIARCH SERGIUS,

Ulyanovsk, Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna.

28 March, 1942,

The Saturday of St. Lazarus.

22 June 1941

TO THE LEADERS AND FAITHFUL OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH
OF CHRIST*

During the last few years, we, people of Russia, had consoled ourselves with the hope that the conflagration of war, which had seized almost the whole world, would not touch our land. But fascism, knowing no law but naked force and accustomed to ridicule the highest postulates of honour and morality, has once more shown itself true to its nature. The fascist brigands have fallen upon our native land. Trampling upon all pacts and pledges, they have suddenly descended upon us, and the blood of our peaceful citizens is already drenching our native earth. The times of Batu Khan, of the Teutonic Knights, of Charles of Sweden, of Napoleon, are being repeated. The miserable descendants of the enemies of Orthodox Christianity are once more striving to force our people on to their knees before unrighteousness, to compel them by naked violence to sacrifice the welfare and integrity of their native country and their blood-covenant of love for their Fatherland.

But not for the first time has it fallen to the Russian people to endure such trials. With the help of God, this time too they will scatter to the winds the force of the fascist foe. Our forebears did not lose heart even in a worse situation, because they did not think of personal danger and gain but of their sacred duty to country and faith, and they came off victorious. We will not disgrace their glorious name, we Orthodox, their kin in blood and faith. Our native land is defended by force of arms and by the heroic deeds of the whole people, by the general readiness of all to serve as best they can in this grave hour of trial. Here is opportunity for workers, peasants, scientists, women and men, young and old. Everybody can and must bring to the general effort his share of toil, care, and skill.

Let us remember the sacred leaders of the Russian people, such as Alexander Nevsky and Dimitry of the Don, who laid down their lives for the people and the country. And not only the leaders did this. Let us remember the countless thousands of simple Orthodox warriors whose unknown names the Russian people immortalized by the glorious legend of the heroes Ilya Muromets, Dobrynya Nikitich, and Alyosha Popovich, who utterly defeated Solovey the Robber.

Our Orthodox Church has always shared the destiny of the people, bearing their trials, rejoicing in their successes, and this time too it

*This document is the message which Sergius, Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna, Head of the Orthodox Church in Russia, sent to all parishes on the first day of the war.

is not going to forsake its people, bestowing, as it does, the blessing of Heaven upon the frothcoming heroic exploit of the whole people.

For us, above all, it is right to recall Christ's commandment: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." It is not only he who is killed on the battlefield for his people and its welfare who lays down his life, but also anyone who sacrifices himself, his health or his advantage for the sake of his country. In such a time, when our country calls for sacrifice from everybody, it is not seemly for, the leaders of the Church, to gaze in silence at what is being done around us, and not to encourage the faint-hearted, not to console the afflicted and not to remind the wavering of duty and the will of God. If, moreover, the ecclesiastical leader's silence, his unconcern with what his flock has to go through, are to be explained by cunning speculations as to possible gain obtainable on the other side of the frontier, it is direct betrayal of his country and his pastoral duty, inasmuch as the Church needs shepherds who give their service truly "for the sake of Jesus, and not for the sake of a piece of bread", in the words of one of its saints, Dimitry of Rostov. Let us lay down our lives together with our flock. Innumerable thousands of our Orthodox warriors have followed the path of self-sacrifice and laid down their lives for their country and their faith at all times of enemy invasion of their Fatherland. They have died, not thinking of glory, but thinking only that their country was in need of sacrifice on their part and humbly sacrificed everything, even life itself.

The Church of Christ blesses all Orthodox believers for the defence of the sacred frontiers of our native land.

The Lord will grant us victory.

ACTING PATRIARCH, HUMBLE SERGIUS,
Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolumna.

Moscow,
22 June, 1941.

War and the Working Class was the predecessor of the current Soviet publication, *New Times*. In the following article reprinted from the first issue of *War and the Working Class*, the Soviet All-Union Council of Trade Unions berates the American Federation of Labor for its uncooperative attitude toward a worldwide labor organization. The Soviet "trade union" activities described in this article eventually led to the formation in 1945 of an international front organization known as the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).¹ Because of its obvious Communist control, the AFL would have nothing to do with the WFTU.²

EXHIBIT No. 72

[*The Worker*, June 30, 1943. Sec. I, p. 2]

ALLIED LABOR UNITY AN URGENT WAR NEED, U. S. S. R. UNIONS SAY; SCORE AFL POLICY

KUIBYSHEV.—All obstacles to international trade-union cooperation can be overcome, a spokesman for the All-Union Council of Trade Unions declared this week, if the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Com-

¹ Selznik, *Organizational Weapon*, pp. 155, 160.

² Martin Ebon, *World Communism Today*, New York, Whittlesey House, 1948, pp. 166, 301, 457.

mittee, scheduled to meet in the near future in Moscow, demonstrates to labor in the United Nations that it is actively and energetically carrying out its principal job—increasing the production of airplanes, tanks, and guns for victory over Hitler.

In an important article in the first issue of *War and the Working Class*, official bimonthly organ of AUCTU, E. Danilov, editor of the magazine and chairman of the central committee of the College and University Teachers Union, wrote:

“The more actively the committee works, the more influence it will have with the mass of democratic factory and office workers. Only by active work can the committee show the unions of the democratic countries, including the United States, the need for joining with it to achieve victory over the enemy and solve the tasks that will confront the labor movement after the war.”

Reviewing the history of the Anglo-Soviet committee in the last year and a half, Danilov recalls the early enthusiasm among British and Soviet workers at the news that a delegation from the British Trades Union Congress had reached an agreement with the AUCTU in Moscow on Oct. 15, 1941.

He observes, however, that “of late Soviet trade-union members have not come across many press reports on the committee’s activities.”

One reason for this, he indicates, is the large amount of time and effort devoted in the past year to negotiations with the executive council of the American Federation of Labor.

DEEPLY INTERESTED

“Soviet workers are greatly interested in the life and struggles of working people in other countries particularly in Great Britain and the United States,” he writes.

“Our workers regard every act of fraternal solidarity on the part of workers in other countries as a means of consolidating all our forces for the struggle against the common enemy.”

The TUC’s proposal in 1941 to form a joint trade-union committee was “welcomed by the Soviet trade unions and millions of factory and office workers as an expression of the desire of British working men and women for militant collaboration with labor in the Soviet Union.”

British union leaders of all political views cabled support for the committee. Sir Walter Citrine, secretary of the TUC, said in a special message to Soviet workers through the Tass correspondent London:

“I hope the Russian people will understand that our proposal is something more than an act of friendship. I assure the Russian workers that we will do everything we can to make our Anglo-Soviet committee a permanent working organization.”

The cordial reception given the delegation of Soviet unionists who visited Britain in January 1942, says Danilov, “was regarded as a splendid beginning for carrying out the tasks outlined in the agreement.”

When they returned to the U. S. S. R., members of the delegation reported on their visit at mass meetings called by unions in Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Molotov, Gorki, Novosibirsk, Baku, Tbilisi, and other large cities.

At these meetings Soviet workers not only passed resolutions warmly supporting the Anglo-Soviet committee, but "undertook to fulfill the concrete obligations arising out of the agreement."

Delegates to the London meeting of the committee voted to invite the AFL to affiliate.

Soviet workers, Danilov says, "regarded this as a fact of major importance, considering that extension of the committee would considerably strengthen trade union movements of the U. S. S. R., Great Britain, and the U. S."

After rejecting the invitation, conveyed to the U. S. by Sir Walter Citrine, the AFL executive committee suggested as an alternative the formation of an Anglo-American committee, the British members of which would be used "for information and contact" between the Soviet trade unions and the AFL.

Danilov writes: "The AUCTU regarded this as a decision that could give satisfaction only to those who are not in favor of hastening the victory of the coalition of democratic countries over the forces of aggression."

The liaison proposal was declared wholly unacceptable to the AUCTU. An Anglo-American committee, later organized by the AFL and the TUC, has held one meeting. The five British members are also members of the Anglo-Soviet committee.

On the reluctance of the AFL to associate directly with Soviet unions, Danilov quotes the British authority Ernest Davis, writing in the London Political Quarterly:

"Notwithstanding that the AFL professes to pay tribute to Russia's resistance, it remains anti-Communist and therefore there are no prospects of its coming into an Anglo-American-Soviet committee. It is possible that the CIO might have agreed, but it is not likely that the TUC general council, which has always concentrated its attention exclusively on the AFL, would risk a rupture with the AFL for the sake of affiliating with the CIO."

Danilov adds: "It is, of course, the privilege of leaders of the AFL executive committee to decide with whom they wish to collaborate. To what extent such decisions correspond to the desires of the factory and office workers united in the federation, however, is another matter. As for the position of the Soviet trade unions: affections, says an old Russian proverb, cannot be imposed by force."

JUST COURTESY

Despite the avowed position of the AFL executive committee, Danilov says, "one would expect elementary courtesy toward the labor organizations of a friendly country. Thus the behavior of AFL representatives at the TUC Congress in the autumn of 1942 could not but occasion surprise.

"Although aware of the presence there of Soviet trade union representatives, the AFL delegate did not hesitate to make hostile statements with regard to Soviet trade unions.

"Incidentally, these hostile statements were not given any rebuff by the TUC general council. This also was surprising, for neither the general council nor any of its leaders can accuse the Soviet trade unions of any act of disloyalty to the TUC.

"Nor can they reproach Soviet trade unions with failure to fulfill the eight points of the agreement unanimously adopted at the first session of the Anglo-Soviet committee. Guided by a sincere desire to strengthen friendship and cooperation with British labor, the Soviet unions have unswervingly lived up to their obligations."

Turning to the Anglo-Soviet committee, Danilov says: "Although the Anglo-Soviet committee has still far from fulfilled its mission, in recent months the workers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Great Britain have seen few signs of its activity. The committee's importance, however, has by no means diminished.

"Its tasks in winning the war against Hitlerite tyranny—and preparing the unions of both countries for the solution of postwar problems—are more serious than ever.

"The war is not yet over. The bitter struggle still lying ahead will demand more time, more sacrifices, and further mobilization of all forces at the disposal of the United Nations. In the war against Hitler Germany and its accomplices the role of the trade unions is immense. They must constantly mobilize the people for a steady increase in the output of armaments. Therein lies the principal task of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee."

In 1929, Albert Pinkevitch could find fault with the very limited restrictions which the Swiss educator, Hepp, had drawn up for the regulation of members of his progressive classes (this section, exhibit No. 32). By 1943, Soviet authorities had firmly established a very conservative approach to academic matters. Various directives spelled out in unmistakable terminology exactly what was expected of Russian school children.¹ In addition to having every detail of their daily routine thoroughly regimented, the children could also draw upon the inspiration given them by Stalin and his predecessor, Lenin.² According to the orthodox Bolshevik creed, they must love and serve their Kremlin lord with their whole heart, with their whole mind, and with their whole soul. No greater love can a man have than that he lay down his life for the Soviet fatherland and for its omnipotent vohzh, Stalin.

Exhibit No. 73 is reprinted from Counts and Lodge, *I Want To Be Like Stalin*, pp. 149-150. This little book contains much enlightening material on secular worship of the Kremlin lords and masters.³ Exhibit No. 74 discusses the abolition of coeducation in the elementary schools of the U. S. S. R. Back in 1935, Pinkevitch declared that 15 years of coeducation in the Soviet Union had completely borne out the contentions of those who struggled against schools divided on sex lines.⁴ Only 8 years later, the Soviet authorities decided in favor of "division of labor."

EXHIBIT No. 73

[*Soviet Pedagogy*, October 1943. P. 1]

RULES FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN ADOPTED BY THE SOVIET OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE RSFSR, AUGUST 2, 1943 .

It is the duty of every school child:

1. To strive with tenacity and perseverance to master knowledge, in order to become an educated and cultured citizen *and* to serve most fully the Soviet Motherland.

2. To be diligent in study and punctual in attendance, never being late to classes.

¹ Kulski, *Soviet Regime*, pp. 485-497.

² *Young Communists in the USSR*, pp. 83-84.

³ See also George S. Counts and Nuchia Lodge, *The Country of the Blind: The Soviet System of Mind Control*, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1949.

⁴ Pinkevitch, *Science and Education in the U. S. S. R.*, pp. 33-34.

3. To obey without question the orders of school director and teachers.

4. To bring to school all necessary books and writing materials, to have everything ready before the arrival of the teacher.

5. To appear at school washed, combed, and neatly dressed.

6. To keep his desk in the classroom clean and orderly.

7. To enter the classroom and take his seat immediately after the ringing of the bell, to enter or leave the classroom during the lesson period only with the permission of the teacher.

8. To sit erect during the lesson period, not leaning on the elbows or slouching in the seat; to attend closely to the explanations of the teacher and the responses of the pupils, not talking or engaging in mischief.

9. To rise as the teacher or the director enters or leaves the classroom.

10. To rise and stand erect while reciting; to sit down only on permission of the teacher; to raise the hand when desiring to answer or ask a question.

11. To make accurate notes of the teacher's assignment for the next lesson, to show these notes to the parents, and to do all homework without assistance.

12. To be respectful to the school director and the teachers, to greet them on the street with a polite bow, boys removing their hats.

13. To be polite to his elders, to conduct himself modestly and properly in school, on the street, and in public places.

14. To abstain from using bad language, from smoking and gambling.

15. To take good care of school property, to guard well his own possessions and those of his comrades.

16. To be courteous and considerate toward little children, toward the aged, the weak, and the sick, to give them the seat on the trolley or the right of way on the street, to help them in every way.

17. To obey his parents and assist in the care of little brothers and sisters.

18. To maintain cleanliness in the home by keeping his own clothes, shoes, and bed in order.

19. To carry always his pupil's card, guarding it carefully, not passing it to other children, but presenting it on request of the director or the teacher of the school.

20. To prize the honor of his school and his class as his very own.

For violation of these rules the pupil is subject to punishment, even to expulsion from school.

EXHIBIT No. 74

[London, *Soviet War News Weekly*, November 4, 1943. P. 6]

WHY COEDUCATION ENDED IN THE U. S. S. R.

In this article A. Solokhin, who is head of No. 89 School in Moscow, explains the recent measure ending coeducation of boys and girls in the schools of the U. S. S. R.

Our young people no longer know what is meant by inequality of men and women in the State. They occasionally recall it at meetings, but without much emotion because they cannot imagine the true hardships of this erstwhile inequality.

But to us of the older generation it seems that this inequality was quite recent. A large proportion of the citizens of Russia—the women—could not participate in the affairs of state and society. Moreover, women were humiliated. During the 25 years of Soviet power equality of the sexes in every aspect of life has been completely attained in our country. It is secured by the whole structure of our life.

The Soviet school has played an important part in this matter. It was easy enough to announce equality of rights of men and women. But it was more difficult to overcome, in the shortest possible time, the surviving effects of inequality. Therefore one of the measures taken by the Soviet Power in school reform was to introduce coeducation from elementary school to university. This helped substantially in establishing actual and complete sex equality in society.

But the difference in the development of girls and boys is obvious. Teachers know this. For example, a class consists of girls and boys of about 12-13. The age is the same, yet the results, the capacity to work are different. This is why, during the past few years, the question of separate education has been frequently raised. And every time there were some people who would exclaim: "Well, and what did we fight for?"

And indeed, the struggle was sometimes very bitter in its time. In 1908 at the conference of the Russian Women's Society, in 1912, at the first conference on family upbringing and the first conference on the education of women, and later at conferences on national education, experimental pedagogical science, and so on, coeducation was the subject of very lively discussion. The most progressive educational workers demanded coeducation in senior schools. Their chief motive was to attain for women equal rights with men.

This motive no longer applies in our country. Is it still necessary to insist on coeducation? Scientific data show that it is not only unnecessary, but that it is, on the contrary, essential to introduce separate education.

Between the ages of 10 and 14 boys usually go through a period of accumulating strength during which their physical development slows down. With girls, on the other hand, this age is marked by rapid physical development. They are ahead of boys in height and weight. Between the ages of 14 and 17 it is the other way round—boys develop quicker than girls.

The unequal development of boys and girls is the reason for unequal understanding of the lessons. That is why schoolboys and

schoolgirls of the same age do not make the same progress. And it is not only progress that is involved. There is also the necessity of a different educational approach to boys and girls in various phases of their development—different presentation of the material, different work to be set—in fact, different methods of teaching and handling. This differentiation cannot be attained if the girls and boys sit together in the same class.

DIVISION OF LABOUR

The second reason is the inescapable division of labour between men and women. Men and women cannot do all kinds of work with the same success. Any number of examples can be given. Men have to be soldiers. They have to train for service in the Red Army while still at school. They must have special physical and purely military training for the future hard life of a soldier.

It will be said: Women too should be able to defend their Motherland! That is correct. And our girls have shown that they are able to fight for their soil. But at the front, also, division of labour exists. The girls are, in the main, engaged in supply work, in hospitals, communications, etc. So far as I know they have not been allowed to take part in attacks, they are not ordered to build bridges and roads, because that is heavy, men's work. And in war production there are many heavy kinds of work in which only men are engaged, although this does not exclude women from doing physical labour which is sometimes very difficult, though within the limits of their strength.

But women have responsibilities which do not apply to men, and those responsibilities are of crucial importance. Women are mothers, and they have to be able to look after children and bring them up. Whatever is said about equality of responsibility between men and women in bringing up children, mother remains mother. School should give girls special knowledge in human anatomy and physiology, in psychology and the science of teaching, in hygiene.

That is why separate education of boys and girls has been introduced from this year. Six months' experience of work in the new way in Moscow has given positive results. Classes have become more homogeneous and more even. Children are taught and handled better in such conditions. The timetable of military subjects has been freed from muddle. All this has made possible more order in the schools, better discipline and better results. All the teachers say so.

NOT A BACKWARD STEP

In the coming school year separate education is to be introduced in other towns which have a large number of secondary and intermediate schools. The boys and girls will study separately not from the fifth but from the first class. The collective group plays an important part in the development of children. The schoolchildren's group is welded together not for days or months but for years. It would be very painful for the child to change over at the fifth class to another group. The building up of a new group would also involve great difficulties for the teacher.

Now we sometimes hear from both the older and younger teachers such questions as:

"Doesn't this step mean a restoration of the old schools?"

This question can be categorically answered: No, certainly not.

In our schools girls and boys receive, and will continue to receive, absolutely the same level of education. They will have the same level of training for their working life, they will be brought up in the spirit of sex equality.

Of course people who are inexperienced, whose attitude is not serious, can make mistakes which give rise to a feeling of mutual isolation between boys and girls and other abnormalities. But it is easy to prevent these mistakes. The educational authorities should, in the first place, exercise better guidance over the schools; secondly, they must tackle seriously the selection of staff for boys' and girls' schools; thirdly they must, in association with the Young Communist League organisations, develop the most extensive work amongst schoolchildren outside school hours.

Separate education of boys and girls in the intermediate and secondary schools is a complicated matter. We lack experience in it. We cannot rely fully on the experience of prerevolution schools because the separate education of that time had very definite aims necessary for the ruling classes.

Correct education of boys and girls depends in many respects upon the people to whom this education is entrusted. The greatest thoroughness and care are necessary in selecting staff for boys' and girls' schools.

In choosing school Heads, teachers, and Pioneer Leaders, the capabilities and inclinations of every member of the staff must be very carefully taken into account. The half year's experience of the Moscow schools shows that the heads of boys' schools should, in the main, be men, and of girls' schools, women. Class teachers for the 5th to 10th classes and Pioneer Leaders should be appointed on the same principle.

It has happened that school Heads have appointed class teachers not in accordance with the requisite qualities and capabilities, but on the principle of who had most time free. Now, with separate education, this is absolutely impermissible. Teachers responsible for classes must be those who are most sensitive and understanding, those with authority and personality.

Selection of staff is very important, but not the whole matter. Staff must be trained immediately. Teachers must learn to gauge the peculiarities in the development of boys and girls and to take them into account in the work. Institutes for advanced teachers' training, methodological bureaus, and school-subject commissions have much and urgent work to do. A big proportion of this work must be completed by the beginning of the school year, to make it possible for mistakes and all sorts of misunderstandings to be avoided.

Special reference must be made to the staff of Pioneer workers. The senior Pioneer Leader is an extremely important figure in the school. His work is more complicated than a teacher's, and it will become still more complicated in the first period of separate education.

Senior Leaders of Pioneers should be people with a knowledge of teaching, they should have initiative and strong personality. Pio-

neer Leaders for intermediate schools should have a teaching institute diploma and those for secondary schools a pedagogical institute diploma.

Separate education calls for differentiation in Pioneer work amongst boys and girls. There will be certain differences in the work done, and the way in which it is done, as between boys' and girls' schools. Boys will be attracted towards all kinds of military studies, games and technical subjects. The girls' groups will evidently show more interest in art, domestic science, and technical and military subjects of a somewhat different nature. Leaders must be prepared for all this. It is not only the Young Communist League that must take the matter in hand, but also the educational authorities and all their institutes which provide additional training for teachers.

The weakening of family influence over children in wartime gives all the more significance to activities outside school hours. The introduction of separate education for the sexes in the intermediate and secondary schools of many towns invests this activity with a special character and importance.

One recalls scenes from the life of the old prerevolutionary schools when it was considered a crime for boys and girls to play together.

Of course we cannot permit an attitude of this kind. And one of the ways to prevent even the slightest tendency towards isolation of the sexes amongst children is extensive and wise organisation of activity outside school hours.

The task of separate education is to ensure different methods in the education and handling of schoolchildren at each phase in their development. This is primarily a matter of school studies. After lessons things must be so organised that girls and boys work and relax together.

In our own schooldays in some places small boys acted the female parts in theatrical performances staged by boys' schools. This was both silly and harmful. We must arrange mixed performances, debates, lectures, concerts, and so forth. Groups for literature, history, choral singing, dramatics, and technical subjects at both boys' and girls' schools should be mixed.

During the past school year some schools were used, at certain hours, as a special kind of children's clubs. The children engaged in group activities, played, or spent their times in rooms set aside for reading. This year such forms of work will be more widespread. More parents should be brought in to help the teachers in these clubs.

In addition, the facilities for activities outside school hours must be augmented. Let the general Houses of Culture, factory and collective farm clubs, reading huts, be available for schoolchildren's use at definite times. But it is essential that their work be correctly organised. If the educational authorities, the schools and Young Communist League organise activity outside school hours on a wide scale and correctly, we will bring up the boys and girls correctly, in mutual respect and equality.

Separate education is an extremely important step in the consolidation of Soviet schools. It puts them on a new level. And the results will not be slow in showing themselves in the rate of progress of the pupils, in discipline and in the strengthening of the Soviet family.

Serebrennikov's protestation of loyalty to the Russian Fatherland is typical of thousands of statements made by Soviet women during World War II.¹ Like the author, many other women gloried in the hope of enjoying equal rights to work in mines, Arctic lumber camps, and other heavy industries.² Whenever the exhaustion of toiling in foundries or on river barges made them weary, Soviet women could comfort themselves with the happy thought that "Stalin is coming."

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[Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1943. T. Serebrennikov, *Woman in the Soviet Union*. Pp. 29-34, 42-46, 54-55, 60-64]

MOTHERHOOD AND THE FAMILY IN THE U. S. S. R.

In the dark days of tsarist rule woman was no less shorn of rights and oppressed in the family than she was in society as a whole. "Before she was married," said Stalin, discussing the former domestic status of the peasant woman, "she was regarded, so to speak, as coming last among those who worked. She worked for her father, worked her fingers to the bone, but for all that her father continually upbraided her with the words: 'I'm keeping you.' When she was married, she worked for her husband, carried out his slightest bidding, and her husband, in his turn, upbraided her with the words: 'I'm keeping you.'"

The social system which tolerated this harsh and unjust treatment of women was destroyed at its very roots by the new Soviet Power. The old sordid marital union with its material considerations, its age-old basis of hypocrisy, fraud and greed, was swept into the garbage-bin of history, and another, entirely new type of marriage took its place. The Soviet family is built up on a foundation of reciprocal love, deep mutual understanding and complete equality between husband and wife.

The psychology of Soviet people is utterly averse to the old state of affairs, in which the husband occupied, both by law and in practice, the position of head of the family. In the U. S. S. R. both partners enjoy absolute freedom to choose their own callings. Each retains separate title to such property as he or she owned before the marriage, and each side may claim its own upon divorce. As a result of these reforms there is no longer any ground in Soviet Russia for so-called marriages of convenience.

Married life in the U. S. S. R. is, in fact, founded on the principle of wholly voluntary choice. A marriage is contracted by civil registration. Consecration of marriage by religious rites is regarded as the purely personal affair of the parties concerned. Marriage registration requires only the mutual consent of each of the prospective partners. Every young Soviet citizen who is eighteen years of age is perfectly free to decide his or her own destiny. In the southern Soviet republics, the minimum marital age for girls is sixteen. The old bourgeois-feudal custom which left the choice of a girl's husband to her father or guardian has been completely eradicated. She is responsible to no one but herself for her decision, and the law categorically prohibits the exertion of any pressure on her to induce her to act against her will.

¹ The *Information Bulletin* of the Embassy of the U. S. S. R. to the United States carried many such statements. See, for example, the March 8, 1945, issue dedicated to International Women's Day.

² For the consequences of Soviet women's equal right to work, see Labin, *Stalin's Russia*, Chapter XI: The Position of Women. Also Kulski, *Soviet Regime*, pp. 349-350.

Whenever, for any specific reason, a marriage proves a failure, a divorce is granted. The procedure in divorce sharply prohibits all manner of enquiry into the intimate personal life of the applicants and is not attended by any publicity whatever.

A certain number of would-be critics and opponents of the new order did their best, of course, to discredit this revolutionary conception. These gentry predicted that the destruction of the old marriage relationships would inevitably bring in its train the undermining and collapse of the family and would foster unbridled sexual license. But they were sadly mistaken. What happened in fact was that the Soviet Power nullified precisely those provisions of the tsarist code which tended to undermine and corrupt the family by condemning women to life-long slavery and often to ill-disguised prostitution. The natural consequence of the Soviet marriage laws has been a reinvigoration of the home and the creation in Soviet Russia of a stable and entirely new type of family, based on equality and mutual love, good will and esteem.

Soviet morals are strict and pure. Having founded married life anew on a basis of full equality and free choice, the Soviet Government frowns severely on any attempt to regard the marriage contract lightly. That is why a determined struggle is being waged in the U. S. S. R. against transient marital ties, as perversions of the true aim of marriage: to create a sound, stable family.

A few years ago the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* conducted a public enquiry into the questions of the home and marriage, and thousands of young Soviet people eagerly grasped this opportunity to put forward their points of view. Some of the letters which were published in this connection may perhaps serve best of all to indicate the strength and solidity of the Soviet family.

"I can't understand people who don't want to marry," wrote one young man, a student and member of the Young Communist League. "It's all very well for a man to be a good worker and devoted to his job, but he mustn't build his life so narrowly. Society demands that he have a family and devote time to it. For myself, I love my wife and adore my boy.

"It's always a pleasure for me to go home after work and I can always find time for the family.

"Firm friendship, mutual respect and love—those are, in my opinion, the foundations of a happy life."

Here is another letter, this time written by a girl student, Olga Lukashovich:

"I am just finishing a Non-Ferrous Metals Institute. My husband is a fitter. When our daughter was born, I had to take my maternity leave from the Institute. At first it was rather difficult for me to manage the baby and the housework too. But my husband rallied round and helped as much as he possibly could.

"When my daughter got a little older, we sent her to a nursery, and the hardest part was over.

"Now, when we look back on the past, we cannot help smiling at these recollections. What makes us especially happy is knowing that we never got 'cold feet' in the face of difficulties, that now we live in comfort and get plenty of fun out of life, and are the proud possessors of a healthy, sturdy child, to boot.

"I am the best of friends with my husband. As soon as I've finished my studies and start work, he will be taking a course at the Institute himself. I'm doing my level best to finish as soon as I can in order to make this possible for him."

The happiness, buoyancy, and vitality of the Soviet family is reflected in every word of these radiant, cheerful letters.

Soviet law safeguards the rights of mother and child with the utmost care and attention. There are, indeed, few social tasks equal in importance to that of guaranteeing every woman the possibility of a happy motherhood. This is one of the fundamental features of Soviet social legislation.

In the U. S. S. R. both parents are equally responsible for the well-being of their children, whether the marriage was officially registered or not. Should either parent, however, abandon the family as a result of some rupture in the marriage relations, he or she is obliged to help defray the expenses of maintaining the children until they are eighteen years old by the regular contribution of a stated sum of money (one-fourth of all earnings if there is one child; one-third if there are two, and one-half if there are more than two). Nonpayment of alimony is punishable by imprisonment up to two years.

In spite of the full freedom of divorce in the Soviet Union, the number of applications is diminishing from year to year. Conversely, the number of marriages is steadily growing. During the first ten months of 1938, for example, over 100,000 more marriages were contracted than during the corresponding period of the preceding year. This fact speaks eloquently for the soundness of the new domestic relationships created in the U. S. S. R.

It need scarcely be pointed out that the Soviet conception of conjugal and family life is diametrically opposed to that prevailing in the fascist countries, where women are regarded socially as little better than the submissive maidservants of their husbands and politically as mere breeding machines, destined to provide the state with regular supplies of cannon fodder. In fascist Germany woman is a constant prisoner both at home and in the factory where she works. The fascist barbarians have raked up out of the muck and rubbish of the past a formula which degrades woman's social status and is an insult to her dignity and intelligence—the so-called "three K's"—*Küche, Kinder, Kleider*. This circumscription of woman's sphere of activity, worthy of the ethics of cannibalism, has been exalted by the fascists to a general canon which they have utilized in order to deprive women of all the rights of a human being.

Let us return to Soviet motherhood and the solicitude for it displayed by the Soviet Government.

In the U. S. S. R. an immense network of consultation rooms, nurseries, kindergartens and public diningrooms has been put at the disposal of the Soviet mother. The state has taken upon itself the duty of organizing and maintaining nurseries for children of from six weeks to three years of age and various pre-school institutions accommodating children from three to seven years old. This whole ramified system is rapidly developing.

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WOMAN IN THE GREAT WAR FOR THE SOVIET FATHERLAND

The war did not take Soviet woman by surprise. Without loss of time and without panic she turned unhesitatingly from her peaceful pursuits to the task of defending the fatherland.

Hundreds of thousands of women physical culture enthusiasts had taken courses to win the "Ready for Work and Defense" badge. Millions of women had long since qualified for first-aid work in special training groups. Touring, climbing, hiking, skiing, flying, parachute jumping and gliding had become the favourite occupations of hosts of Soviet girls, who had not only given examples of calculated daring and consummate athletic skill in these relatively new fields of activity but had also established a number of world records.

The trio, Valentina Grizodubova, Paulina Ossipenko and Marina Raskova, performed a flight unparalleled in the history of aviation when, in September 1938, in the plane *Rodina* (Fatherland), they covered a distance of 6,000 kilometres as the crow flies, and thereby set up the women's world record for long-distance non-stop flying. For this exploit all three received the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. Most of the world's female records for high flying have also been established by Soviet women—among them Paulina Ossipenko, one of the participants in the *Rodina* flight.

Valentina Grizodubova spoke for all her Soviet sisters when she declared:

"Should the enemy dare to violate our frontiers, the entire army of the women of our Socialist country will stand shoulder to shoulder with our army of men and answer blow with blow from air and land alike."

When the grim hour struck, Soviet woman faithfully kept her word. Today, both in the rear and at the front, she gallantly does her bit to defeat the Nazi invader.

SOVIET WOMAN—SOLDIER BEHIND THE LINES

Grave danger threatened the Soviet fatherland as a result of the wanton Nazi incursion, and, as if in answer to its challenge, the entire mighty army of women industrial and farm workers, specialists, technicians and intellectuals, marshalled its forces and prepared for action. This army grew by leaps and bounds. Almost overnight there took place a tremendous influx of women into every sphere of labour in the Soviet Union. Mothers, sisters, wives and sweethearts everywhere flocked to replace their menfolk who had left for the front. Millions of Soviet women, in unison with the whole people, rose to grapple with the fascist murderers in a struggle of life and death. These women claimed and earned by their deeds the proud title of soldiers of the Soviet rear. No effort was too great, no sacrifice too difficult for them to make in the holy cause of the people. In Moscow, Leningrad, Ivanovo, the Urals, from end to end of the great country, women made the same vow as they took up their new jobs: "Not for an hour, not for a second shall the tools of our comrades who have gone to the front lie idle!" A vast movement of support for the front swept the Land of Soviets and, in giving themselves up to this movement heart and soul, Soviet women kept their sacred pledge with loyalty and honour. The fatherland was in danger and its faithful

daughters, like true soldiers of the people, responded to its call in the front-line way.

The widespread campaign, already begun in peacetime, to multiply output and the productivity of labour now assumed colossal proportions. Thousands of women smashed the established performance standards. Z. Berezina, milling-machine mechanic, literally doubled her work on the very first day of the war by taking over the simultaneous operation of 18 machines, as opposed to the normal 9.; Nor did this increase in her performance bring about a corresponding falling off of quality; her work retained its old level of faultlessness. Inspired by the same spirit, another woman, Simnova, who works in a tool shop, is now operating no less than 20 semi-automatic milling machines. And of women workers of the type of these two there now are countless legions.

It has also become a matter of general practice to learn a number of quite different occupations and to use them as occasion may require. For instance, Young Communist League member Soboleva, has combined her speciality of forge mechanic with that of milling-machine operator. A. Babenko, P. Protassova, N. Petryakova, U. Zhogova and many other girls employed at a steel mill have supplemented their respective qualifications with others, such as those of chauffeur, press operator and crane driver.

Decided over-fulfilment of the allotted task, far from being an exception, has become the general rule. Daily outputs of double the standard rate and more are now matters of common, everyday occurrence. The entire body of women employed by a certain automobile and tractor equipment works is at present turning out a steady daily average of twice the assigned output and over. Fitters Popravka and Zanina from the Kuibyshev Boiler Works are regularly maintaining a level of five times the normal rate of production; and Vera Skvortsova, who only made her debut in the world of heavy machine construction after the outbreak of the war when she entered an electric welding factory, is, nevertheless, already delivering three standards of output a day.

The unforgettable words of the People's Commissar for Defence, J. Stalin: "We can and we must sweep the Hitlerite scum from our Soviet soil," gave rise to a new series of labour victories among the working masses of the U. S. S. R., and brought to life a new and astounding movement—the movement of 'thousanders,' *i. e.*, workers who fulfil the required daily output 1,000 percent or more. In the huge Orjonikidze Works, near Cheliabinsk, the first woman thousander—grinding-machine operator A. Aristova—is registering 1,450 percent of the required daily output. The armature winder Raissa Kashymova, working in the Urals, has raised the productivity of her labour up to thirty times the assigned output per shift! Rationalization of the various technical processes involved invariably lies at the root of these amazing performances. Women Stakhanovites not only display exemplary grit and endurance but are daring and brilliant innovators in the field of methods of production.

The general mobilization of the men left serious gaps in production personnel, particularly in those branches of heavy industry which had formerly been regarded as the exclusive preserves of male workers. These professions, moreover, were precisely those which were most essential to the national defence. The situation was especially

serious in the metallurgical, coal and oil industries. But the women who were left behind have risen to the occasion. A huge influx of patriotic Soviet women into the mines, smelting works, and oilfields has taken place. Everywhere women have been attending rapid training courses preparing them for work in these spheres of industry. The mass technical training of women to equip them for highly specialized jobs is in full progress.

The metal workers left for the front, cheered by the words of their womenfolk which still rang in their ears: "Come back when you've won the war! Meanwhile, there'll be no shortage of metal. Our hands may be small, but they know how to work. The metal we make will be tough—as the fascists will find out to their sorrow." And the women are gloriously keeping their word. The foundries, rolling mills, and smelting works of the U. S. S. R. have been kept functioning at full pressure since the very beginning of the war by the tireless efforts of their new women workers.

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SOVIET WOMEN—COMRADES IN ARMS OF THE HEROIC RED ARMY MEN

Thousands upon thousands of patriotic Soviet women, not content with merely working in the rear, could not rest until they had taken their places side by side with their husbands and brothers in the front line, sharing all the dangers of their life and death struggle with the atrocious enemy.

The war slogan: "Every woman without exception must know how to give first aid" is becoming a reality. Scores and hundreds of thousands of girls have joined first-aid units and taken nurses' courses. Many of them have been working at the front since the very first days of the war. The names of these heroines will be recorded for future generations in the history of the struggle of the Soviet peoples against the monster of fascism.

Hundreds of examples could be given to illustrate the amazing tenacity and courage and the supreme devotion to duty displayed by our stretcher bearers, nurses, and women doctors in their indefatigable efforts to save the lives of the wounded.

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It is above all in the guerilla movement, the struggle waged relentlessly and unremittingly in the German rear, that Soviet woman has achieved her loftiest feats of heroism. The guerilla movement is fraught with exceptional risk and danger. In spite of this it has assumed colossal proportions in the regions temporarily occupied by the Germans. Vast numbers of Soviet citizens fled from the towns and villages occupied by the fascists only to continue the struggle from new bases in the forests and boundless steppes of their native country.

Just as in those never-to-be-forgotten days of the Civil War, from 1918-20, so now women are performing the duties of scouts, stretcher bearers, and nurses in the guerilla units, providing them with equipment and provisions and often fighting shoulder to shoulder with the men as simple rank-and-file soldiers.

The fame of Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya will never die. Before the war Zoya was a senior at a Moscow high school. She was eighteen years old when she joined her guerilla unit, in which she bore the assumed name of Tanya. Towards the end of January 1942, in the village of Petrishchevo, she fell into the clutches of the Germans. Since she refused to speak when interrogated, the fascist monsters subjected her to fiendish tortures. In spite of the bitter frost the Nazis drove her through the village naked but for her chemise, her twisted hands securely tied behind her back. They beat her mercilessly, mutilated and burned her. But the most frightful torments could not bend her will. Not a single word of information could they wring out of her. Tanya went calmly and bravely to her death. Unforgettable and full of courage were her last words, addressed to the collective farm workers herded together at the place of her execution. "Comrades! Why are you looking so downcast? Be brave, fight! Give it to the Germans, burn them out, hound them to death! I am not afraid of dying, comrades. It is a great thing to die for one's people * * *! Farewell, comrades! Fight on, don't be afraid! Stalin is with us! Stalin is coming!"

Tears welled from the eyes of the farmers standing round. The name of Tanya will be cherished for endless ages in the hearts of her compatriots.

Guerilla fighter Alexandra Dreyman, from the town of Uvarovo, Moscow Region, was captured by the Germans. In their efforts to force her to disclose the whereabouts of her guerilla unit, the fascists tortured her savagely and killed her newly born son right before her eyes. But Alexandra Dreyman, true patriot that she was, did not betray her comrades by one single word.

Many of our women guerillas have gone unflinchingly to their death in the cause of the people, but their places are at once filled by fresh thousands of Soviet heroines, ready and eager to give their all for the sake of final victory.

The women of our Soviet Land are the worthy comrades in arms of our gallant Red Army men. It is scarcely necessary to point out that the reports disseminated by the fascist press to the effect that for lack of men whole battalions of women fight on the Soviet side are utterly baseless. German propaganda has finally entangled itself in a meshwork of lies and its deliberate provocations will deceive no one. The fact that on the Soviet side there is no dearth of men fit for active service is amply demonstrated by the recent glorious offensive of the Red Army. No, there are no battalions of women in our fighting forces. But there is something far greater: the might army of Soviet women, the nation's countless hosts of mothers, daughters, and sisters, who are ready at a moment's notice to come to the defence of their fatherland—the countless women army surgeons, ambulance workers, nurses, and firemen; the women liaison workers, machine-gunners, snipers, scouts, and guerilla fighters; the women workers and farmers toiling in the rear. And these women of the Soviet Land, from the first to the last, are ready to shoulder arms, if need be, to achieve victory. Herein lies the secret of their indomitable strength.

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SOVIET WOMAN AND THE UNITED ANTI-FASCIST FRONT OF FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLES

The women of the Soviet Union are fighting not for themselves alone, not solely for their own families and their own country. They are fighting for the sake of the women of the whole world, fighting to save civilization from fascist barbarism and to win a life of happiness and sunshine for all humanity. Soviet womanhood is fighting its battle with all the ardour of its burning patriotism; and at the same time it is an ardent champion of and militant participant in the united front of freedom-loving nations against Nazi tyranny.

Death, slavery, and desolation rule in every country where fascism has established its dominion. The shadow of Hitler's bombers has darkened the towns and villages of England, France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Greece, and Yugoslavia. Hitler is literally exterminating vast masses of the population in the Slavonic countries. At Hitler's command the German soldiers are shooting down innumerable defenceless women, children and aged people.

The women of the freedom-loving peoples know that only by wiping out Hitler and his gang, only by smashing fascism can they win peace and happiness. The women of England, America, and China, together with the women of all the nations trampled underfoot by the jackboot of Hitlerism, have already taken their places in the general scheme of the anti-fascist fight.

But at the present moment, when the conflict has entered its decisive phase, it is essential for women to multiply their efforts a thousandfold and to achieve unity of action throughout the democratic world.

On May 10, 1942, in Moscow, there took place a great all-Union rally of Soviet women participants in the present war. The assembly addressed the following appeal to the women of the whole world:

"Women of England, America, and all freedom-loving countries! Today as never before we must unite our efforts * * * We call upon you to join our ranks in the hour of decisive battles against bloodthirsty Hitlerism. Remember that on our battlefields your future, too, is being decided.

"Let those who desire to live in peace help in the war against fascism. Let those who want their children to be happy annihilate the murderers of children.

"More aeroplanes, tanks, and guns! More bombs and shells to hurl upon the heads of the Hitlerite monsters which have set out to devour the whole of Europe, the entire world!

"Women in the countries occupied by the Nazis! Shoulder your rifles, strap on your grenades! The hour is drawing nigh when the shameful fetters will be removed from your native towns and villages. If you want this hour to come tomorrow, act today, like the women guerilla fighters in the Soviet districts temporarily seized by the Germans. Do all the harm you can to the Hitlerite scoundrels at every step! Blow up the German stores and railway tracks; cut their communications; hamper the work of the factories and mills under German control. Resist the fascist looting. Do not let your fathers, husbands, or sons join Hitler's robber army!

"Women of Germany, can you not see what is in store for Germany tomorrow if that criminal Hitler is allowed to remain at the helm

today? Fight to overthrow the Hitler-Göring clique of adventurers! Hold up troop trains destined for the front; sabotage war production!

"Women throughout the world! Forward to the final defeat of the Hitler gang! Let all who hope for victory help to achieve it! Victory does not come of itself; it must be fought for!

"Strengthen the united anti-fascist women's front all over the world!"

In the great war of liberation against fascist tyranny, the women of the Land of Soviets and of the entire world, together with the whole of the Soviet peoples and of all freedom-loving peoples on earth, will win through to victory!

In 1943, the hated Cossacks who had been the czar's right arm in repressing revolutionaries were honored with very special distinctions. The reason for this revised Bolshevik opinion of the Cossacks was simple: they now had a new commander-in-chief, Stalin. Actually, the Cossacks had begun to return to favor in the middle thirties. Nobody ever doubted that the Cossacks were fierce fighters. Once they had yielded in all important matters to Stalin's monolithic will, they could prove themselves very useful against Hitler's troops. Restoration of their traditional customs helped in no small way to rekindle the fire of Russian patriotism.

The story of the Cossacks has been colorfully told by Maurice Hindus.¹ In his more recent *Crisis in the Kremlin*, Hindus made a more realistic appraisal of the Soviet glorification of Cossack leaders such as Bogdan Khmelnitsky, who in his day directed the slaughter of 300,000 Jews.² In *Crisis*, Hindus acknowledged that he had committed his "share of errors" with regard to the history of Soviet Russia.³ Without question, his latest work makes amends for many of the "errors" contained in his long series of accounts of life in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, even *Crisis* includes some unjustifiable moments of wishful thinking.

EXHIBIT No. 76

[London, Press Department of the Soviet Embassy. *Soviet War News*, October 6, 1943. Pp. 2, 4]

An Army 499 Years Old

WHO ARE THE COSSACKS?

By Lieutenant-Colonel Hadji Murat Muguyev of the Guards

In old Russia the Tsars used to send single soldiers, without families, to guard the frontiers. These vanguards of the Moscow army were joined in their borderland settlements by runaway serfs, freedom-loving peasant dissenters persecuted by the church, audacious highwaymen—in fact, everyone who was hard pressed by the Tsarist administration.

There was room for everyone on the borderlands. Everyone found something to do and a place to do it. Restless rebellious men went to the frontiers and settled free and unhampered in the Cossack detachments. Whole villages and hamlets, complete with their womenfolk and children, made the big trek.

That was how the Cossack villages were founded along the Don, Ural, and great Siberian rivers. That is how the free Cossackdom of the Don, Ural, and Siberian forces came to be.

¹ Maurice Hindus, *The Cossacks: The Story of a Warrior People*, New York, Doubleday, Doran, 194.

² Maurice Hindus, *Crisis in the Kremlin*, New York, Doubleday, 1953, p. 218.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

It is difficult to say just when the Cossacks as such first appeared. Russian chroniclers mention them for the first time in 1444. And so next year, 1944, will mark the five hundredth anniversary of the existence of the Cossacks, and that will be a holiday not only for our Soviet cavalry, but for the whole Red Army and all the people of the U. S. S. R.

QUINCENTENARY YEAR

The Caucasian Cossack forces and those of the Terek and the Kuban had a different origin. The Caucasian Cossacks came originally from Zaporozhye, on the Dnieper. Those who live in the Kuban Valley are descendants of Cossacks who came from "Zaporozhye Sech," or the Free Cossacks' Camp, which was abolished by the Empress Catherine II at the end of the eighteenth century. The Terek Cossacks are descended partly from the state serfs who settled along the Terek, and were proclaimed Cossacks by Government decree, and partly from a large group of Cossack "old believers," who left the Urals after the failure of Pugachev's rebellion.

Detachments of soldiers who arrived from Russia to reinforce the Caucasian "line" were renamed "Line Cossacks," that is to say, dwellers on the frontier, by decree of the Empress Catherine.

Living on the frontier in a permanent state of military alertness, the Cossacks acquired the experience and habits of professional soldiers. They were splendid horsemen, fearless trackers, hunters, and soldiers who could sense the approach of an enemy by the quivering of rushes, the crackling of a twig, or the flight of a bird. The Caucasian mountains and foothills became their native land.

From their enemy, who matched them in agility and courage, they learned the cautious and original tactics of mountain and forest warfare.

SYNONYM FOR BRAVERY

The Russian people have always treated the Cossacks and their fighting past with respect and pride. "Cossack" has always been a synonym for fearless bravery, military resourcefulness, and endurance. Russian writers and artists have found many themes in the life of these militant people. Pushkin and Lermontov, Bestuzhev and Davydov, Maikov and Tyutchev, Tolstoy and Sholokhov wrote about the Cossacks, this vivid, original and at the same time deeply national element of Russian history.

Where has the Russian Cossack not been? In what river has the Cossack horse not drunk? Paris in 1814 saw the Cossacks riding down her streets. The names of Cossack generals—Platov, the "whirlwind ataman" as the Cossacks called him, Baklanov, Vlassov—were known to the whole world. The Cossacks won an undying glory at Borodino. On Kutuzov's order, Platov's corps forded the Voina river above the village of Bezzubovo, outflanked the enemy and cut into his columns. This surprise attack upset Napoleon's plans and gave Kutuzov time to regroup his reserves.

Platov's regiments battered Napoleon's retreating troops at Gorodnya, Medyn, Vyazma. Near Smolensk the Cossacks slashed the Italian viceroy's corps, utterly routed the troops under Napoleon's best marshal, Ney, and captured the German cavalry brigade under General Hugo von Normann. Daring cavalry charges at Leipzig,

Dresden, and Kulm, and near the small French village of Fer Champenoise, spread the fame of the wonderful Russian Cossack warriors throughout the world. In the Don valley there is a village named Fer Champenoise in honour of the Don Cossacks' astounding charge at the Prince of Wurtemberg's corps.

Chernyshev's Cossacks took the keys of Berlin from the hands of the terrified burgomaster.

IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

During the first World War the Cossacks revived the military splendour of their ancestors. The capture of a German heavy artillery battalion by five squadrons of the 2nd Labinsky Cossack Regiment was a classic example of a cavalry attack against a well-defended and vigilantly guarded enemy position. The attack by the Don brigade and the capture of the headquarters of General von Botmer's 19th Army Corps at Gorlitsa and the capture of 3,500 Austrians by a single Cossack regiment were typical examples of Cossack fury in battle, selfless bravery, and precise calculation.

Although trench warfare reduced the scope of cavalry action, the Russian cavalry continued to show all the sceptics that the cavalry still had a considerable part to play in modern war. The raid made by General Baratov's 1st Caucasian Cossack Division into the rear of the Turkish army, the crossing of the Klych-Kithadug and Mergemir passes, the winter fighting at Sarykamysh and, lastly, the junction of the Russian troops with the Allies are all part of the epic of the Russian cavalry. Fighting their way over hundreds of miles of mountains and waterless steppe, the Cossack squadron of the 1st Uman Regiment reached Bagdad at the appointed time and joined the British cavalry units sent to meet them.

The names of Podtelkov, Krivoslykov, Kuzheyev, and Mironenko, who gave their lives for the Soviet power and for the people, will live for ever. Cossack soldiers who joined the Red detachments in the days of the Civil War made up the nucleus of Budyonny's world-famous cavalry army.

DEFENDING THE YOUNG REPUBLIC

The 1st Cavalry Army, created and directed by Stalin, was a perfect instrument of victory. The battles at Tsaritsyn, the routing of Pokrovsky and Ulagay's corps at Velikoknyazheskaya, the battle at Voronezh, the capture of Rostov, the annihilation of General Pavlov's Don Army at Yegoriyik, the capture of Tikhoretskaya, the break-through of the Polish front at Skvira, the routing of the Polish Uhlan divisions at Zhitomir, the fighting in northern Tauria, the capture of Zehongar are all glories of the Soviet Cossack cavalymen who defended the young republic from its many enemies.

During the years of peaceful construction the Soviet cavalry changed, along with the entire Red Army. New weapons appeared. But Stalin never forgot the importance of the cavalry, and was confident that the Soviet cavalymen would yet prove themselves in the defence of their country.

June 22, 1941. : : . Every Cossack capable of bearing arms rose to fight the enemy. The great shades of the Cossack heroes came to life: Golovaty, Krukovsky, Baklanov, Piatov. Grey-whiskered

Cossacks who had sabred Wilhelm's soldiers mounted horses alongside their sons.

An enemy group pushed ahead and captured the town of Balta: mobile units advancing through the plains reached the town of Pervomaisk. The 2nd Cavalry Corps was sent to close the cap. Covering over sixty roadless miles and sweeping the enemy's screen units from their path, the Cossacks came out on the German flank and wiped out the German 293rd and 297th Infantry Divisions and 19th Mechanised Division. Pursuing the routed enemy, they captured Balta and destroyed the headquarters and transports of the German group stationed there.

Somewhat later the same corps successfully carried out the Shtepovka operation. In December 1941, under its new name, the 1st Guards Corps, it battered Guderian's tank divisions at Moscow.

The Cossacks operated so devastatingly at the German rear communications that as far back as 1941 the German High Command issued an order demanding "the encirclement and complete annihilation of the Cossack corps which broke into the rear."

The reference was to General Dovator's famous raid. This exploit so petrified the Germans that it was enough for one scared Fritz to shout "Cossacks!" for whole enemy battalions to scatter.

Here is a paragraph from the diary of a German lieutenant, Otto Hatzel, Commander of the 2nd Company, 94th Mountain Sapper Battalion:

"The Don and Kuban Cossacks are against us. My father, who fought them in 1915, told me a lot about them, but his horrible stories are nothing compared to the reality. These are real Scythians, who do not fear death. Yesterday they attacked an S. S. battalion from the march and slashed them up badly. The sight of the sabre-cut bodies was simply horrifying. Today my company was sent to help Lieutenant Hauff's infantry company, which was surrounded by Cossacks, but when we got to the river and began to cross the Cossacks charged at us. They fell on us like wild beasts and began to slash right and left. My soldiers ran away: those who couldn't move fast enough were killed. I was knocked down by a horse. My knee was broken. I crawled to the reeds and hid there. Only eleven men escaped of the entire company."

The action of Kirichenko's Cossack guardsmen at Kushchevskaya railway station was a model operation, in which a small cavalry force utterly routed a numerically superior enemy. The Cossacks dismounted and pretended to retreat. The Germans were decoyed into an ambush, forgot themselves in pursuing the retreating Cossacks, and bared their flank. The Cossacks attacked. Over 1,300 Germans were sabred to death: the rest fled in panic.

The recent action of Lieutenant General Kirichenko's Guards corps at Taganrog, and the daring raid into the German rear, carried out by Major General Kryukov's 2nd Cavalry Corps of Guards, which forced the Desna, are evidence that our cavalry is capable of solving independently extensive operational and tactical tasks.

We are proud to say that our cavalry is the best in the world. It has been glorious for many generations. Led by Stalin, the Don, Kuban, and Terek Cossacks will astound the whole world.

The first of the following exhibits was reprinted in London from the Soviet journal, *War and the Working Class*. It reviewed the accomplishments of the October 1943 Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers preparatory to the Teheran meeting of Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt. From the Soviet point of view, the Moscow Conference was termed a success. Most important of all, it cleared the way for intensified military action against Germany. It also offered satisfactory solutions to the problems of Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and China. While it left the Turkish situation clouded, it held promise for better things in Italy. To hear Soviet propaganda organs tell it, the sole desire of the Bolshevik regime was to cooperate in the establishment of a worldwide organization capable of maintaining lasting peace. At the same time, loyal Communists were warned that the western democracies had not proved themselves trustworthy allies after World War I.

Exhibit No. 78 consists of an *Izvestia* editorial on the results of the November 1943 Teheran Conference held "at the summit"—i. e., at a meeting of Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt. Prospects for a "long period of postwar cooperation" looked bright, provided that the western democracies would not doublecross the U. S. S. R. in its plans to peacefully liberate oppressed nations.¹ Most interesting was William Z. Foster's 1952 comments upon Earl Browder's "revisionist" misconception of the achievements of the Teheran Conference. In the first place, Browder was stupid enough to suppose that President Roosevelt really meant to keep his promises to Stalin.² To make matters worse, Browder concluded that Soviet socialism and capitalism could peacefully collaborate in the postwar role. He further failed to understand the necessity for the "peaceful liberation" of oppressed countries by the might of the Red Army.³ Such "idyllic opportunism" constituted nothing better than an inexcusable Browderite revival of "American exceptionalism."⁴ Genuine Communists like Foster knew all along that Soviet socialism and American capitalism were hopelessly incompatible.

EXHIBIT No. 77

[London, *Soviet War News Weekly*. November 18, 1943, p. 4]

RESULTS OF THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

The Moscow Conference of the Foreign Secretaries of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union attracted the attention of the world to a far greater extent than many other meetings between the men responsible for the foreign policies of the United Nations.

That is quite natural. The Moscow Conference was the first meeting between authoritative representatives of all three leading Allied Powers within the anti-Hitler coalition of the freedom-loving nations. It took place at a stage in the struggle against Hitler Germany and her Allies when the Red Army's splendid victories and the successful operations of the Anglo-American countries had created every opportunity for the overcoming of the enemy's resistance by the joint efforts of the Allies.

The importance of the good results achieved at the Moscow Conference is the more noteworthy because the problems before the Conference were by no means easy. The present stage of the war called for unambiguous decisions both as regards the further prosecution of the war and the establishment of a strong postwar order that would protect the peace-loving people from the menace of aggression.

The many difficulties in the way of reaching such decisions are plain for all to see. The Soviet public and press and the press of our Allies are all fully aware of the magnitude of the tasks facing the

¹ David J. Dallin, *The Big Three: The United States, Britain, Russia*, New Haven, Yale University Press' 1945, pp. 265-266, 273-274.

² Foster, *History of CPUSA*, p. 413.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 422-423.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 425-426.

Conference. At the same time, some voices expressing scepticism as to the prospects of the Moscow Conference had made themselves heard in the current foreign press and in American publications.

The Moscow Conference, by facing the difficulties involved in the problems confronting it, has upset the calculations of the enemy and his satellites.

It is natural that the Conference should have centred its attention above all on the urgent problems of the prosecution of the war and also on the most immediate problems of the postwar period. The documents drawn up as a result of the Conference proceedings quite clearly revealed the firm determination of the peoples of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States of America to march side by side in the solving of the problems confronting them in the war and after its termination.

SHORTENING THE WAR

As we had occasion to point out just before the Moscow Conference, the basis for further consolidating the friendly cooperation among the three Powers both during and after the war is first and foremost the amalgamation of their war efforts with a view to shortening this protracted war.

This task of shortening the war, raised with understandable persistence by the Soviet public, has now, as a result of the proceedings of the Moscow Conference, received official recognition from the Governments of the Allied Countries. At the Moscow Conference the Governments of the three countries, expressing the will of their peoples, unanimously recognised their prime aim as being to hasten the termination of the war.

It is to be expected that the definite military operations with regard to which, as the communique on the Conference says, decisions have been taken and which are already being prepared, will frustrate Hitler's last expectations, his hope of protracting the war.

What matters now is to adopt in practice the measures recognised as of prime and paramount importance. What matters now is to give effect to the decisions adopted, the significance and value of which will be determined by the manner, thoroughness and speed of their practical application.

This is very well realised by the peoples of all the countries which have been forced by Hitler's brutal tyranny to drain the bitter cup of suffering and humiliation. It is exceedingly important that the obligations undertaken by our Allies and now reaffirmed at the Moscow Conference should be discharged within the proper time.

Considerable importance will attach to the decision of certain States which have so far adhered to a policy of neutrality, as has, for example, been the case with Turkey. The transition of such neutral States to direct support of the anti-Hitler coalition in its struggle against German Fascism, the enemy of all the freedom-loving peoples, the enemy whose strength has now already been undermined, will be a factor of considerable importance in reducing the duration of the war.

The Moscow Conference illustrated the unanimous desire of the peoples of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States to continue their present close collaboration after the war, with a view to ensuring lasting peace and security for all the peace-loving nations.

The declaration on general security, in which the Chinese Government joined while the Conference was still in session, maps out the lines for the solution of the world security problem. This declaration of the four Powers, while it carries further the principles of a number of similar international documents published in the course of the war, compares favourably with them in that for the first time it gives concrete expression to the idea of a directing international nucleus as embodied in the four leading world Powers, a factor of importance both for the defeat of the common enemy of the freedom-loving nations and for the whole subsequent course of international development, and particularly for rallying all the peace-loving states, large and small, in the interests of their national security and universal peace.

A point of special note is the decision to establish an international organisation after the war with membership open to all peace-loving States, large and small. This organisation will undoubtedly have to learn from the history of the decades preceding the war, when the League of Nations failed as an instrument of peace and security, because of the lack of unity in the policy of the leading peace-loving Powers threw open the doors to Fascist aggression.

The history of the period between world wars No. 1 and No. 2 indicates how great are the difficulties in the way of ensuring lasting peace in Europe. On the other hand, the experience of the present war and the establishment of the anti-Hitler coalition proves that a basis exists for far-reaching cooperation between the three great democratic Powers, the U. S. A., Great Britain, and the Soviet Union.

The examination of European problems at the Moscow Conference of representatives of the Soviet Union, the U. S. A., and Great Britain fully revealed the importance of such far-reaching cooperation between these three great Powers. One of the undesirable features of the earlier period—the aloofness of the U. S. A. in European affairs—is now a thing of the past. The decisions adopted in common by the three Allies show that they are fully alive to the responsibility for establishing an enduring postwar order, which the whole path of historical development has imposed on these countries.

The principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States joining the international organisation, a principle contained in the declaration, contrasts with the pernicious attempts of the Hitlerites and their hangers-on to sow distrust for the great peace-loving Powers among the States of small and medium size.

As is generally known, particular zeal was displayed in this respect in the reactionary circles of Polish emigres, who are more and more palpably revealing their patent isolation from their people. It is in these circles that various artificial plans for federations in central and eastern Europe are being elaborated.

These plans envisage the establishment of one or another permanent association of States by the emigre governments, which in most cases, lack proper contact with their peoples. Furthermore, they are uniting into the same federation countries which have suffered at the hands of the Hitlerite marauders and countries which are the Hitlerites' accessories in brigandage.

Another thing that is quite clear is that in the form of such federations it is intended to revive the policy of the notorious "Cordon Sanitaire," directed against the Soviet Union. The perniciousness of encouraging such artificial policies, which may violate the true

desire of the sovereign peoples by imposing on them various political combinations, is self-evident.

As to the Soviet Union and its relations with the other countries of Europe, here definite progress is to be recorded. It is generally known that during the past few months preparations have been under way for concluding a Soviet-Czechoslovakian Treaty of Mutual Assistance on the pattern of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty. The obstacles to the conclusion of this Treaty, of which our readers are aware, have all been obviated and Dr. Benes, President of the Czechoslovakian Republic, is expected to visit Moscow shortly in order to sign a treaty with the Soviet Union.

DEMOCRACY IN ITALY

The principles of establishing democracy in Italy, proclaimed in Moscow on behalf of Great Britain, the U. S. A., and the Soviet Union, must be made the basis for regenerating the Italian people's political life; they also embody the common position of the three Governments with regard to any other similar situation.

The Declaration regarding Austria is a blow to Hitler Germany. It demonstrates the determination of the Allied Powers to stamp out all the results of Hitlerite aggression.

The success of the Moscow Conference has increased the dismay and consternation in the enemy camp. On the eve of the Conference the Hitlerites reiterated with stolid monotony that it was bound to fall through and foretold all kinds of differences in the Allied camp.

Now that the Conference has proved a success, they are crying that in Moscow the Allies surrendered Europe to the Bolsheviks. This fabrication is not merely false, it is so threadbare that it cannot serve even to cover the retreat in the face of facts which leave Hitler's foolish propaganda powerless. The Hitlerites are evidently too dismayed to be capable of thinking up anything new.

The Conference of the three Foreign Secretaries took place in Moscow. It was held on the eve of the 26th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power. That, of course, is a mere coincidence, but it is profoundly symbolic nevertheless, since the moment Soviet power came into being all the forces of international piracy and aggression and the abettors of these forces in the countries that were later to become the aggressors' victims, set out to isolate the Soviet Union internationally.

From the very moment of its establishment, the great Soviet Power has been an indomitable bulwark of peace among the nations. After Hitler Germany's perfidious assault the Soviet Union proved to be a wall of steel against which the Hitlerite intruder in vain beat his head.

Our country has not only held its own in an ordeal the strain of which no other country in the world could have stood, but has dealt the enemy blows which have already undermined the Hitlerite war machine built up by Germany in the bid for world domination, and which make it quite feasible for the joint forces of the Allies to defeat the enemy at no distant date.

The Moscow Conference was the natural outcome of the whole course of development of the struggle of the three great Powers heading the anti-Hitler coalition. Its decisions enable the Allied Powers to secure uniformity of policy in the major problems of the

war in Europe, especially the problem of reducing the duration of that war and also to work out certain guiding principles of policy of the post-war period with a view to paving the way to the establishment of lasting peace and general security.

It would be a mistake to belittle the difficulties inevitably arising in the solution of these problems but these difficulties are such as can be overcome, and the guarantee of this is the success of the Moscow Conference of representatives of the three leading Powers of the world.

EXHIBIT No. 78

[London, Press Department of the Soviet Embassy. *Soviet War News*, December 8, 1943. Pp. 1, 4]

A HISTORIC MEETING

"Izvestia" writes:

Agreements of colossal importance were reached between the U. S. S. R., the U. S. A., and Great Britain at the Teheran Conference of the leaders of the three Allied Powers. The documents of the conference, published today, are an eloquent proof that the meeting between Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill, and the decisions which they took, have a historic significance for the fate of the whole world.

During the war there have been several meetings and conferences of the leading political and military personalities of the great democratic countries which are heading the struggle of the United Nations against Hitlerite Germany and its vassals. These meetings have played a most important role in the history of the struggle of the peoples for liberation. They showed a common understanding of aims and tasks, and an accord of mind and views. The course of the war has dictated the necessity for joint operations on an ever greater scale, and for better understanding and good will between the three greatest powers of the world, the U. S. A., the U. S. S. R., and Great Britain, and for still closer collaboration.

A war against a common enemy has always demonstrated the necessity for the fullest coordination of actions and agreement as to military operations. It is precisely in this direction that the relations between the members of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition are developing.

The blows of the Red Army, both last year and this year, have been supported by the military operations of our Allies in North Africa, in the Mediterranean basin, and in Southern Italy. The successes of the Red Army and of Allied arms have speeded up the course of the war, they have still further strengthened the military strategy of the United Nations, and have brought nearer the victory over Hitlerite Germany.

The recent Moscow Conference of the three Ministers for Foreign Affairs showed convincingly that the firm alliance created between the U. S. A., the U. S. S. R., and Great Britain can solve the most complex tasks during the war and for the organisation of peace.

Now, in the course of the common struggle, this collaboration has reached the point when the President of the U. S. A., the leader of the

peoples of the U. S. S. R., and the head of the British Government have gathered together for the first time for the solution of the basic problems of war and peace. For four days, at a roundtable meeting, the most important statesmen of our time got together, exchanged views, and took decisions.

They achieved complete agreement on the questions relating to the conduct of the war and on the most important problems of the postwar world order. All the peace-loving peoples awaited this meeting with hope. Our enemies were terrified of such a meeting.

The conference discussed the tasks of waging the war against Germany as well as several very important political questions. The conference adopted a declaration on the joint conduct of the war against Germany and on postwar collaboration between the Three Powers, and also a declaration on Iran. The common understanding which has been attained between the leaders of the Three Powers, in the words of the declaration, "guarantee that victory will be ours."

As is well known, the material resources and potentialities of the United States of America, the U. S. S. R., and Great Britain, from the very beginning of the war gave a firm foundation for the achievement of victory over the enemy. Everything depended on the full coordination of these possibilities, on the full military use of these resources.

Almost on the eve of the Teheran meeting, Stalin stated in his report of November 6, 1943:

"The victories of the Red Army have had results and consequences far beyond the limits of the Soviet-German front. They have changed the whole further course of the world war and acquired great international significance. The victory of the Allied countries over the common enemy has come nearer. . . . Now the united countries are filled with determination to strike joint blows against the enemy which will result in final victory over him."

The confidence so clearly expressed here found its brilliant confirmation at Teheran. The leaders of the three powers announce in their joint declaration: "We have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of the operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south."

This decision is the greatest triumph of the principle of coordinated coalition strategy against the common enemy. The realisation of this principle could justly be considered the most difficult of all the tasks involved in the waging of a common struggle. Now the war staffs of the Allies have worked out plans for decisive operations, have come to an agreement as to their scope and timing, and the leaders of the three powers have approved these plans and their timing.

The time of the decisive battles has been fixed. This refers to the general offensive against Germany from the east, the west, and the south, and to the final defeat and destruction of the German Armed Forces.

At this conference the strength of the enemy was fully weighed, after which the leaders of the three greatest armies of the world, working and collaborating with their most important military authorities, declared: "No power on earth can prevent our destroying the

German Armies on land, their U-boats by sea, and their war plants from the air. Our attacks will be relentless and increasing."

It is with the greatest satisfaction that all the peace-loving peoples will greet the confirmation of the joint policy of the Allies and the solemn declaration of the President of the United States, the Premier of the Soviet Union and the Prime Minister of Great Britain: "We expressed our determination that our nations shall work together in war and in the peace that will follow."

In recent times, numerous facts of international life testify that the United States of America, the U. S. S. R., and Great Britain, together with the other United Nations, are prepared to take responsibility for the realisation of a peace that will give full satisfaction to the overwhelming mass of the peoples of the world.

The decision in this respect taken by the conference of the Three Powers at Teheran was a most important and far-reaching historical step. The leaders of the Three Powers express their confidence that the existing cooperation between the Allies will guarantee an enduring peace. The declaration solemnly lays down that an enduring peace is one which will "banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations."

Millions of people will read these words with the deepest emotion. They involve the fate of whole human generations.

A consciousness of high responsibility for the future inspired the leaders of the great democratic nations in making their decisions. There is no doubt that the path towards the creation of an enduring peace lies through the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, and the declaration of the Three Powers announces that they are striving for such cooperation.

The declaration of the Three Powers on Iran, made at the Teheran Conference, is a brilliant example of such cooperation among the Allied Nations. This declaration is an acknowledgement by the Allied Nations of the significance of the help which Iran gave in the prosecution of the war against the common enemy, and also acknowledges the necessity for the Allies to afford further economic assistance to the Iranian people. It also announces the determination of the Allied Nations to ensure the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran.

Stalin said recently: "Relations among the Allies and the fighting partnership of their armies far from weakening have, contrary to the expectations of the enemy, become stronger and more consolidated." The great personalities of our epoch met and had an opportunity of making personal contact at Teheran. They bear on their shoulders the greatest weight of cares and responsibilities for the fate and future of their peoples and of all the peoples of the world.

In Teheran, Mr. Roosevelt and Stalin met for the first time. A personal meeting between Mr. Churchill and Stalin had taken place previously during the visit of the British Prime Minister to Moscow, but this was the first time that all the three leaders had the opportunity of carrying out conversations together. Having undertaken the long journey from their capitals to be present at this meeting, the leaders of the three countries carried on their conferences in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding and friendly agreement.

The feeling of increased friendship, common understanding, and close cooperation was expressed in the very powerful final declaration

of the leaders of the Three Powers: "We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit and in purpose."

The historic meeting in Teheran, which was inspired by the firm will and determination of the Allies, will in the very near future lead to crushing blows that will put an end to the bloody tyranny of Fascism and open for mankind the road to a long period of peaceful cooperation. The declaration of the leaders of the Three Powers will have a tremendous positive influence on the future of the whole of mankind.

The decisions, at the foot of which the Soviet people see the signature of their great leader, inspire feelings of the deepest satisfaction, and they will be supported by the whole will and strength of the peoples of the U. S. S. R. The peace-loving peoples of the world greet the decisions of the conference of the leaders of the Three Allied Powers with deep satisfaction. The putting into effect of these decisions will bring to mankind liberation from the Hitlerite tyranny and long years of enduring peace.

In the early years of the Bolshevik revolution, many steps were taken to destroy the "bourgeois" institution of marriage. Among them may be counted non-registration of marriage or, when it was requested, registration without any ceremony in a neglected room, post-card divorces for a few kopecks, abolition of laws against bigamy and incest, state-subsidized abortion for no reason at all, etc.¹ Beginning in 1935, the Soviet Government started to prosecute for rape men who "changed their wives as gloves" by registering a marriage one day and a divorce the next.² In the same year, the fact of divorce had to be entered on identification cards which Soviet citizens needed for work, rations, travel, etc. *Izvestia* also advised every prospective bride to demand proof that her husband-to-be was not a "fluttering scoundrel." By the decree of June 27, 1936, freedom of abortion was declared abolished (this section, exhibit No. 52).

Toward the end of World War II, an even stricter edict was issued. It explicitly aimed at encouraging the rearing of large families by granting cash benefits for each additional child, by awarding special decorations to mothers of large families, and by imposing higher taxes upon bachelors and parents with few children. This July 8, 1944, edict also made the obtaining of a divorce both costly and difficult.³ While the Soviet Government emphatically discouraged extra-marital relations, it did extend cash benefits to unwed mothers who took care of their children. Prostitution without pregnancy was regarded as an unproductive occupation. Such irresponsible women could expect proper reeducation in a corrective labor camp. Since the end of World War II, the tendency has been to interpret the marriage and family laws even more strictly. Free love and easy divorce are ridiculed as signs of bourgeois decadence.⁴ For practical reasons, a few exceptions are permitted—e. g., whenever a spouse disappears, suffers from chronic mental illness, or is confined for at least 3 years in a corrective labor camp.⁵ In such cases, the Soviet Government wants the free spouse to have children without delay.

¹ Gsovski, *Soviet Civil Law*, I, 111-136. Timasheff, *Great Retreat*, pp. 192-197.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 198-203.

³ Kulski, *Soviet Regime*, pp. 315-317.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 320-322. *Young Communists in the USSR* pp. 77-79

⁵ Kulski, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

EXHIBIT No. 79

[Washington, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. *Information Bulletin*, July 25, 1944. Pp. 1-5]

**EDICT OF SUPREME SOVIET OF USSR ON THE INCREASE OF
STATE AID FOR MOTHERS AND CHILDREN**

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has issued an edict on the increasing of State aid to expectant mothers, mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, the protection of motherhood and childhood, and institution of the honorary title of Mother Heroine, the Order of Glory of Motherhood and the Motherhood Medal.

The welfare of children and mothers and the consolidation of the family has always been one of the major tasks of the Soviet State. Protecting the interests of mother and child, the State extends substantial material aid to expectant mothers and mothers for the maintenance and upbringing of children. During the war and after the war, when considerable material difficulties exist for many families, State aid must necessarily be extended.

In order to increase material aid to expectant mothers, mothers of large families and unmarried mothers and to encourage large families and increase the protection of mother and child, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics resolves:

Firstly, on increasing State aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers.

1. To establish that State allowances are to be granted to mothers of large families (whether the husband is living or not) on the birth of the third child and of each subsequent child, instead of the existing procedure of granting State allowances to mothers of six children on the birth of the seventh and of each subsequent child.

2. Payment of State allowances to mothers of large families is to be effected as follows: On the birth of the third child to a mother with two children, a single grant of 400 rubles. On the birth of a fourth child to a mother with three children, a single grant of 1,300 rubles and a monthly allowance of 80 rubles. On the birth of a fifth child to a mother with four children, a single grant of 1,700 rubles and a monthly allowance of 120 rubles. On the birth of a sixth child to a mother with five children, a single grant of 2,000 rubles and a monthly allowance of 140 rubles. On the birth of a seventh child to a mother with six children, a single grant of 2,500 rubles and a monthly allowance of 200 rubles. On the birth of the eighth child to a mother with seven children, a single grant of 2,500 rubles and a monthly allowance of 200 rubles. On the birth of a ninth child to a mother with eight children, a single grant of 3,500 rubles and a monthly allowance of 250 rubles. On the birth of a tenth child to a mother with nine children, a single grant of 3,500 rubles and a monthly allowance of 250 rubles. On the birth of each subsequent child to a mother with ten children, a single grant of 5,000 rubles and a monthly allowance of 300 rubles.

Monthly allowances to mothers of large families are to be paid beginning with the second year of the child's life and continuing until the child reaches the age of five.

Mothers with families of three, four, five or six children at the date of issue of the present Edict will receive allowances under the present Article for every child born after the publication of the present Edict.

Mothers with families of seven or more children at the date of issue of the present Edict retain the right to receive large family allowances according to the procedure and in the amounts set forth in the decision of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of June 27, 1936, namely, for the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth child, 2,000 rubles each annually for five years from the day of the child's birth, and for each subsequent child 5,000 rubles in a single grant and 3,000 rubles each annually for four years, beginning with the child's second year. For every child born after the publication of the present Edict allowances will be paid in accordance with and in the amounts set forth in the present Article of the Edict.

In determining State allowances for large families, children killed or missing on the fronts of the Patriotic War are to be included.

3. To establish allowances for unmarried mothers for the maintenance and upbringing of children born after the publication of the present Edict in the following amounts: 100 rubles monthly for one child, 150 rubles for two children and 200 rubles for three or more children.

State allowances to unmarried mothers are paid until the children attain the age of 12.

Unmarried mothers with three or more children are entitled to allowances issued in accordance with Paragraph 2 of the present Article, in addition to the allowances provided for under the present Articles.

Upon her marriage an unmarried mother retains the right to the allowance provided for under the present Article.

The mother who received alimony for children born prior to the publication of the present Edict retains the right to receive alimony until the children come of age, but is not entitled to receive the allowance provided for under the present Article.

Mothers of children born in 1944, prior to the publication of the present Edict, who have not been receiving alimony are entitled to the allowance provided for under the present Article.

4. If an unmarried mother wishes to place her child in an institution for children, said institution is obligated to accept the child which will be maintained and brought up fully at the expense of the State.

The mother of the child has a right to reclaim it from the institution and to bring it up herself if she so desires.

While the child is in the institution, no State allowance is to be paid.

5. To increase single grants paid from the social insurance funds and the mutual aid funds of producers' cooperatives, for newborn infants, from 45 rubles to 120 rubles, facilities to be extended for the purchase by the mother of layettes for this amount.

Secondly, on increasing the privileges for expectant mothers and mothers, and on measures for extending the network of institutions for protecting mother and child.

6. To increase maternity leaves for women factory workers and office employees from 63 to 77 calendar days, 35 days before and 42

days after childbirth, with payment during this period of the State allowance in the amounts fixed heretofore. In the event of an abnormal birth or the birth of twins, post-natal leave is to be extended to 56 calendar days.

Managers of enterprises and institutions must grant expectant mothers annual vacations, which must be timed to precede or follow maternity leave.

7. After four month's pregnancy, women are not to be given overtime work at enterprises and institutions, and women with infants are to be exempted from night work throughout the period of nursing.

8. To double additional food rations for expectant mothers beginning with the sixth month of pregnancy and for nursing mothers during four months of nursing.

9. Managers of enterprises and institutions must render aid to expectant mothers and nursing mothers by issuing additional food products from auxiliary farms.

10. To reduce by 50 per cent fees at kindergartens and nurseries for the accommodation of children of parents with three children and with monthly earnings up to 400 rubles, with four children and with monthly earnings up to 600 rubles, with five or more children regardless of earnings.

11. To instruct the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR:

(a) To approve the plan for the organization in Republics and Regions of additional mother and child centers, and also of special rest homes for needy unmarried expectant mothers, as well as for nursing mothers in ailing health; inmates of such rest homes to perform light tasks compatible with the state of their health.

(b) To approve the plan for the extension of the network of children's institutions under the People's Commissariats and other departments, to provide accommodations for all children in need of such service, at the same time to provide for the extension of the network of medical consultation centers for children, and of milk kitchens, or nurseries for infants and evening accommodations at kindergartens and maternity institutions in areas liberated from the German invaders.

(c) To provide for the obligatory organization at enterprises and institutions where women are employed in large numbers, of nurseries, kindergartens and special rest rooms for nursing mothers.

(d) To make it obligatory for the People's Commissariats in their plans for industrial construction to provide for the building of children's institutions (nurseries, kindergartens, mother and child rooms) with accommodations sufficient for all children of women employed at the given enterprise and in need of such services.

To approve measures for the considerable extension of the output of clothing and footwear for children, toilet accessories for children, and the like, both for children's institutions and for sale to the general public, as well as for the extension of the chain of workshops producing children's clothing and shops catering to mother and child.

Thirdly, on the institution of a Motherhood Medal and the Order of Glory of Motherhood, and on the establishment of the honorary title Mother Heroine.

12. To institute a Motherhood Medal, First and Second Class, for award to mothers who have given birth to and reared six and five children respectively.

13. To institute the Order of Glory of Motherhood, First, Second and Third Class, for award to mothers who have given birth to and reared nine, eight, and seven children respectively.

14. To establish that the title of Mother Heroine is to be conferred upon mothers who have given birth to and reared 10 children, this award being accompanied by the presentation of the Order of Mother Heroine and a scroll from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

15. The award of the Order of Glory of Motherhood and the Motherhood Medal, as well as the Mother Heroine title, comes into effect when the last child born reaches the age of one year, if the remaining children from the same mother are living.

Children killed or reported missing on fronts of the Patriotic War are to be included when these awards are made to mothers.

Fourthly, on the tax on single men and women and citizens with small families.

16. In modification of the Edict of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of November 21, 1941 "On the tax on single men and women and childless citizens of the USSR," the tax will henceforth be levied upon citizens who have no children and on citizens who have one or two children: for men over 20 and up to 50 years of age and for women over 20 and up to 45.

17. The tax is to be levied in the following amounts:

(a) Citizens paying income tax will be taxed to the extent of six percent of their income in the absence of children, one per cent if they have one child and one-half per cent if they have two children.

(b) Collective farmers, individual farmers and other citizens of households subject to the agricultural tax will be taxed to the extent of 150 rubles annually in the absence of children, 50 rubles annually if they have one child and 25 rubles annually if they have two children.

(c) Other citizens having no children will be taxed 90 rubles annually, those with one child 30 rubles annually and those with two children 15 rubles annually.

18. To exempt from the tax:

(a) Servicemen of the rank and file, sergeants and petty officers.

(b) Army and Navy officers of units and organizations on active service.

(c) Wives of servicemen specified in points (a) and (b) of the present Article.

(d) Women receiving allowances or pensions by the State for the upkeep of children.

(e) Citizens whose children have been killed or reported missing on fronts of the Patriotic War.

(f) Men and women students of secondary and higher schools up to 25 years of age.

(g) Invalids belonging to the first and second categories of invalidity.

Fifthly, on changes in laws on marriage, family and guardianship.

19. To establish that rights and obligations of husband and wife provided for under the Code of Laws of the Union Republics on marriage and family, re guardianship, accrue from legally registered marriages only.

Persons who have been married *de facto* prior to publication of the present Edict may legalize their relations by registering the marriage and stating the actual period of their conjugal life.

20. To abolish the existing right of a mother to appeal to the court for the purpose of establishing fatherhood and claiming alimony for the upkeep of a child from a man to whom she is not legally married.

21. To establish that upon the registration of the birth of a child whose mother is not legally married, the child is given the mother's surname and any patronymic the mother might indicate.

22. The registration on passports of marriages, indicating surnames, names and patronymics and year of birth of the other party to a marriage, as well as the place and time of registration of marriage is obligatory.

23. To establish that divorces are to be effected publicly through the courts. At the request of husband or wife a divorce in certain cases on the decision of the court may be heard in camera.

24. The following procedure is to be followed when petitioning for dissolution of marriage.

(a) A petition of the dissolution of a marriage is to be submitted to the People's Court, giving reasons for the divorce as well as the full name, date of birth and address of the other party to the marriage; when filing the petition for divorce, the sum of 100 rubles is to be paid.

(b) The court summons the party against whom the petition has been filed, to acquaint him or her with the contents of the petition, to ascertain the motives for the divorce, as well as to establish witnesses to be summoned during the court proceedings.

(c) Announcement of the filing of a petition for divorce is to be published in the local newspaper at the expense of the party filing the petition.

25. The People's Court is obliged to establish the motives for the filing of a petition for the dissolution of a marriage, and to take steps to reconcile the parties, for which purpose both parties must be summoned, and in case of necessity witnesses as well.

In the event of failure by the People's Court to reconcile the parties, the petitioner has the right to file a petition for the dissolution of the marriage with the higher court.

To establish that a decision regarding the dissolution of a marriage may be passed by the Regional and city courts or the Supreme Court of the Union or Autonomous Republic.

26. The Regional, territorial and city courts or the Supreme Court of the Union or Autonomous Republic which decide that the marriage should be annulled, must:

(a) Settle the question of the custody of the children between the parents and determine which of the parents is to defray expenses for the maintenance of the children and to what extent.

(b) Establish a procedure for the division of property whether in kind or in respective proportions between the parties.

(c) Restore to each of the divorced parties their original surnames if they so desire.

27. On the basis of the court decision, the civil registry office draws up the certificate of divorce, makes a corresponding entry in the passports of both parties and charges one or both parties, at the decision of the court, a sum ranging from 500 to 2,000 rubles.

28. To instruct the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics to make, in accordance with the present Edict, the necessary changes in the legislation of the Union Republics.

29. To instruct the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR to draw up statutes covering the procedure for the payment of allowances to expectant mothers, mothers of large families and unmarried mothers in accordance with the present Edict.

30. To instruct the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR to adopt measures regulating the procedure of registration of marriages births, etc., providing for the introduction of a solemn procedure for which suitable premises properly furnished are to be set aside, and for the issue to citizens of certificates duly drawn up.

31. In accordance with criminal legislation in force, the State prosecuting organs are to prosecute those guilty of performing illegal abortions, of forcing women to undergo abortions, of insulting and humiliating the dignity of mothers and of refusing to pay alimony for the upkeep of children.

32. To consider as null and void:

(a) Articles 5, 8, 10, 27 and 28 of the Decision of the Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of June 27, 1936 "On prohibiting abortions, increasing material aid to mothers, establishing State aid for mothers of large families, extending the network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens, greater punishment for non-payment of alimony, and on certain amendments in legislation on divorce." (Code of Laws of the USSR, 1936, No. 34, Article 309.)

(b) The Decision of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of November 14, 1936 "On the procedure for the payment of allowances to mothers of large families." (Code of Laws of the USSR, 1936, No. 59, Article 448.)

(c) Article 14 of the Decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of December 28, 1938, "On measures regulating labor discipline, improving the administration of State social insurance and combating abuses in this field." (Collection of Decisions of the Government of the USSR, 1939, No. 1, Article 1.)

(Signed) M. KALININ, Chairman of Presidium
of Supreme Soviet of USSR

A. GORKIN, Secretary of Presidium
of Supreme Soviet of USSR

Moscow, Kremlin, July 8, 1944

The following exhibit consists of two parts: (1) the final chapter of General Fomichenko's book, *The Red Army*; (2) Stalin's speech delivered on the occasion of the 27th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Illarion Yakovlevich Fomichenko, a Soviet of Ukrainian origin, was a successful political commissar until 1949.¹ In that year he lost his post as editor of the Soviet Army newspaper, *Red Star*. The title of his final chapter, "The Red Army: An Army of Peace, Justice, and Retribution," provides an adequate preview of the Aesopian double-talk which follows.²

Stalin's anniversary speech continues in the same vein. According to the *vozhd*, civilization has been saved principally through the liberating force of the Red army. The wartime allies of the Soviet Union can hope for a long-lasting peace. Toward the close of his speech, however, Stalin justifies the maintenance

¹ The function of military political commissars is analyzed in Fainsod, *How Russia is Ruled*, Chapter 14: The Party and the Armed Forces.

² DoHuszar, *Soviet Power*, pp. 449-451.

of the Soviet war machine at peak strength: "Accordingly it is not to be denied that in the future the peace-loving nations may once more find themselves caught off their guard by aggression unless, of course, they work out special measures right now which can avert it." Under the guise of preventing a resurgence of German military power, Stalin defends his refusal to reduce armaments. Nobody can deny that Stalin fulfilled his pledge not to be caught off guard in the postwar period.

EXHIBIT No. 80

[London, Hutchinson, no date (1944 or 1945). *The Red Army*. Edited by Maj. General Fomichenko. pp. 111-125]

Chapter Eight

THE RED ARMY—AN ARMY OF PEACE, JUSTICE AND RETRIBUTION

The Red Army is an army of peace and for this reason it fights against the aggressors with such self-sacrifice and inspired heroism. The Red Army has been trained in the spirit of the friendship of the peoples, the equality of all citizens irrespective of their race or nationality and for this reason it has been fighting with such dogged determination and courage against those who preach race theories, against racial superiority and national oppression. The Red Army has been trained as the army of a socialist country, the bulwark of the Soviet Union's independence; and for this reason it has displayed unparalleled staunchness and magnificent valour in the struggle against the German army which had set itself the task of destroying the Soviet state with fire and sword and enslaving the Soviet people.

The Red Army is an Army of Progress and Progressive Culture and for this reason it has conducted such an impassioned struggle against the savagery, barbarity and medieval obscurantism of the Hitlerite war machine. The Red Army has been trained in the ideals of humanism, of respect for the personality of every man and for this reason every soldier is prepared to give his life in order to wipe out and completely destroy the ruthless army of rapacious plunderers and murderers which for the sake of personal enrichment is prepared to loot the whole world and destroy everything built up by human genius throughout the centuries.

The fascist leaders of the German state and the German army thought they could intimidate Soviet people and the Red Army by terror and mass murder. They thought that by killing prisoners of war, women, children and the aged, by the use of gas chambers, gas wagons and gallows and by driving millions of people off into slavery they could break the will of the Red Army and establish the rule of German nationalism and insatiable imperialism on the territory of the Soviet Union and throughout the whole of Europe. The fulfilment of these plans for enslaving and exploiting hundreds of millions of people was prevented by the Red Army, by the profound love of liberty possessed by the Soviet soldier who has been educated under socialism. Hitlerite Germany's gigantic war machine has been overwhelmingly defeated.

One has only to compare Europe in the middle of 1941 with the Europe of today in order to realise the tremendous advance made by mankind since then. At that time the swastika flag waved victoriously over the whole of Europe; with a beating of drums and a fanfare of trumpets the technically well-armed Hitlerite army,

already accustomed to plunder, rapine and terror, began its campaign in the East. Now the German army has been driven back beyond its own frontiers after suffering tremendous losses under the crushing blows of the Red Army. The wounded fascist beast is being finished off in its own lair. One after another the peoples are liberating their countries from the brown plague.

The international trust headed by Germany for the enslavement and exploitation of the nations has dissolved. The axis has collapsed. Despite exchanges of pleasantries with Japanese statesmen Hitler Germany is receiving no military aid from Japan and is fighting alone against the mighty coalition of freedom-loving peoples. The fact that liberty is dawning over enslaved Europe, that a considerable part of Italy, almost the whole of France and Belgium, part of the Netherlands and three-quarters of Yugoslavia have been liberated from Hitlerite oppression, while Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland and Hungary have been knocked out of the Hitlerite coalition is first and foremost due to the services rendered by the Red Army which day and night, summer and winter, spring and autumn, without fatigue and without let-up has been fighting on a 3,000 kilometre front against Hitler's bandit coalition.

The Red Army has weakened Hitler's army and Hitler's Germany. The Red Army created the necessary conditions for the successful offensive of Great Britain and the U. S. A. in the west, and for the development of the liberation movement amongst the oppressed people. This great effort of the Red Army will go down in history and will live for ever in the memory of future generations.

The fate of rapacious Hitlerite Germany is already sealed, but the Red Army will not lay down its arms until the last unit of the German army has been routed, until the last German bandit has been disarmed. The army of peace and justice will listen neither to the demagogic peace overtures of the Hitlerites nor to the pacifist twaddle of secret pro-fascists and open conciliators in various countries.

Now that the fate of fascist Germany is sealed, open and hidden friends of Hitler Germany have appeared on the scene who desire at all costs to save the fascist regime and the fascist officials. Friends of fascist Germany cry for mercy and point out that it is to the interests of mankind to make some sort of compromise with Germany. They even fall back on Christian feelings in order to soften the hearts of fighters for peace, justice and retribution. The peacemakers are particularly eloquent in their efforts to save Hitler's associates in the oppressed countries. They find thousands of excuses to justify those who have betrayed their people. These gentlemen need not strive so hard for in this case no demagogy will help. Hitler Germany will be destroyed to its very foundations. All the plunderers, murderers and oppressors of free peoples will be crushed by the victorious Red Army and the armies of Great Britain and the U. S. A. All those who held back their people in order to prevent them fighting against Hitlerite slavery, all the friends and associates of Hitler Germany must go down with her. Appeals for mercy are in vain. There can be no mercy for those who have killed millions of defenceless people. Humanism in respect of these dregs of society would be a mockery of history and human culture. The destruction of Hitlerism which made banditry its program, sadism its tactics and mass murder its politics is the highest form of humanism. In order that mankind may exist and

progress, Hitlerism must be destroyed throughout the whole world. To permit the Hitlerite regime to remain in any form, to show mercy to those who inspired and executed unheard-of crimes, to declare an amnesty for Hitler's associates and morally justify traitors means the creation of pre-requisites for another more horrible and still more destructive war.

The Red Army brings peace to the nations and the sword to fascism. Only by destroying the "new order" to its foundation and wiping out those who built up this order, will it be possible to ensure peace, liberty and independence in all countries. The defeat of the Hitlerite war machine without the moral and political defeat of fascism would only be half a victory and the Soviet people like all other liberty-loving peoples, desires the complete destruction of fascism, in its state system, its home policy, its economics, its culture, its science, its international relations and in the consciousness of the people.

It is for this that the army of peace, justice and retribution, the army of liberation, the Red Army of the Soviet Union has fought, is fighting and will fight to the end.

Appendix

REPORT BY J. V. STALIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE COMMITTEE FOR DEFENCE, ON THE 27TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

Made at a Celebration Meeting of the Moscow Soviet of Working People's Deputies, held jointly with representatives of the Communist Party, Public Organisations, and Red Army on November 6, 1944

COMRADES: To-day the Soviet people celebrate the 27th Anniversary of the triumph of the Soviet Revolution in our country. This is the fourth time that our country is observing the anniversary of the Soviet Revolution in the midst of the Patriotic War against the German Fascist invaders. That does not mean, of course, that the fourth year of the war does not differ from the preceding three years of war in its results. On the contrary, there is a radical difference between them.

Whereas the preceding two years of the war were years when the German forces were on the offensive and when they advanced into the interior of our country—years when the Red Army was compelled to fight defensive actions—and whereas the third year of the war was a year of radical change on our front, when the Red Army launched powerful offensive actions, smashed the Germans in a number of decisive battles, cleared the German troops out of two-thirds of Soviet territory and compelled them to pass to the defensive while the Red Army was still waging war on the German forces single-handed without serious support from the Allies—the fourth year of war has been a year of decisive victories over the German forces for the Soviet armies and the armies of our Allies, a year in which the Germans, now compelled to fight on two fronts, found themselves flung back to the German frontiers.

In the upshot, this year has ended in the expulsion of the German forces from the Soviet Union, France, Belgium and Central Italy, and the transfer of hostilities to German territory.

1. GERMANY IN THE VICE BETWEEN THE TWO FRONTS

The decisive successes of the Red Army this year and the expulsion of the Germans from Soviet territory were pre-determined by the succession of shattering blows which our troops dealt the German forces beginning as far back as last January and then following throughout the year under review.

The first blow was struck by our troops in January this year at Leningrad and Novgorod, when the Red Army broke up the permanent German defences and flung the enemy back to the Baltic area. This blow resulted in the liberation of the Leningrad Region.

The second blow was struck in February and March this year on the River Bug, when the Red Army routed the German forces and flung them beyond the Dniester. As a result of this blow the Ukraine west of the Dniester was freed of the German-Fascist invaders.

The third blow was struck in April and May this year in the area of the Crimea, when the German troops were flung into the Black Sea. As a result of this blow the Crimea and Odessa were delivered from German oppression.

The fourth blow was struck in June this year in the area of Karelia, when the Red Army routed the Finnish forces, liberated Vyborg and Petrozavodsk, and flung the Finns back into the interior of Finland. This blow resulted in the liberation of the greater part of the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Republic.

The fifth blow was struck at the Germans in June and July this year, when the Red Army utterly routed the German forces at Vitebsk, Bobruisk and Mogilev; this blow culminated in the encirclement of thirty German divisions at Minsk. As a result of this blow our forces: (a) liberated the whole of the Byelorussian Soviet Republic; (b) gained the Vistula and liberated a considerable part of Poland, our Ally; (c) gained the Nyeman and liberated the greater part of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic; and (d) forced the Nyeman and approached the frontiers of Germany.

The sixth blow was struck in July and August this year in the area of Western Ukraine, when the Red Army routed the German forces at Lvov and flung them beyond the San and Vistula. As a result of this blow: (a) the Western Ukraine was liberated; and (b) our troops forced the Vistula and set up a strong bridgehead beyond it west of Sandomir.

The seventh blow was struck in August this year in the Kishinev and Jassy area, when our troops utterly routed the German and Rumanian forces. It culminated in the encirclement of twenty-two German divisions at Kishinev, this number not including Rumanian divisions. As a result of this blow; (a) the Moldavian Soviet Republic was liberated; (b) Germany's Rumanian ally was put out of action and declared war on Germany and Hungary; (c) Germany's Bulgarian ally was put out of action and likewise declared war on Germany; (d) the road was opened for our troops to Hungary, Germany's last ally in Europe; and (e) the opportunity arose to reach out a helping hand to Yugoslavia, our Ally, against the German invaders.

The eighth blow was struck in September and October this year in the Baltic area, when the Red Army routed the German forces at Tallinn and Riga and drove them from the Baltic area. As a result of this blow: (a) the Estonian Soviet Republic was liberated; (b) the

greater part of the Latvian Soviet Republic was liberated; (c) Germany's Finnish ally was put out of action and declared war on Germany; and (d) over thirty German divisions found themselves cut off from Prussia and gripped in pincers between Tukums and Libava where they are now being hammered to a finish by our troops.

In October this year the ninth blow was launched by our troops between the Tisza and the Danube in the area of Hungary; its purpose is to put Hungary out of the war and turn her against Germany. As a result of this blow, which has not yet been consummated: (a) our forces rendered direct assistance to our Ally Yugoslavia in driving out the Germans and liberating Belgrade; (b) our troops obtained the opportunity of crossing the Carpathians and stretching out a helping hand to our Ally the Czechoslovak Republic, part of whose territory has already been freed from the German invaders.

Lastly, at the end of October this year, a blow was dealt at the German troops in Northern Finland, when the German troops were knocked out of the Pechenga area and our troops, pursuing the Germans, entered the territory of our ally Norway.

I shall not give figures of losses in killed and prisoners which the enemy sustained in these operations, of the number of guns, tanks, aircraft, shells and machine-guns captured by our troops. You are probably acquainted with these figures from the Communiques of the Soviet Information Bureau.

Such are the principal operations carried out by the Red Army during the past year, operations which have led to the expulsion of the German forces from our country.

As a result of these operations as many as 120 divisions of the Germans and their allies have been routed and put out of action. Instead of the 257 divisions that faced our front last year, of which 207 were German, we now have against our front—after all the “total” and “super-total mobilisations”—a total of only 204 German and Hungarian divisions, the German divisions numbering no more than 180.

It must be admitted that in this war Hitlerite Germany with her fascist army has proved a more powerful, crafty and experienced adversary than Germany and her army were in any war of the past. It should be added that in this war the Germans succeeded in exploiting the productive forces of nearly the whole of Europe and the quite considerable armies of their vassal states.

And if, in spite of these favourable conditions for the prosecution of the war, Germany nevertheless finds herself on the brink of imminent destruction, the explanation is that her chief adversary, the Soviet Union, has surpassed Hitlerite Germany in strength.

What must be regarded as a new factor in the war against Hitlerite Germany this past year is that this year the Red Army has not been operating against the German forces single-handed, as was the case in previous years, but together the forces of our Allies. The Teheran Conference was not held for nothing. The decision of the Teheran Conference on a joint blow at Germany from west, east and south began to be carried out with astounding precision.

Simultaneously with the summer operations of the Red Army on the Soviet-German Front, the Allied forces launched the invasion of France and organised powerful offensive operations which compelled Hitler Germany to wage war on two fronts. The troops and

Navy of our Allies accomplished a mass-landing operation on the coast of France that was unparalleled in history for scope and organisation, and overcame the German fortifications with consummate skill.

Thus, Germany found herself gripped in a vice between two fronts.

As was to be expected, the enemy failed to withstand the joint blows of the Red Army and the Allied forces. The enemy's resistance was broken, and his troops in a short time were knocked out of Central Italy, France, Belgium and the Soviet Union. The enemy *was flung back to the German frontiers*.

There can be no doubt that without the opening of the Second Front in Europe, which holds as much as 75 German divisions, our troops would not have been able to break the resistance of the German forces and knock them out of the Soviet Union in such a short time. But it is equally indubitable that without the powerful offensive operations of the Red Army in the summer of this year, which held as many as 200 German divisions, the forces of our Allies could not have coped so quickly with the German forces and knocked them out of Central Italy, France and Belgium.

The task is to keep Germany gripped in this vice between the two fronts. That is the key to victory.

2. THE GREAT EXPLOIT OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE IN THE PATRIOTIC WAR

If the Red Army was able successfully to fulfill its duty to its Motherland and drive the Germans from Soviet soil, it was because of the unreserved support it received in the rear from our whole country, from all the peoples of our country. "Everything for the Front!" has been the watchword this year in the selfless work of all Soviet people—workers, peasants, intellectuals—as well as in the directing activities of our Government and Party bodies.

The past year has been marked by fresh successes in industry, agriculture and transport, by further progress in our war economy. With the war in its fourth year, our factories are producing several times as many tanks, planes, guns, mortars and ammunition as at the beginning of the war. In the rehabilitation of agriculture the most difficult period lies behind us. With the fertile lands of the Don and Kuban restored to our country after the liberation of the Ukraine, our agriculture is recovering rapidly from its grave losses.

The Soviet railways have stood a strain that the transport of any other country would hardly be able to bear.

All this indicates that the economic foundation of the Soviet State has proved to possess infinitely greater vitality than the economy of the enemy states.

The Socialist system born of the October Revolution has lent our people and our Army a great, invincible strength. Despite the heavy burden of this war, despite the temporary occupation by the Germans of very large and economically important parts of the country, the Soviet State did not reduce the supply of arms and ammunition for the front as the war proceeded, but increased it from year to year. To-day the Red Army has not less but more tanks, guns and planes than the German Army. As for quality, our war material is far superior to that of the enemy in this respect.

Just as the Red Army in its long and arduous single-handed struggle won military victory over the Fascist forces, so the working people

of the Soviet rear won an economic victory over the enemy in their long fight against Hitlerite Germany and her associates.

The Soviet people have denied themselves many necessities, have consciously accepted serious material privations, in order to give more for the front.

The unexampled hardships of the present war have not broken, but further tempered the iron will and courageous spirit of the Soviet people. Our people has justly won for itself the fame of a heroic nation. Our working class gives all its strength for the cause of victory, constantly perfects the technique of production, increases the capacity of industrial enterprises, erects new mills and factories. The working class of the Soviet Union has a great labour exploit to its credit in the present war.

Our intellectuals proceed boldly along the road of innovation in the sphere of technique and culture, successfully promoting modern science, displaying the creative spirit in applying its achievements to the production of munitions for the Red Army. By their creative work, the Soviet intellectuals have made an invaluable contribution to the enemy's defeat.

An army cannot fight and win without modern arms, but neither can it fight and win without bread, without food. Thanks to the solicitude of the collective farm peasantry, the Red Army is experiencing no shortage of food in this fourth year of war. Men and women collective farmers are supplying the workers and intellectuals with food, and industry with raw materials, making it possible for factories and mills producing arms and equipment for the front to function normally.

Our collective farm peasantry, actively and fully conscious of its duty to its Motherland, is helping the Red Army to achieve victory over the enemy.

The matchless labour of Soviet women and of our splendid youth will go down in history, for it is they who have carried on their own shoulders the main burden of the work in the factories and mills, on the collective and state farms.

For the sake of the honour and independence of the Motherland, Soviet women, young men and girls are displaying true valour and heroism on the labour front. They have shown themselves worthy of their fathers and sons, husbands and brothers who are defending the Motherland against the German fascist fiends. The labour feats of the Soviet people in the rear, like the immortal deeds of our soldiers at the front, are rooted in the fervent and life-giving spirit of Soviet patriotism.

The strength of Soviet patriotism lies in the fact that it has as its foundation not racial or nationalistic prejudices, but the people's profound loyalty and devotion to their Soviet Motherland, the fraternal partnership of the working people of all the nations in our country. Soviet patriotism harmoniously combines the national traditions of the peoples and the common vital interests of all the working people of the Soviet Union. Far from dividing them, Soviet patriotism welds all the nations and peoples of our country into a single fraternal family. This should be regarded as the basis of the inviolable friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union which is growing ever stronger.

At the same time the peoples of the U. S. S. R. respect the rights and independence of the peoples of foreign countries and have always

shown themselves willing to live in peace and friendship with neighbouring states. This should be regarded as the basis of the contacts growing and gaining strength between our State and the freedom-loving peoples.

The reason Soviet men and women hate the German invaders is not because they are people of different nationality, but because they have brought immeasurable calamity and suffering on our people and on all freedom-loving peoples. It is an old saying of our people: "The wolf is not beaten because he is grey, but because he ate the sheep."

The German fascists chose the misanthropic race theory for their ideological weapon, in the expectation that by preaching bestial nationalism they would create the moral and political conditions for the German invaders over the enslaved peoples. Actually, however, the policy of racial hatred pursued by the Hitlerites has proved a source of internal weakness and international isolation for the German fascist State.

The ideology and policy of racial hatred have been a factor in the disintegration of the Hitlerite bandit bloc. It cannot be considered an accident that not only the subjugated peoples of France, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Belgium, Denmark, Norway and the Netherlands have risen against the German imperialists, but also Hitler's former vassals—the Italians, Rumanians, Finns and Bulgarians. By their savage policy, the Hitler clique have set all the peoples of the world against Germany; and the so-called "chosen German race" has become the object of universal hatred.

In this war the Hitlerites have sustained not only a military defeat, but also a moral and political defeat. The ideology of equality of all races and nations, which has taken firm root in our country, the ideology of friendship among the peoples has emerged completely victorious over the Hitlerite ideology of bestial nationalism and racial hatred.

Today, when the Patriotic War is drawing to its victorious conclusion, the historic role of the Soviet people is revealed in its full greatness. It is universally acknowledged now that by their selfless struggle the Soviet people have saved the civilisation of Europe from the fascist vandals. This is the great service rendered by the Soviet people to the history of mankind.

8. THE CONSOLIDATION AND EXTENSION OF THE FRONT OF THE ANTI-GERMAN COALITION

The Question of Peace and Security

The past year has been a year of triumph of the common cause of the anti-German coalition for the sake of which the peoples of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States of America have united in a fighting alliance.

It has been a year of consolidation of the unity of the three main Powers and of co-ordination of their actions against Hitlerite Germany.

The decision of the Teheran Conference on joint actions against Germany and the brilliant realisation of that decision are one of the striking indications of the consolidation of the front of the anti-Hitler Coalition. There are few instances in history of plans for large-scale

military operations undertaken in joint actions against a common enemy being carried out so fully and with such precision as the plan for a joint blow against Germany drawn up at the Teheran Conference.

There can be no doubt that without the unity of views and co-ordination of actions of the three Great Powers, the Teheran decision could not have been realised so fully and with such precision. Nor on the other hand can there be any doubt that the successful realisation of the Teheran decision was bound to serve to consolidate the front of the United Nations.

An equally striking indication of the solidarity of the front of the United Nations is to be seen in the decisions of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference on post-war security.

There is talk of differences between the three Powers on certain security problems. Differences do exist, of course, and they will arise on a number of other issues as well. Differences of opinion occur even among people in one and the same Party. They are all the more bound to occur between representatives of different States and different Parties. The surprising thing is not that differences exist, but that they are so few, and that as a rule in practically every case they are resolved in a spirit of unity and co-ordination among the three Great Powers. What matters is not that there are differences, but that these differences do not transgress the bounds of what the interests of the three Great Powers allow, and that, in the long run, they are resolved in accordance with the interests of that unity.

It is known that more serious differences existed between us over the opening of the Second Front. But it is also known that in the end these differences were resolved in a spirit of complete accord. The same thing may be said of the differences at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. What is characteristic of this Conference is not that certain differences were revealed there, but that nine-tenths of the security problems were solved at this Conference in a spirit of complete unanimity. That is why I think that the decisions of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference are to be regarded as a striking indication of the solidarity of the front of the anti-German Coalition.

As a still more striking indication of the consolidation of the front of the United Nations we must view the recent talks in Moscow with Mr. Churchill, the head of the British Government, and Mr. Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, held in an atmosphere of friendship and a spirit of complete unanimity.

Throughout the war the Hitlerites have made frantic efforts to cause disunity among the United Nations and set them at loggerheads, to stir up suspicion and unfriendly feeling among them, to weaken their war effort by mutual distrust, and, if possible, by conflict between them as well.

These ambitions of the Hitlerite politicians are easy enough to understand. For them there is no greater danger than the unity of the United Nations in the struggle against Hitlerite imperialism, and for them there would have been no greater military and political success than the splitting of the Allied Powers in their struggle against the common enemy.

It is known, however, how futile the efforts of the Fascist politicians to disrupt the alliance of the Great Powers have proved. That means that the Alliance between the U. S. S. R., Great Britain and the United

States of America is founded not on casual, transitory considerations, but on vital and lasting interests. There can be no doubt that, having stood the strain of more than three years of war and being sealed with the blood of the nations risen in defence of their liberty and honour, the fighting alliance of the democratic powers will all the more certainly stand the strain of the concluding phase of the war.

The past year, however, has been not only a year of consolidation of the anti-German front of the Allied Powers, but also a year of its extension. It cannot be considered an accident that, after Italy, other allies of Germany—Finland, Rumania and Bulgaria—were also put out of the war. It should be noted that these States not only got out of the war but broke with Germany and declared war on her, thus joining the front of the United Nations. This signifies, undoubtedly, an extension of the front of the United Nations against Hitlerite Germany. Without doubt Germany's last ally in Europe, Hungary, will also be put out of action in the nearest future. This will mean the complete isolation of Hitlerite Germany in Europe and the inevitability of her collapse.

The United Nations face the victorious conclusion of the war against Hitlerite Germany. The war against Germany will be won by the United Nations—of that there can no longer be any doubt to-day.

To win the war against Germany is to accomplish a great, historic task. But to win the war does not in itself mean to ensure for the peoples a lasting peace and guaranteed security in the future. The task is not only to win the war but also to make new aggression and a new war impossible—if not for ever, then at least for a long time to come. After her defeat Germany will, of course, be disarmed, both in the economic and in the military-political sense.

It would however, be naive to think that she will not attempt to restore her might and launch new aggression. It is common knowledge that the German chieftains are already now preparing for a new war. History shows that a short period—some 20 or 30 years—is enough for Germany to recover from defeat and re-establish her might.

What means are there to preclude fresh aggression on Germany's part, and if war should start nevertheless, to nip it in the bud and give it no opportunity to develop into a big war?

This question is the more appropriate since history shows that aggressive nations, the nations which attack, are usually better prepared for a new war than peace-loving nations which, having no interest in a new war, are usually behindhand with their preparations for it. It is a fact that in the present war the aggressive nations had an invasion army all ready even before the war broke out, while the peace-loving nations did not have even a fully adequate army to cover their mobilisation.

One cannot regard as an accident such distasteful facts as the Pearl Harbour incident, the loss of the Philippines and other Pacific Islands, the loss of Hong-Kong and Singapore, when Japan, as the aggressive nation, proved to be better prepared for war than Great Britain and the United States of America, which pursued a policy of peace. Nor can one regard as an accident such a distasteful fact as the loss of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic area in the very

first year of the war, when Germany, as the aggressive nation, proved better prepared for war than the peace-loving Soviet Union.

It would be naive to explain these facts by the personal qualities of the Japanese and the Germans, their superiority over the British, the Americans and the Russians, their foresight, etc. The reason here is not personal qualities but the fact that aggressive nations, interested in a new war, being nations that prepare for war over a long time and accumulate forces for it, usually are, and are bound to be, better prepared for war than peace-loving nations which have no interest in a new war.

This is natural and understandable. It is, if you like, a law of history, which it would be dangerous to ignore.

Accordingly it is not to be denied that in the future the peace-loving nations may once more find themselves caught off their guard by aggression unless, of course, they work out special measures right now which can avert it.

Well, what means are there to preclude fresh aggression on Germany's part and, if war should start nevertheless, to stifle it at its very beginning and give it no opportunity to develop into a big war?

There is only one means to this end, apart from the complete disarmament of the aggressive nations: This is to establish a special organisation made up of representatives of the peace-loving nations for the defence of peace and safeguarding of security; to put at the disposal of the directing body of this organisation the necessary minimum of armed forces required to avert aggression, and to oblige this organisation to employ these armed forces without delay if it becomes necessary, to avert or stop aggression, and to punish those guilty of aggression.

This must not be a repetition of the dismal memory of the League of Nations, which had neither the rights nor the means for averting aggression. It will be a new, special, fully authorised international organisation having at its command everything necessary to defend peace and avert new aggression.

Can we expect the actions of this world organisation to be sufficiently effective? They will be effective if the great Powers which have borne on their shoulders the main burden of the war against Hitler-Germany continue to act in a spirit of unanimity and accord. They will not be effective if this essential condition is violated.

Comrades! The Soviet people and the Red Army are successfully executing the tasks which have confronted them in the course of the Patriotic War. The Red Army has worthily fulfilled its patriotic duty and liberated our Motherland from the enemy. Henceforth and for ever our soil is free of the Hitlerite pollution. Now remains its last, final mission: To complete, together with the armies of our Allies, the defeat of the German fascist Army, to finish off the fascist beast in its own den, and to hoist the flag of victory over Berlin.

There is reason to expect that this task will be fulfilled by the Red Army in the none too distant future.

Long live our victorious Red Army!

Long live our glorious Navy!

Long live the mighty Soviet people!

Long live our great Motherland!

Death to the German fascist invaders!

The Aesopian doubletalk contained in the following *Pravda* articles about Hungary, Poland, and Rumania can be summarized as follows: (1) The presence of the Red army assures the development of an independent people's democratic movement; (2) the Soviet Union will destroy all Fascist remnants. Needless to say, those who do not wholeheartedly cooperate with the Soviet policy of ruthless exploitation are not people, but only Fascist beasts.¹

EXHIBIT No. 81

[Washington, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. *Information Bulletin*, January 16, 1945. Pp. 1, 3-4]

DEVELOPMENTS IN HUNGARY

From a *Pravda* editorial, January 12

In Hungary the Red Army has won one of its most brilliant victories. As a result of this victory, Hitler Germany has lost her last ally in Europe. Four-fifths of Hungarian territory has been freed of the Germans by the Red Army. The Hitler forces encircled in Budapest are doomed and are being done away with by the Red Army.

For many years Hungary trailed in Germany's wake. To please Hitler she participated in the criminal aggressive war against the Soviet Union and other freedom-loving nations; and as a result of the defeats she sustained, Hungary has reached the verge of national disaster.

Dissensions arose in Hungary's ruling camp. The German command lost no time in occupying Hungary's territory. The Gestapo terror resulted in the physical destruction of scores of thousands of representatives of the progressive democratic sections of the nation.

PREREQUISITES FOR DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

The occupation by the Red Army of a considerable part of Hungary's territory has created the prerequisites for the unfolding of a democratic movement in the country. Hungarian reaction has retreated along with the routed German divisions.

A Hungarian Provisional National Assembly founded on a broad democratic basis met in Debrecen on December 21 of last year. The National Assembly's decisions met with the complete approval and support of Hungarian public opinion, both inside the country and in the Hungarian democratic emigration. The majority of Hungary's diplomatic corps abroad have placed themselves at the disposal of the Hungarian Provisional National Government.

The latter in its first sitting declared war on Hitler Germany and requested the Soviet Government, and through it the United States and Great Britain, to receive a Hungarian delegation for the discussion of armistice terms.

One more citadel of German fascism has been smashed in the center of Europe. One more country has been given the chance to wash off the disgrace of participation in the crimes of the Hitlerites.

The Hungarian people can now start on a new road toward the creation of an independent, democratic Hungary. These possibilities

¹ Anthony Trawick Bouscaren (University of San Francisco) *Soviet Expansion and the West*, San Francisco, Pacific States, 1949, chs. II and IV. Peter Meyer, Bernard D. Weinryb, Eugene Duschinsky, Nicolas Sylvain, *The Jews in the Soviet Satellites*, Syracuse University Press, 1953.

are open to the Hungarian people because of the generosity of the Soviet Union. Hungary has to admit that she is the defeated party. But the Government of the Soviet Union, in accord with the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, has displayed the utmost generosity and provided conditions which insure to the Hungarian people the possibility of a rapid restoration and revival of its state, its political and economic independence.

The Hungarian events serve as one more proof that Soviet policy is aimed at defeating and annihilating fascism and granting liberty to nations. Hungary, less than any other country, was entitled to claim the understanding and aid of the United Nations: she was the most obstinate of Hitler's satellites. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union affords Hungary a chance to redeem her crimes.

HUNGARY MUST 'EARN RETURN PASSAGE'

It can be expected that the Hungarian nation will be able to make use of these possibilities and thus, as the English say, "earn her return passage" . . . right the wrongs she has wrought, compensate the damage caused by her, bear material responsibility for the destruction and losses which are the result of her participation in Hitler's gangster crusade against the Soviet Union, return her loot, and liberate the Czechoslovakian and Rumanian territories which Hungary seized.

Those are the indispensable conditions dictated by justice. At the same time, Hungary is afforded the possibility to restore her state.

The restoration and maintenance of order and economic life, the suppression of fascist propaganda, the arrest and trial of war criminals—all these are indispensable conditions for laying the foundations of a healthy democratic state.

Hungary will win a place among the liberty-loving nations corresponding to her present contribution to the war effort of the United Nations.

A NEW STAGE IN THE LIFE OF THE POLISH NATION

By J. Kowalski

From Pravda, January 5

December 31, 1944, will go down as a momentous historic date in the life of the Polish nation. On that day the National Council of Poland at its Plenary Session decided to form the Provisional Government of the Polish Republic in place of the Polish Committee of National Liberation, thus satisfying the demands of the broadest sections of the Polish people and all democratic Polish organizations at home and abroad.

As a result of the Hitler aggression, the Polish nation was enslaved and deprived of its statehood in September, 1939. The policy of the Polish rulers of the camp of the so-called *Sanacja* led Poland to disaster. The Polish people embarked upon a long and hard struggle for freedom and independence, for the recovery of its existence as a state.

The course of events has confirmed again and again that the Polish State can be revived only on democratic foundations, and only in close cooperation with the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States and other democratic countries. The emigre "government" set up by Polish reaction outside the country has proved that it has nothing in common with the true national interests of Poland.

This "government," which officially belongs to the camp of the United Nations, has pursued a policy of enmity with regard to Poland's closest neighbor and powerful ally, the Soviet Union. Sacrificing the interests of the Polish nation to the selfishness of the landowners of the border provinces, it has become the expression of the imperialistic policy of Polish reactionaries and has sought to set the Poles at odds with their Slavic brothers, the Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Russians.

The emigre "government" has done everything in its power to prevent the creation of the anti-Hitler front of the Polish people and to thwart its fight against the German invaders. Lastly, the emigre clique persistently sought to disrupt unity in the camp of the Allied powers. This anti-national and anti-democratic policy of the emigre clique has set it completely apart from the Polish nation.

The emigre "government" represents no real force. But it is trying in every way to create an impression of "strength," taking advantage of the fact that it is recognized by some governments.

Poland has refused to take the road that would suit the Hitlerite invaders, onto which the successors to the criminal policy of Beck and Rydz-Smigly tried to push it. The Polish democrats chose another road. It found expression in the formation on July 22, 1944, of the Polish Committee of National Liberation. It is the road of progress and democracy, the road of joint struggle, together with all the United Nations, against the Hitlerite invaders, for complete victory over fascist Germany, for the creation of a strong, independent and democratic Polish State. President Boleslaw Bierut in his address to the National Council of Poland on December 31, 1944, had every ground for stating that July 22, 1944, had ushered in the period of regeneration of the Polish State.

In the five months of its activity, the Polish Committee of National Liberation proved in practice and convinced public opinion in Poland that it was the sole true representative of the Polish nation, restoring the Polish State. The policy of friendship and close cooperation with the Soviet Union pursued by the Polish Committee of National Liberation proved to be most fruitful. Thanks to the aid and heroic action of the Allied Red Army, a considerable part of Polish territory is already free, and in the not distant future the entire Polish land will be cleared of the Hitlerite beasts. "By her own efforts, without the help of the U. S. S. R.," said President Bierut in his address, "Poland would never be able to free herself from the Hitlerite bondage."

The Polish Committee of National Liberation has to its credit considerable successes in the matter of organizing the Polish armed forces.

Today two Polish armies are actively fighting against the Hitlerite invaders.

Around the Polish Committee of National Liberation, based on a coalition of the four democratic parties—*Stronnictwo Ludowe*, the Polish Workers Party, the Polish Socialist Party and *Stronnictwo*

Demokratyczne—rallied a broad section of the Polish nation. It was this that enabled the Polish Committee of National Liberation to successfully cope with the complicated tasks involved in building up democratic government machinery and in the rehabilitation of the country's economic and cultural life.

The territory of Poland liberated from the invaders, in which live one-third of the Polish people, is covered with a network of Peoples' Councils, representing all sections of the population.

Stupendous efforts were required to revive industry, which had been utterly wrecked by the Hitlerite invaders. But much has been achieved in this sphere, too, particularly thanks to the self-sacrificing toil of the Polish workers. Already four large district electric power plants have been restored and put in operation, and three more are being restored. About 85 kilometers of high-tension lines have been built and four district power networks have been connected. Work to insure the industries of Praga a proper supply of electricity and to increase the supply of power to the industries of Bialystok is nearing completion.

As a result of the strenuous and energetic activity of the Polish Committee of National Liberation, the output of the oil industry has already reached 75 per cent of the prewar level. The sole iron and steel plant existing in the liberated territory has been restored. Other metal-working enterprises supplying the needs of the Army, agriculture and industry have resumed production.

The textile industry, which was practically completely destroyed by the Germans, is coming back into its own. Considerable success has been achieved in the food industries. Among the enterprises put into operation are five sugar refineries, 100 distilleries and 18 breweries. A notable revival is to be observed in the activity of the building, chemical, leather and other industries.

In their retreat under the blows of the Red Army the Hitlerite invaders completely wrecked railroad lines and bridges. In five months the tracks and bridges were restored, thanks to the self-sacrificing labor of the Polish railroad workers and the brotherly help of allied Soviet bodies. In addition to the enormous amount of work accomplished by the Polish railroad workers in meeting the requirements of the front, the railroads have carried in five months about two million civilian passengers, and their freight traffic for the needs of the civilian population mounted to 35,000,000 ton-kilometers.

The Polish Committee of National Liberation boldly and consistently attacked the agrarian problem, which was the most vexing question of Polish social and economic life. The enforcement of the historic decree on agrarian reform represents a turning point in the life of the Polish peasantry and the entire nation, and lays a firm foundation for Poland's democratization. In accordance with the decree on agrarian reform, the Polish Committee of National Liberation took over 1,700 landed estates with a total area of 320,000 hectares.

As a result of the agrarian reform, over 100,000 families of peasants and agricultural laborers received land. The land which belonged to approximately 1,000 landowners will now feed about half a million people. The Polish countryside has made a big stride along the road of progress. The formation of the "Peasant Mutual Aid" organization opens before the Polish peasantry wide prospects for a life of culture and prosperity.

In the liberated territory there are already functioning 4,500 elementary schools and 130 high schools, with a total attendance of 730,000 children. Over 12,000 teachers are engaged in these schools. In addition, there exist over 100 industrial and business schools and courses, and over 100 agricultural schools and training courses accommodating 14,000 students.

The Curie-Sklodowski State University in Lublin and the Medical College of Warsaw University in Praga have been opened. Colleges of veterinary surgery, pharmaceuticals and polytechnical sciences are in process of organization.

Real democracy reigns throughout the liberated Polish territory. All Polish organizations, with the exception of reactionary and fascist organizations, are freely carrying on their activity. Workers and office employees are organizing in trade unions. The population of the liberated regions and the Poles still under the yoke of the Hitlerite invaders highly appreciate these achievements of the Polish Committee of National Liberation. They have become convinced through their own experience that the policy of the Polish Committee of National Liberation is the only correct policy and that it leads to the creation of a strong, independent, democratic Poland in which will be united all Polish lands.

The population of all the liberated territory unanimously demanded that the Polish Committee of National Liberation should become the Provisional Government of the Polish State. In line with this demand of the people, the National Council of Poland, by an act passed on December 31, 1944, set up the Provisional Government of the Polish Republic.

The Provisional Government of the Polish Republic represents a coalition of the same four democratic parties which made up the Polish Committee of National Liberation. The Government consists of statesmen known to the Polish people and whose loyalty to the cause of Poland and the cause of the Allies has been tested in practice.

The Polish people will undoubtedly have to overcome considerable difficulties on the way to the complete liberation of its country from the German-fascist invaders, and to the complete reconstruction of the Polish State. But the fruitful activity of the Polish Committee of National Liberation has already laid a firm foundation for this creative process, and this activity has met with the approval of not only the Polish people, but also of the peoples of the Soviet Union, as well as the progressive elements in Great Britain, the United States, France, Czechoslovakia and other democratic countries.

The formation of the Provisional Government of the Polish Republic will undoubtedly still further accelerate the rallying of the entire Polish nation to the fight against the Hitlerite invaders, and will serve as a guarantee for the further strengthening of the ties between Poland and the Soviet Union, and also with other democratic powers.

EXHIBIT No. 82

[Washington, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. *Information Bulletin*, March 1, 1945. Pp. 6-8]

THE EVENTS IN RUMANIA

Pravda wrote editorially, February 22

Events in Rumania have recently taken a turn which justifies us in saying that a political crisis is ripening. The broad mass of the people desire a resolute democratization of the country, the elimination of all vestiges of Antonescu's fascist regime, and certain urgent and essential reforms. But these aspirations are being baffled by the irresolute, vacillating and often frankly anti-democratic policy of Radescu's government.

The National Democratic Front Program published on January 28 describes the situation as follows: "Owing to the anti-popular policy pursued both inside the government and out, by reactionary elements among the leaders of the National Taranist and National Liberal parties, who are hindering the democratization of the country; owing to sabotage and delays in carrying out the armistice terms, and owing to the resistance of these circles to essential economic and social reforms, our country finds itself in dire straits and is threatened with economic and national chaos."

This picture fully corresponds to the realities. And the National Democratic Front Program goes on to say, "The way the government, in which reactionary elements predominate, is directing the country hampers the establishment of a sincere and stable friendship with the USSR and other democratic countries, is an obstacle to the democratization of the country, prevents it from escaping from the dire plight in which it finds itself, and hinders it from winning a place among the peaceful, freedom-loving countries."

The Program met with the unanimous approval of the broad mass of the people. But circles associated with the National Taranist and National Liberal parties made no concealment of their extreme irritation.

In connection with the conclusion of the Congress of the Rumanian Trade Unions and the formation of the Rumanian General Confederation of Labor, a huge mass meeting was held in Bucharest on January 30. It was addressed by Georg Apostol, a member of the General Confederation, who condemned the policy of the reactionary circles headed by Maniu. The meeting demanded the immediate arrest of the war criminals, observance of the armistice terms, and agrarian reform.

In an interview given to the Rumanian press on February 6, Techari Jorjescu, Deputy Minister of Home Affairs, stated that the purge of fascist elements from the government administration was extremely slow and was being sabotaged by influential officials. A radical clean-up was needed in the police force, which Jorjescu said was infected with the fascist virus. The reactionary ministers were unwilling to adopt a resolute policy in this matter.

A large part of the Rumanian press endorsed the accusations of irresolution and protection of reactionary elements leveled at the government. The fascists' reply to this was an attempt on the life

of Miron Constantinescu, editor of *Scanteia*. Unidentified persons riding in an automobile overtook his car and fired eight shots at him. They missed. The police failed to find the would-be assassins.

The growing dissatisfaction of the Rumanian people with the government's policy induced Prime Minister Radescu to make a programmatic speech on February 12. But it was delivered in such surroundings, and both its contents and tone were such, as only to aggravate the situation.

Radescu was to make his speech in the Scala cinema theater. Long before the meeting opened, the theater was filled to overflowing, there being many supporters of the National Democratic Front in the audience. But, quite unexpectedly, Radescu made his speech in the Aro cinema house before a selected audience consisting predominantly of reactionary elements. The theater in which the Prime Minister, who is fond of calling himself a "democrat," spoke, was cordoned off by armed police so as to keep out dissidents.

The people gathered in the Scala were indignant and refused to listen to Radescu over the radio. Part of the audience proceeded to the Aro and staged a demonstration of hostility to the Prime Minister.

Radescu's speech was a tirade against the democratic elements. He accused the workers of excessive zeal for politics. "Let the workers," he said, "give less time to politics and more to their jobs. Only in that way can they benefit the country and themselves. All agitation must cease, otherwise the very existence of the country will be jeopardized."

That is strange language for a democrat. Ousting the workers from politics is characteristic of a fascist, not a democratic, regime. Rumania heard such speeches of hostility to the working class in Antonescu's reign. Naturally, Radescu's attacks on the workers afforded the liveliest satisfaction to the reactionary elements, and they applauded the Premier vociferously.

But no better was Radescu's attitude toward the peasants. He categorically declined to carry out the agrarian reform immediately, on the dubious pretext that it was inconvenient to do so at a time when Rumanian soldiers from the peasant class were away with the army. Radescu said, "Having carefully weighed the pros and cons, I have come to the conclusion that the proper moment for agrarian reform has not arrived and that, furthermore, to carry out the agrarian reform at this moment would be a gross mistake."

He argued that to transfer the land of the big estates to the peasants would be injurious to agriculture, and that the agrarian reform cannot and must not be carried out until after the war.

If there is anything new in Radescu's contentions, it is only that they are sponsored by a politician who claims to be a democrat. These are the customary assertions of hidebound reactionaries. The Rumanians heard all these arguments during the First World War. Then, too, agrarian reform was promised "after the war," at the "proper moment," but that moment never came. The Rumanian peasants were cruelly deceived.

It need scarcely be said that the present situation in Rumania threatens the failure of the spring sowing, whereas an immediate agrarian reform would fire the Rumanian peasants with enthusiasm, which would spur them to work more intensively on their land and increase the crop.

This is obvious to all in Rumania who are not blinded by reactionary malice; and in a letter signed by 61 professors and lecturers of Bucharest and other universities, it is stated that, "The unsettled question of agrarian reform threatens the country with real disaster."

However, the voice of the Rumanian progressive intelligentsia is as alien to the ears of Radescu as the voice of the workers and the voice of the peasants. Radescu's speech was imbued with a spirit of hostility to the political utterances of the intelligentsia, toward the press, and toward "agitation" for an early and honest democratization of Rumania.

The fascist elements were not slow in drawing their own conclusions from Radescu's speech. They looked upon it as an encouragement to them, as the signal for an open war on democracy. The consequences were not long in manifesting themselves. After Radescu's speech, the fascists savagely beat up demonstrators in front of the Aro theater. The police, by aiding the hooligans and bandits, justified the characterization given them by Deputy Minister of Home Affairs Jorjescu. The activization of the pro-Hitler elements in Rumania is undeniable. It is an inevitable consequence of the fact that the Radescu government, refusing to rely upon the support of the broad mass of the people, is turning for support to the reactionary elements. This rupture with democracy threatens to render Radescu's government impotent. Radescu is trying to compensate for this growing sense of impotence by resorting to the force of the police. This is only widening the rift between him and Rumania's democratic circles.

An episode in the *Dreptatea* printing offices confirms this. *Dreptatea*, which expresses the views of the National Taranists, attacked the National Democratic Front, the labor unions and democracy, and leveled the most filthy and libelous accusations at them. The workers refused to print this wretched fascist sheet, rightly holding that it was impossible to allow virtual supporters of Antonescu to undermine the foundations of the new regime in Rumania. Freedom of the press does not exist for pro-Hitlerites and their agents.

What did the government do? It dispatched police and troops to the *Dreptatea* and other print shops. The workers were forced to print the calumnious articles. This naturally aroused indignation in the workers' circles. A printers' delegation went to see Radescu. Received by him on February 16, they protested against the occupation of a number of print shops by the troops, and against the beating up by fascist bands of peaceful demonstrators outside the Aro theater.

Did Radescu find a common language with the printers' representatives? No. They demanded the restoration of democratic rights. Radescu upheld the rights of the police. He took the fascist hooligans under his protection. We learn in a statement of the printer's delegation published in *Scanteia* that, "The Prime Minister threatened that he would act the same way as they had acted in Greece. He said that he would declare war on the workers, that he would call on the army and order it to fire on the workers."

This "Greek" talk of Radescu's indicates that, owing to his own fault, the democratic ground is slipping from under his feet, and that in his relations with the masses he can only resort to antidemocratic measures. Need it be said that this slippery path can lead Rumania to no good?

All reactionary elements sense in Radescu's words the reluctance and the powerlessness of the Premier to work for the genuine, sincere and honest democratization of Rumania. Who were the ringleaders of the hooligans whom Radescu approved and encouraged in his reply to the printers' delegation? According to the newspaper *Romania Libera*, they were the leader of the Taranist organization of Transylvanian Refugees, Iliis Lazar; the leader of the Legionaries affiliated with the National Taranist Party, Commanciu; the leader of the Liberal Youth, Farkasanu, editor of *Viitorul*; the leader of the Taranist youth, Zezu, and Valerampop, son of a war criminal.

The names of the bandits are known. The police do nothing, although the Rumanian public demands that they be called to account. The Prime Minister encourages them.

Events are developing at an ominous speed. Huge protest meetings against the savage excesses of the fascist hooligans are being held in Bucharest, demanding a resolute purging of Rumania of the fascists, and immediate reforms. Distrusting the government, which has exposed its reactionary complexion, the masses have begun to clean up the government administration on their own initiative.

In Craiova, a popular meeting attended by eight to ten thousand persons deposed the prefect, an Antonescu supporter, and elected in his place engineer Cielac, a supporter of the National Democratic Front. That same evening three companies of gendarmes, about 700 strong, were rushed to Craiova. Members of the Council of the National Democratic Front were arrested and beaten up in the prefecture, on the way to the police station, and in the police station itself. Old officials took an active part in the manhandling. This savage episode filled the noses of all Rumania with the revolting stench of the old *siguranza* of Antonescu's dungeons.

The Hitlerite elements have thrown off all restraint. On February 20, at the Malacsa works, a nefarious assault was perpetrated upon the factory committee. Severe wounds were inflicted on Georg Apostol, member of the General Confederation of Labor, whose speech calling for the democratization of Rumania had just been heard by the Bucharest workers, and approved at a meeting.

Such is the picture of events in Rumania. It signifies that the Radescu government has demonstrated its inability to create firm order in Rumania by democratic means; that by refusing to find a common language with the democratic forces of the country, it confesses that it has no influence over the mass of the people; that in its determination to cling to power it is preparing for an alliance with the recent supporters of fascist Antonescu, who embroiled Rumania in a criminal war on the side of Hitler Germany, and that this reactionary course is fraught with disaster and untold misery for Rumania.

The Soviet public cannot remain indifferent to this struggle of the democratic and fascist elements in Rumania. This is not only Rumania's internal affair. The war has not ended. Hitler Germany has not been finally defeated. She is frantically resisting. On the eve of her inevitable downfall, she is striving to mobilize her followers and agents.

We cannot for a moment lose sight of the fact that Rumania is in the rear of the Red Army, and in that rear the sway of pro-fascist elements must be eliminated. This is demanded by the historic

decisions of the Crimean Conference. No Rumanian government which looks for support to the reactionary circles which have compromised themselves by their intimacy with Antonescu and the Hitlerites, can hope to create in Rumania an atmosphere calculated effectively to assist the powers of the anti-Hitler coalition.

The only strong government in Rumania—as in every other country—can be one that relies on the people, that functions by democratic means and in the interests of the broad sections of the population. When Radescu resorts to police violence against Rumanian workers, peasants and intellectuals, when he tries to strengthen his authority by savage repression, shooting and manhandling, he only portrays his impotence. By setting himself against the democratic forces he is inevitably brought to realize the extreme weakness of his political influence on the Rumanian people—and, as a consequence, seeks for support among those who only yesterday were the buttress of Antonescu and in alliance with the Hitlerites who forced Rumania into the war with the USSR and other democratic countries.

Rumania can escape from its present plight only by determined, consistent and all-round democratization; by resolutely extirpating all vestiges of the fascist regime, and by firmly carrying out essential political and social reforms.

In February 1945, the last of the great wartime conferences designed to ensure a lasting peace was held at the Russian town of Yalta. Before the Bolshevik revolution, Yalta was a favorite resort place of the czars. It is located in the Crimea, a small area of southern Russia which enjoys a relatively mild, Mediterranean-type climate. After the Bolsheviks seized power, Yalta and other favorite recreation spots in southern Russia were reserved for top Communists. As George Orwell ably summed it up in his *Animal Farm*, "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others."¹

One of the greatest tragedies of the Yalta Conference was the fact that Communist leaders and those of the western democracies did not mean the same things by the same words.² For example, when the western leaders spoke of democracy, they understood unimpeded action by genuinely free people. But to the Soviet leaders, democracy meant dictatorship of the proletariat. Only those who would completely submit to Communist domination were to be regarded as people. All other human creatures were nothing better than Fascist beasts, deserving either immediate liquidation or more horrible enslavement as "animated tools" to be used up and discarded along the road to Socialist construction. Just what the Kremlin masters understood by "joint action" in the liberated countries could be learned from the conduct of the Red army in Hungary and Poland (this section, exhibit No. 81).³ It is interesting to note that, while the Yalta agreement left details of the German occupation to be settled at a later date, the place chosen for the seat of the Reparations Commission was Moscow.

At Yalta, Stalin talked of peace in the same way that Lenin had written about it in the very first decree ever issued by the Bolshevik dictatorship (this section, exhibit No. 1). So long as the Kremlin masters retained their senses, they will never abandon this extraordinarily effective technique of Aesopian doubletalk.

¹ Orwell, *Animal Farm*, p. 112.

² Reshetar, *Soviet Behavior*, pp. 47-48. Oscar Halecki (Fordham University), *Borderlands of Western Civilization*, New York, Ronald, 1952, Chapter 24: Stalin's Peace.

³ Albert Konrad Herling, *The Soviet Slave Empire*, New York, Funk, 1951. Hal Lehrman, *Russia's Europe*, New York, Appleton-Century, 1947. Ruben H. Markham, *Rumania Under the Soviet Yoke*, Boston, Meador, 1949.

EXHIBIT No. 83

[Washington, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. *Information Bulletin*, February 23, 1945. Pp. 6-8]

**TEXT OF ANNOUNCEMENT OF CRIMEAN CONFERENCE OF
LEADERS OF THREE ALLIED POWERS**

For the past eight days, a conference took place of the leaders of the three Allied powers—Winston S. Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain; Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, and Marshal Joseph V. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—in the Crimea, with the participation of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Chiefs of Staff and other advisers.

In addition to the three heads of Government, the following took part in the Conference:

For the Soviet Union: V. M. Molotov, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of USSR; Admiral Kuznetsov, People's Commissar of the Navy; Army General Antonov, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Red Army; A. Y. Vyshinsky, Deputy People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of USSR; I. M. Maisky, Deputy People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of USSR; Marshal of Aviation Khudyakov; F. T. Gusev, Ambassador to Great Britain; A. A. Gromyko, Ambassador to the United States.

For the United States of America: Edward R. Stettinius Jr., Secretary of State; Admiral of the Fleet William D. Leahy, Chief of Staff to the President; Harry L. Hopkins, Special Assistant to the President; Justice James F. Byrnes, Director, Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion; General of the Army George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, United States Army; Admiral of the Fleet, Ernest J. King, Chief of Naval Operations and Commander in Chief, United States Navy; Lieutenant General Brehon B. Somervell, Commanding General, Army Service Forces; Vice Admiral Emory S. Land, War Shipping Administrator; Major General L. S. Kuter, Staff of Commanding General, United States Army Air Forces; W. Averell Harriman, Ambassador to the USSR; H. Freeman Matthews, Director of European Affairs, State Department; Alger Hiss, Deputy Director, Office of Special Political Affairs, State Department; Charles E. Bohlen, Assistant to the Secretary of State, together with political, military and technical advisers.

For Great Britain: Anthony Eden, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Lord Leathers, Minister of War Transport; Sir A. Clark Kerr, Ambassador to the USSR; Sir Alexander Cadogan, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Sir Edward Bridges, Secretary of the War Cabinet; Field Marshal Sir Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff; Marshal of Royal Air Force Sir Charles Portal, Chief of Staff of Air Force; Admiral of the Fleet Sir Andrew Cunningham, First Sea Lord; General Sir Hastings Ismay, Chief of Staff to Minister of Defense; Field Marshal Alexander, Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean theater; Field Marshal Wilson, head of the British Military Mission at Washington; Admiral Somerville, member of Military Mission at Washington, together with military and diplomatic advisers.

The following statement is made by the President of the United States of America, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, on the results of the Crimean Conference:

1. THE DEFEAT OF GERMANY

We have considered and determined the military plans of the three Allied powers for the final defeat of the common enemy. The military staffs of the three Allied nations have met in daily meetings throughout the Conference. These meetings have been most satisfactory from every point of view and have resulted in closer coordination of the military efforts of the three Allies than ever before. The fullest information has been interchanged. The timing, scope and coordination of new and even more powerful blows to be launched by our armies and air forces into the heart of Germany from the east, west, north and south have been fully agreed and planned in detail.

Our combined military plans will be made known only as we execute them, but we are confident that the very close-working cooperation among the three staffs attained at this Conference will result in shortening the war. Meetings of our three staffs will be continued at any time the need arises.

Nazi Germany is doomed. The German people will only make the cost of their defeat heavier to themselves by attempting to continue a hopeless resistance.

2. THE OCCUPATION AND CONTROL OF GERMANY

We have agreed on common policies and plans for enforcing the unconditional surrender terms which we shall impose together on Nazi Germany after German armed resistance has been finally crushed. These terms will not be made known until the final defeat of Germany has been accomplished.

Under the agreed plan, the forces of the three powers will each occupy a separate zone of Germany. Coordinated administration and control have been provided for under the plan through a Central Control Commission, consisting of the Supreme Commanders of the three powers, with headquarters in Berlin.

It has been agreed that France will be invited by the three powers, if she should so desire, to take over a zone of occupation and to participate as a fourth member of the Control Commission. The limits of the French zone will be agreed by the four Governments concerned through representatives on the European Advisory Commission.

It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to insure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are fully determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up once and for all the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism; remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production; bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment and exact reparation in kind for the destruction wrought by the Germans; wipe out the Nazi Party, Nazi laws, organizations

and institutions from the face of the earth, remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public offices and from the cultural and economic life of the German people; and take in harmony such other measures in Germany as may be necessary to the future peace and safety of the world. It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany, but only when Nazism and militarism have been extirpated will there be hope for a decent life for the German people, and a place for them in the community of nations.

3. REPARATION BY GERMANY

We have considered the question of the damage caused by Germany to the Allied nations in this war and recognized it as just that Germany be obliged to make compensation for this damage in kind to the greatest extent possible. A commission for the compensation of damages will be established. The commission will be instructed to consider the question of the extent and methods for compensating damage caused by Germany to the Allied countries. The commission will work in Moscow.

4. UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE

We are resolved upon the earliest possible establishment with our Allies of a general international organization to maintain peace and security. We believe that this is essential, both to prevent aggression and to remove the political, economic and social causes of war through the close and constant collaboration of all peace-loving peoples.

The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. On the important question of voting procedure, however, agreement was not reached there. The present Conference has been able to resolve this difficulty.

We have agreed that a conference of the United Nations should be called to meet at San Francisco, in the United States, on April 25, 1945, to prepare the charter for such an organization, along the lines proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks.

The Government of China and the Provisional Government of France will be immediately consulted and invited to sponsor invitations to the conference jointly with the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As soon as the consultation with China and France has been completed, the text of the proposals on voting procedure will be made public.

5. DECLARATION ON LIBERATED EUROPE

This declaration provides for coordination of the policies of the three powers and for their joint actions in the solution of the political and economic problems of liberated Europe, in accordance with democratic principles. The text of the declaration follows:

The Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States of America have consulted with each other in the common interests of the peoples of their countries and those of liberated Europe. They jointly declare their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the

policies of their three Governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems.

The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by such processes as will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice. In accordance with the principle of the Atlantic Charter, on the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor nations, must be insured.

To provide the conditions in which the liberated peoples may exercise these rights, the three Governments will jointly assist the peoples in any European liberated state or former Axis satellite state in Europe where in their judgment conditions require it: a) to establish conditions of internal peace; b) to carry out emergency measures for the relief of distressed peoples; c) to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people; and d) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections.

The three Governments will consult the other United Nations and provisional authorities or other governments in Europe when matters of direct interest to them are under consideration.

When, in the opinion of the three Governments, conditions in any European liberated state or in any former Axis satellite state in Europe make such action necessary, they will immediately consult together on the measures necessary to discharge the joint responsibilities set forth in this declaration.

By this declaration we reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, our pledge in the Declaration by the United Nations, and our determination to build, in cooperation with other peace-loving nations, world order under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom and the general well-being of all mankind.

In issuing this declaration, the three powers express the hope that the Provisional Government of the French Republic may be associated with them in the procedure suggested.

6. POLAND

We have gathered at the Crimean Conference to solve our differences on the Polish question. We have discussed fully all aspects of the Polish question and we have once again confirmed our general desire to see created a strong, free, independent and democratic Poland; and as a result of our discussions, we have agreed upon conditions under which the new Provisional Polish Government of National Unity will be formed in such a way as to receive recognition by the three leading powers. The following agreement has been reached:

A new situation has been created in Poland as a result of her complete liberation by the Red Army. This calls for the establishment of a Polish Provisional Government which can be more broadly based

than was possible before the recent liberation of the western part of Poland. The Provisional Government which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This new government should then be called the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity.

V. M. Molotov, Mr. A. W. Harriman and Sir A. Clark Kerr are authorized as a commission to consult in the first instance in Moscow with members of the present Provisional Government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad, with a view to the reorganization of the present Government along the above lines. This Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates.

When a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity has been properly formed in conformity with the above, the Government of the USSR, which now maintains diplomatic relations with the present Provisional Government of Poland, and the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the United States of America will establish diplomatic relations with the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity and will exchange Ambassadors, by whose reports the respective Governments will be kept informed about the situation in Poland.

The three heads of Government consider that the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon Line, with digressions from it in some regions of five to eight kilometers in favor of Poland. They recognize that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the north and west. They feel that the opinion of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity should be sought in due course on the extent of these accessions and that thereafter the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should be postponed until the peace conference.

7. YUGOSLAVIA

We have agreed to recommend to Marshal Tito and Doctor Subasic that the agreement between them should be put into effect immediately and a joint Provisional Government should be formed on the basis of that agreement. It was also decided to recommend that as soon as the new Yugoslav Government has been formed it should declare that:

- 1) The Anti-fascist Assembly of National Liberation of Yugoslavia should be extended to include members of the last Yugoslav Parliament (Skupschina) who have not compromised themselves by collaboration with the enemy, thus forming a body to be known as a temporary Parliament;

- 2) Legislative acts passed by the Anti-fascist Assembly of National Liberation will be subject to subsequent ratification by a Constituent Assembly.

There was also a general review of other Balkan questions.

8. MEETINGS OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Throughout the Conference, besides the daily meetings of the heads of Governments and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, separate meetings of the three Ministers of Foreign Affairs, with the participation of their advisers, have also been held daily.

These meetings have proved of the utmost value and the Conference agreed that permanent machinery should be set up for regular consultation between the three Ministers of Foreign Affairs. They will, therefore, meet as often as may be necessary, probably about every three or four months. These meetings will be held in rotation in the three Capitals, the first meeting being held in London, after the United Nations conference on the creation of the international security organization.

9. UNITY IN PEACE AS IN WAR

Our Conference here in the Crimea has reaffirmed our common determination to maintain and strengthen in the peace to come that unity of purpose and of action which has made victory possible and certain for the United Nations in this war. We believe that this is a sacred obligation of our Governments to our peoples and to all the peoples of the world.

Only with the continuing and growing cooperation and mutual understanding among our three countries and among all the peace-loving nations can the highest aspiration of humanity be realized—a secure and lasting peace which must, in the words of the Atlantic Charter, “afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

Victory in this war and the establishment of the proposed international organization will provide the greatest opportunity in all the history of humanity to create in the years to come the essential conditions of such a peace.

(Signed)

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
JOSEPH STALIN

February 11, 1945

In a 1945 Soviet textbook on civil administration, the contemporary Russian concept of totalitarian rule is adequately summarized in three propositions: (1) Comrade Stalin teaches * * *; (2) the top levels of the Soviets—i. e., the government—and the party are identical; (3) “independent” organizations do nothing without specific party directives. Thus the ideal of Bolshevik monolithic society is achieved under the all-watchful eye of the omnipotent *vozhd*.¹ The workers still have nothing to lose but their chains.

The following translation is reprinted from Vladimir Gsovski, *Soviet Civil Law*, Volume I, 77-79.

¹ Bishop, *Soviet Foreign Relations*, pp. 16-19.

EXHIBIT No. 84

[Moscow, Legal Publishing House of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U. S. S. R., 1945. S. S. Studenikin, *Soviet Administrative Law*. Pp. 7-9]

Comrade Stalin teaches that the Communist Party directs the government machinery. The Communist Party through its members working in the government agencies guides their work and directs their activities.

By experience the following basic forms of Party leadership of the government machinery were worked out:

(1) The decisive point is the fusion of the Party "top levels" with the "top levels" of the soviets, about which Lenin wrote: "they are fused in our system and shall so remain" (27 Collected works 252; 30 *id.* 422). But the economic, administrative, public, cultural and other of our institutions are not institutions of the Communist Party;

(2) Further, no important question is decided without directives of Party agencies . . .

(3) The Central Committee of the Party passes with the Council of the People's Commissars joint resolutions on the most important problems of government administration and similarly the provincial (regional) committees of the Party pass joint resolutions with the provincial (regional) executive committees of the soviets, which resolutions are binding upon the soviet and Party organizations;

(4) In the preparation of plans for work, the Party agencies give directive instructions. Plans affecting national economy are, as a rule, discussed at Party congresses whose decisions are carried out by the soviet agencies concerned; are (5) At all congresses, conventions and in all elective soviet organizations where there are not less than three Party members, Party groups are created. The task of the Party groups is "many-sided strengthening of the Party influence and carrying out its policy among persons who do not belong to the Party, fortifying of discipline in the Party and government service, fight against red tape, check on execution of the directives of the Party and soviets" (*Statute of the Communist Party*, Section 70). Through these Party groups the control of the Party over the soviet mass organizations is effected. It is the duty of the Party groups to execute strictly and unswervingly the decisions of the directive Party agencies. The groups are subordinate to the corresponding local Party organizations; the Party group of the executive committee of a city is subordinate to the city committee of the Communist Party; the Party group of a district soviet is subordinate to the district committee of the Party, the Party group of a regional soviet is subordinate to the regional committee of the Party, etc.

(6) Members of the Party no matter how important their position with the government are under the control of the Party. Thereby the strictest necessary discipline of each and every member of the Party is secured.

(7) The Party checks up the work of the government agencies, corrects their errors, remedies the deficiencies and, if necessary, aids in carrying out the decisions. . . .

The Party organizations of a soviet institution, without exercising any control functions, must report to the competent Party agencies the deficiencies in the work of the institutions, take notice of the defects in the work of the institution and its individual workers and communicate

such kind of material with suggestions to the executive Party agencies and the chief of the institution.

In the fading hours of World War II in Europe, the Soviet journal, *War and the Working Class*, carried the following curious combination of Bolshevik Aesopian doubletalk and, at times, thinly veiled threats to the western democracies. For some months previous, the Red Army had been impeding the activities of British and American agencies working for the genuine liberation of occupied countries.¹ When this article appeared in the *Information Bulletin* of the Soviet Embassy to the United States, it should have been clear that the word "democracy" meant something very different in English and in contemporary Russian.

In typical Aesopean fashion, *War and the Working Class* explains why Soviet democracy is superior to that of the United States and Great Britain. First of all, true civil liberty exists only in Russia, where all human rights are derived from cooperation with the masters of the Soviet economic system.² Next, it is a fundamental fact that all Fascists must in one way or other be eliminated. In order to put an end to reckless action against the U. S. S. R., the Soviet brand of democracy must eventually be introduced, not only in Germany, but also in Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece, Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Finland.

Out of consideration for the western democracies fighting to defeat Nazi Germany, references to countries not yet "liberated" by the Red army are kept vague. But the United States and Great Britain must get one thing straight: all efforts to "impose" western democratic practices upon those territories already occupied by the Soviet forces will be regarded as unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of those peoples. The Soviet Union, however, will continue to fight in a manner designed to close all loopholes through which fascism may reemerge anywhere on earth. Once the western democracies understand these facts of life, the Kremlin masters will talk about peaceful coexistence in the postwar world.

EXHIBIT No. 85

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DEMOCRACY

By A. Sokolov

(From *War and the Working Class*, No. 8)

Recently certain organs of the press in the Allied and neutral countries have commenced very energetic researches into the question of what democracy is. These researches by no means bear a purely abstract character. On the contrary, they have been prompted by an obvious dissatisfaction with the very concrete forms in which the will of the peoples has been finding expression in a number of liberated European countries; and the terminological researches of the dissatisfied authors usually result in one and only one discovery, that there is a fundamental difference between the two "conceptions" of democracy, namely, the Soviet and the Anglo-Saxon.

Thus the English liberal *Manchester Guardian* says: "It would seem to be necessary to have some international agreement on the meaning of certain fashionable expressions." And it goes on to explain which fashionable expressions are perplexing. It would like to know: "What is a democrat, a Hitlerite and a fascist? And no less important, what is an anti-fascist?"

¹ Robert Bishop and E. S. Crayfield, *Russia Asride the Balkans*, New York, McBride, 1948.

² Florinsky, *Towards an Understanding of the U. S. S. R.*, pp. 192-197.

Another English newspaper, the conservative *Observer*—in an article by its reviewer who writes under the very promising *nom de plume*, “Student of Europe”—expresses itself even more definitely. It asserts that in the Soviet Union “democracy appears to mean something different from, and in some respects even the opposite to, what the English-speaking world understands by the term.” To these “differences in definition” the newspaper attaches “very great political importance.”

It cannot be denied that there is an extremely important difference between the democracy that prevails in the Soviet Union and that which exists in a number of other countries. That there is a difference between the social systems and ideologies of the USSR and the Anglo-Saxon countries is beyond dispute. It is equally beyond dispute that this difference should not serve as an obstacle to firm and durable cooperation among the Allies.

Of course, a country which knows no exploitation of man by man, a country in which not only political but also economic equality prevails, a country in which democratic liberties are not only proclaimed *de jure* but are fully guaranteed *de facto* by the material conditions of social life, a country in which genuine freedom of nations exists and indestructible friendship between these nations has been created—such a country has undoubtedly made more progress along the road to democracy. It is also true that Soviet democracy cannot be regarded as identical with English democracy. That the economic basis of society in the Soviet Union is different from that in England is commonly known. This directly affects the question of democracy, in that it is precisely the economic system of the Soviet Union that guarantees the people the opportunity of exercising their democratic rights, including such fundamental and vital rights as the right to work, the right to education, freedom from exploitation and from national or racial discrimination, etc. . . .

Under these circumstances, the difference between Soviet democracy and, for example, English democracy, is of course not only a “difference of definition.” Nevertheless this does not mean that the Soviet people and the democrats in other countries cannot find common ground and a common criterion of what should be regarded as democratic . . .

It is particularly easy to dispel doubts on this score at the present time, when the war against the brown plague of Hitlerism is still in progress and when the cornerstone of the future world order which will make the recurrence of fascist aggression impossible, has to be laid; for in our days democracy is revealed in the struggle against fascism. In our days a democrat is one who resolutely and relentlessly fights fascism. A democrat is one who not only in words but also in deeds is prepared to wage a struggle until all fascist elements and all fascist influences are completely extirpated; for the pernicious nature of fascism, the monstrous danger it represents to the freedom and very lives of the peoples, is clear to every right-thinking man. Freedom for the peoples means death to fascism.

It is on the recognition of this general principle, on which the Soviet people and the sincere supporters of democracy in other countries can find common ground, that the decisions of the Crimea Conference rest. The three great Allied powers pledged themselves to help the peoples of liberated Europe “to solve by democratic means their

pressing political and economic problems." They also made provision for a policy which will "enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice." The three great Allies agreed to help the peoples, where conditions require it, for "form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people."

Thus the Crimea agreements recognize the need for the democratic solution of all urgent and important problems that arise as a result of the liberation of Europe from destructive fascist tyranny. One would think that the clarity of these decisions, permeated as they are with a spirit of respect for the democratic rights of European nations, would preclude the possibility of all misinterpretation. But as the saying goes, even multiplication tables could be interpreted in different ways if it suited anybody's purpose to do so.

Many newly-hatched champions of democracy appear to argue that to achieve the complete triumph of democracy it is simply necessary to restore all the forms of political life that existed in European countries before the present war. It is sufficient to glance back at the past to convince oneself of the unsoundness of such an argument. It is no secret that in a number of European countries, not to speak of fascist Germany and Italy of course, the political system that prevailed before the war had very little in common with democracy.

It is sufficient to recall, for example, the regime that existed in prewar Poland. This regime arose as a result of a violent *coup d'etat* against the people brought about by Pilsudski and his clique in 1926. The fascist constitution of 1935; the inhuman national oppression of eleven million Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Lithuanians; the disfranchisement of workers, peasants and progressive intelligentsia; the feudal latifundia, nearly as large as whole counties, owned by the Radziwills and the Sapiehas; the notorious concentration camp in Bereza-Kartushka and the Brest central prison in which were incarcerated all those who dared raise their voices against the rule of the corrupt clique of reactionary politicians; the venality and obscurantism in all spheres of domestic politics; the reckless flirting with Hitler Germany, and the constant anti-Soviet intrigues in the sphere of foreign policy—such are the most memorable features of that regime, of the restoration of which the bankrupt Raczkiewicz-Arciszewski clique, their abettors and patrons in reactionary circles in Allied countries, are still dreaming.

It is common knowledge that democracy in countries like Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria fared no better. During the two decades between the First and Second World Wars, the reaction which reigned in those countries strangled the virile popular forces. Not only was the Communist Party driven underground, but every expression of progressive political thought was severely punished. Race hatred and brutal chauvinism were systematically cultivated; imperialist tendencies and great power plans of aggression were encouraged. Under these conditions the carpetbaggers of Hitler imperialism at the proper moment quickly found common ground with the reactionary ruling cliques of these small countries, who

unhesitatingly flung their peoples into the bloody vortex of the war of aggression unleashed by the Germans.

Nor can the regimes in prewar Yugoslavia and Greece be described as democratic from any point of view. In Yugoslavia, for example, during the elections to the *skupschina* which were carried through by the Stojadinovic government in December, 1938, a number of candidates on the official ticket were declared elected although they had polled only 10 to 20 votes; whereas the opposition candidates, who had polled votes running into the tens of thousands, were declared not elected. In Greece the fascist dictatorship of Metaxas was rampant for a number of years before the present war. The Australian author Aldridge, who was in Crete with an Allied Expeditionary Force in the spring of 1941, shows fairly clearly in his novel *The Sea Eagle* that the struggle waged by the Greek partisans against the "iron-heads," as they called the German invaders, was a direct continuation of the self-sacrificing struggle they had formerly waged against Greek fascism, against the brutal Metaxas regime.

Our picture would be incomplete if we did not mention also the notorious regime of prewar Finland. Was it democracy which gave the Finnish warmongers every opportunity to plunge the country into two disastrous wars against the Soviet Union? No sane person can deny that this is an extremely important criterion of the regime that prevailed in Finland. To characterize this regime it is sufficient to recall the fact that it had outlawed the party which now, at the very first elections held under something like free conditions, polled one-fourth of the total vote in spite of the fact that it had neither the time nor the opportunity to make preparations for the election campaign.

Such was the situation in a number of East European countries. But even in the West European countries, which have old democratic traditions, the political structure in the prewar years was so honeycombed with reaction that fascist agents were able unhindered to intrigue against the people and to weave their net of treachery and national betrayal. This was the situation not only in France, but also in Denmark, Norway, Belgium and Holland. As for the countries of the Iberian Peninsula, the anti-popular regimes established there were as like the fascism of Hitler and Mussolini as peas in a pod.

This obviously unsatisfactory state of affairs as regards democracy in many countries on the European Continent primarily explains Hitler's easy victories in the first stage of the war, before he attacked the Soviet Union. Had democracy not been so enfeebled, had it really reigned in prewar Europe, the world would have been saved from the tragedy of Dunkirk, and from the humiliating farce in the Compiegne woods, from the long years of domination of the Hitler invaders in a number of West European countries, and from a large share of the extremely heavy sacrifices the freedom-loving peoples were obliged to make on the altar of the struggle against the German-fascist aggressors.

Hardly anybody would dare deny today that Germany's initial victories were not due to the "invincibility" of the German-fascist army or to the "brilliant intuition" of the corporal-strategist Hitler. But these victories were not accidental. Such accidents do not happen. Fundamentally, as all thoughtful and unbiased observers belonging to the most diverse political camps admit, they were due to

the fact that democracy was on the decline in the countries which became Hitler's victims and strangled in those which became his allies. On the other hand, as a result of the notorious Munich policy of abetting the aggressor, the great democratic powers of Western Europe—Great Britain and France—were not prepared to offer resistance to the German-fascist hordes.

Is it surprising then that the peoples of the liberated countries of Europe want to have a democracy free from the fatal defects it suffered from in the prewar years, a democracy renovated and pulsating with youthful vitality? A democrat is one who bravely looks ahead and not one who furtively looks back. Such indeed were the great democrats and popular leaders of whom civilized nations are proud. The peoples who have passed through the ordeal of the most arduous of wars want their will, their desire for a progressive policy which will insure a durable peace and international security, to be really respected.

The will of the people finds different expression in different countries; but the European, and not only the European peoples, have drawn very similar conclusions from their experience of the present war. They want to build up their political and social life in such a way as to leave no loopholes for fascism. It is not only a matter of extirpating the remnants and all influences of present-day fascism, but of creating conditions that will prevent the birth of a new fascism.

The peoples do not want a resumption of reckless policies in foreign affairs, including reckless policies directed against the Soviet Union. Lastly, the peoples, and those of a number of countries in Eastern Europe in particular, wish to settle such burning questions affecting their lives as the abolition of feudal and semi-feudal relations in the agrarian system and of national oppression and strife between nations.

Can it be denied that the break-up and distribution of the feudal latifundia among the small peasants is a democratic measure, or that the struggle against the agrarian reform is a struggle against democracy?

Can it be denied that the path of peace and friendship between nationalities, which has now been taken by Yugoslavia and Rumania, for example, is a democratic path, or that the forces which, like the Serbian or Croatian chauvinists of the Rumanian "historical parties," are fighting to prevent the solution of the national problem, are thereby exposing themselves as downright enemies of democracy?

The pseudo-champions of democracy reveal their true colors most glaringly when they talk about Poland. From the point of view of democracy, the so-called Polish problem is absolutely clear. The Polish people, liberated from the German-fascist yoke, are building up their new life on democratic principles. The work of restoring Polish statehood is being directed by the Provisional Government which is now functioning in Poland and which is headed by leaders of the four Polish democratic parties, who came to the fore in the course of the self-sacrificing struggle waged by the Polish patriots against the Hitler invaders. This government is exercising power throughout the entire territory of Poland; it is supported by the people and is carrying out their will.

But the pseudo-champions of democracy are conducting a fierce and unscrupulous campaign against the Provisional Polish Government,

while at the same time pleading the cause of the bankrupt politicians in the emigre Raczkiewicz-Arciszewski clique. They are indignant when the Polish reactionary emigre camp is called pro-fascist. But what else can it be called? Everybody knows that this camp played a baneful role in prewar Poland and bears grave responsibility for the disaster of September, 1939. Venting their spite and hostility toward the Soviet Union in every possible way and basing all their calculations on the possibility of disagreements arising among the Allies, these people have been acting as mouthpieces and abettors of the German fascists throughout the whole period of the war.

Lastly, if any more proof were required that these reactionary politicians who have become completely divorced from their country are the bitterest enemies of democracy, they themselves have provided it by their hostility toward the Crimea decisions. Why do they so fiercely attack the agreement reached in the Crimea? Because that agreement is based on democratic principles and the Polish reactionaries are perfectly well aware that they are utterly played out unless the former anti-popular regime is restored in Poland, unless there is a return to the fascist constitution of 1935, and unless the basis of feudal land ownership is preserved.

Thus no special researches are needed to determine who are the friends of democracy and who are its foes. From the democratic point of view, and in this case it makes no difference whether one takes the stand of Soviet democracy or that of Anglo-American democracy—it cannot be denied that gentlemen like Radescu in Rumania; Linkomies, Tanner and Ryti in Finland; Raczkiewicz and Arciszewski among the Polish emigres, and the corresponding political figures in other countries, are foes of democracy, are pro-fascists; and that those who support these elements are acting against the interests of the people. Obviously, the road of “democrats” of this type is not the road of the Soviet Union, nor can it be the road of sincere champions of democracy in other countries.

The pseudo-champions of democracy often advance an argument which the *Observer's* “Student of Europe” formulated in the following manner: “In Western usage, freedom of opposition and free competition of several parties for the votes of the people (including the upper and middle classes) are of the essence of democracy.”

From this the conclusion is drawn that the rallying of the forces of the people in a united front against pro-fascist groups and tendencies is a violation of democracy, that it leads to totalitarianism, and so forth. It is not difficult to expose the hypocrisy of this argument. Why indeed should not the forces of the people in the countries just liberated from Nazi tyranny organize and form a united front in the struggle against the beaten, but not yet vanquished, foe? Why should they, to please the dubious “students,” and still more the dubious friends, of Europe, engage in “free competition,” in other words, split up their forces and thereby weaken them, when the enemy is continuing to weave his intrigues and is striving to recapture his lost positions by every means in his power?

In the “Student of Europe's” country, the political parties decided to abstain from “free competition” at elections for the duration of the war—in the interests of the common struggle against the enemy, in the interests of uniting all the forces of the nation for this struggle. If this is the case in a powerful country like Great Britain, how much

more imperative is it to rally all democratic elements in a united front in the liberated countries of Europe which have only just entered upon a new path.

Can these peoples forget that it was precisely the disunity in the democratic camp, the division of the democratic forces, that was one of the most important factors in the establishment of fascist regimes in a number of countries? The fascists were able to turn to their advantage the fact that the democratic elements in many countries of prewar Europe were unable to find a common ground. In particular, even the supporters of democracy were so blinded by anti-Communist prejudice that they emphatically refused to have any dealings with Communists, losing sight of the fact that thereby they were splitting the anti-fascist front and easing the task of fascism.

The bloody lessons of the past few years have taught not only that a split is harmful, but also that unification of the popular forces is beneficial. The Communists fought the Hitler invaders side by side with the representatives of all patriotic, all anti-fascist parties, groups and trends. The result was united action, cemented with the blood of the best fighters for freedom. The peoples of the liberated countries of Europe do not wish to repeat the fatal blunder of the prewar policy; they do not wish to pursue a path of splitting the democratic forces. It is not for nothing that the Crimea decisions speak of insuring national unity in the liberated countries of Europe. But unity can be achieved only by uniting the popular forces and not by splitting them, by uniting all genuine democrats and not by inciting some democratic elements against others.

Democracy is a historical phenomenon. One cannot speak of one unchangeable democracy for all times and for all peoples. As is the case with every phenomenon in social life, democracy develops and goes forward. Present-day democracy bears little resemblance to the democracy, say, of ancient Athens; and the present political system of Great Britain, for example, differs very much from the system which existed in that country in Cromwell's time. Even on the basis of the same social and economic system, extremely diverse forms of democratic statehood arise.

Hence it would be quite hopeless to demand that democracy should be built up in all countries of Europe on a British or American model. This would be a totally unwarranted attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of other peoples, an attempt to impose definite political canons upon them from the outside. Such an attempt would of course have no chance of success because it would contradict the very spirit of democracy, would contradict the indisputable right of peoples "to create democratic institutions of their own choice."

Does this mean that sincere champions of democracy need not now, when the fate of German fascism is already sealed, concern themselves with what is taking place outside their countries? It would be, to say the least, premature to draw such a conclusion. Quite apart from universally-known cases of the grossest violation of democracy in European countries such as Greece, it is sufficient to recall the state of affairs in the colonial world. To this day, as is well known, there is not even a whiff of democracy in the colonial countries, where a very large part of the population of the globe resides. This is where those who come out as the champions of democracy should direct their zeal.

When, however, they strike a Hamlet pose and express doubts about the liberated countries of Europe which have taken the path of political renovation, their concern appears affected and out of place. We must not forget the maneuvers of the German-fascist provocateurs. It is common knowledge that the latter at once proclaim every event connected with the democratization of political life in any country on the European Continent as a "Kerensky regime" and "Bolshevization." The Hitlerites affix the label "Kerensky" indiscriminately to political leaders of the most diverse complexion, and brand as "Bolshevization" every progressive measure, every democratic reform, every step taken to punish war criminals and traitors to their country.

It is not difficult to see through the Hitlerites' maneuvers. They harp on the old tiresome string that the only alternative to fascist rule in Europe is "Bolshevization," that fascism is the only conceivable "bulwark against Bolshevism." It is well known that the English-speaking countries did not allow themselves to be caught by this bait, even when Germany was at the zenith of her power. Still more transparent are these provocative tactics now when the doom of fascist Germany is not only inevitable but imminent. Who except the played-out Hitler adventurers stands to gain by convincing the British and Americans that the European Continent is faced with only one alternative—that is, either fascism or the Soviet system?

The German imperialists are already making their preparations for a third attempt to achieve world domination. To thwart their crafty designs, the sternest vigilance must be maintained toward the perfidious enemy; and democratic states, strong in their unity, must be set up in the liberated countries of Europe.

Only those who place the selfish interests of groups above the national interests of their country can wish the difference in ideology and character between the social system of the Soviet Union and that of its Allies to prevent the three leading great powers in the anti-Hitler coalition from marching together in solving the problems affecting the arrangement of the postwar world. The stern experience of the period between the First and Second World Wars has shown what grave danger lurks in the absence of unity among the peace-loving nations. In the light of this experience, it is clear that groundless prejudices against democratic regimes in the liberated countries of Europe may become a serious barrier to the establishment of lasting peace among the nations and of general security.

The present war must be consummated in such a way that no loopholes are left for the re-emergence of the forces of fascism and aggression. This is in the interest of all the peace-loving peoples who are engaged in the common struggle against Hitler Germany.

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